

THE WORKS OF EDMUND SPENSER

A Variorum Edition

THE FAERIE QVEENE

BOOK TWO

*LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
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THE WORKS
OF
EDMUND SPENSER

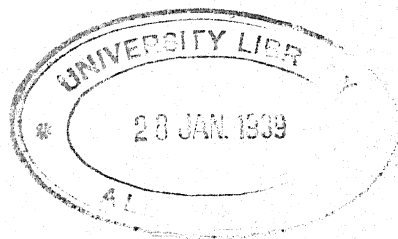
A Variorum Edition

EDITED BY

EDWIN GREENLAW

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THE FAERIE QVEENE

BOOK TWO

EDWIN GREENLAW

Special Editor

ASSISTED BY

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Baltimore

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

1933

TO
MARY ELIZABETH DURLAND GREENLAW

PREFACE TO VOLUME TWO

Professor Edwin Greenlaw, soon after he had perfected his plans for a variorum edition of Spenser's works, selected Book II of the *Faerie Queene* as his special editorial responsibility. At the time of his death more than half the notes in the commentary had been collected under his supervision by his assistants, Dr. Ernest A. Strathmann and the writer, and plans had been made for the style and arrangement of the edition as a whole. Those of us who undertook the completion of this volume after his untimely death regret the loss of his sound editorial judgment, as well as the pertinent comments which Professor Greenlaw could so well have supplied. We have, however, endeavored to carry out his plans and ideas regarding the volume and we feel that he would approve what we have done.

The text is the joint work of Dr. James G. McManaway, Professor Frederick M. Padelford, and myself. I am responsible for the readings finally adopted. Each has made an independent examination of the two original editions. Dr. McManaway and I have prepared the variants in the later editions and the critical notes on the text. Mr. Francis R. Johnson has checked readings for us in many of the copies of 1590 and 1596 which he examined in connection with his forthcoming bibliographical study of Spenser. The corrections from Dryden's copy of the 1679 edition were kindly supplied by Professor Roswell G. Ham of Yale University.

Since the death of Professor Greenlaw, we have been fortunate in having the assistance and advice of Professor Charles G. Osgood, who has given generously of his time in the completion of this volume. He has read the whole in manuscript as well as in proof, suggesting changes and rearrangements, and has written most of the summaries of the articles included in the appendices. Professor Frederick M. Padelford, in addition to his careful checking of the text with his copies of the editions of 1590 and 1596, has made many valuable criticisms and corrections both in the manuscript and in the proofs. Dr. Strathmann's work on the volume was interrupted by his going to Pomona College after half the material had been collected, but he was able to read the completed manuscript during the summer. Dr. McManaway has had a large share in the preparation of this volume; he has, in addition to his work on the text, typed the whole manuscript and read both the copy and the proofs, making many valuable suggestions and corrections. Dr. Lewis F. Ball has made a considerable contribution by his careful reading of all the proofs. The members of the faculty of the Johns Hopkins, especially those of the English Department, have aided us greatly by their kind interest and advice. The Librarian has

not only made readily accessible to us the books in the Library and in the Tudor and Stuart Club, but has also purchased many items especially for us. The generous cooperation of the Library staff has made our task a much easier one than it would otherwise have been. Mention should be made again of the financial assistance of Mrs. Greenlaw in the publication, as well as her interest in the whole work of preparing the edition.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to the following for permission to include copyrighted material: the American Corporation, publishers of the *Encyclopedia Americana*; Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, publishers of Perrett's *The Story of King Lear*; *The Atlantic Monthly*, publishers of Dowden's "Elizabethan Psychology"; Cambridge University Press, publishers of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Winstanley's edition of Book II of the *Faerie Queene*, and Davis's *Edmund Spenser*; Columbia University Press, publishers of Upham's *The French Influence in English Poetry*; J. M. Dent & Sons, publishers of Apperson's *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, Robin's *The Old Psychology in English Literature*, and Legouis's *Spenser*; Harvard University Press, publishers of Schofield's *Chivalry in English Literature* and Millican's *Spenser and the Table Round*; Houghton Mifflin Company, publishers of Child's edition; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., publishers of Dowden's *Transcripts and Studies*; John Murray, publisher of Robin's *Animal Lore in English Literature*; Oxford University Press, publishers of Kitchin's and Smith's editions and De Selincourt's introduction to the one volume Oxford edition of Spenser's works; Princeton University Press, publishers of Lotspeich's *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser*; University of Halle, publishers of Schoeneich's *Der Litterarische Einfluss Spensers auf Marlowe*; the University of Minnesota Press, publishers of Bush's *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*; University of Washington, publishers of McMurphy's *Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory*. We are also indebted to Professor Grierson for permission to quote from his *Cross Currents in English Literature of the Seventeenth Century*. Professor Harrison has refused permission for further quotation from his *Platonism and English Poetry*. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the large use of Miss Carrie A. Harper's *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene* in the commentary to canto 10.

RAY HEFFNER.

BALTIMORE,
November, 1933.

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THE SECOND

BOOKE OF THE

FAERIE QVEENE.

Contayning,

THE LEGEND OF SIR GUYON.

OR

Of Temperaunce.

Right well I wote most mighty Soueraine,
That all this famous antique history,
Of some th'aboundance of an idle braine
Will iudged be, and painted forgery,
Rather then matter of iust memory,
Sith none, that breatheth liuing aire, does know,
Where is that happy land of Faery,
Which I so much do vaunt, yet no where show,
But vouch antiquities, which no body can know.

i

But let that man with better sence aduize,
That of the world least part to vs is red:
And dayly how through hardy enterprize,
Many great Regions are discouered,
Which to late age were neuer mentioned.
Who euer heard of th'Indian *Peru*?
Or who in venturous vessell measured
The *Amazons* huge riuier now found trew?
Or fruitfullest *Virginia* who did euer vew?

ii

Yet all these were, when no man did them know;
Yet haue from wisest ages hidden beene:
And later times things more vnknowne shall show.
Why then should witlesse man so much misweene
That nothing is, but that which he hath seene?
What if within the Moones faire shining spheare?
What if in euery other starre vnseene
Of other worldes he happily should heare?
He wonder would much more: yet such to some appeare.

iii

Of Faerie lond yet if he more inquire,
By certaine signes here set in sundry place
He may it find; ne let him then admire,
But yield his sence to be too blunt and bace,
That n'ote without an hound fine footing trace.
And thou, O fairest Princesse vnder sky,
In this faire mirrhour maist behold thy face,
And thine owne realmes in lond of Faery,
And in this antique Image thy great auncestry.

iv

The which O pardon me thus to enfold
In couert vele, and wrap in shadowes light,
That feeble eyes your glory may behold,
Which else could not endure those beames bright,
But would be dazled with exceeding light.
O pardon, and vouchsafe with patient eare
The braue aduentures of this Faery knight
The good Sir *Guyon* graciously to heare,
In whom great rule of Temp'raunce goodly doth appeare.

v

Cant. I.

*Guyon by Archimage abusd,
The Redcrosse knight awaytes,
Findes Mordant and Amauia slaine
With pleasures poisoned baytes.*

That cunning Architect of cancred guile,
Whom Princes late displeasure left in bands,
For falsed letters and suborned wile,
Soone as the *Redcrosse* knight he vnderstands,
To beene departed out of *Eden* lands,
To serue againe his soueraine Elfin Queene,
His artes he moues, and out of caytiues hands
Himselfe he frees by secret meanes vnseene;
His shackles emptie left, him selfe escaped cleene.

And forth he fares full of malicious mind,
To worken mischief and auenging woe,
Where euer he that godly knight may find,
His onely hart sore, and his onely foe,
Sith *Vna* now he algates must forgoe,
Whom his victorious hands did earst restore
To natiue crowne and kingdome late ygoe:
Where she enioyes sure peace for euermore,
As weather-beaten ship arriu'd on happie shore.

Him therefore now the obiect of his spight
And deadly food he makes: him to offend
By forged treason, or by open fight
He seekes, of all his drift the aymed end:
Thereto his subtile engins he does bend,
His practick wit, and his faire filed tong,
With thousand other sleights: for well he kend,
His credit now in doubtfull ballaunce hong;
For hardly could be hurt, who was already stong.

i

ii

iii

Still as he went, he craftie stales did lay,
With cunning traines him to entrap vnwares,
And priuie spials plast in all his way,
To weete what course he takes, and how he fares;
To ketch him at a vantage in his snares.
But now so wise and warie was the knight
By triall of his former harmes and cares,
That he descride, and shonned still his slight:
The fish that once was caught, new bait will hardly bite.

iv

Nath'lesse th'Enchaunter would not spare his paine,
In hope to win occasion to his will;
Which when he long awaited had in vaine,
He chaungd his minde from one to other ill:
For to all good he enemy was still.
Vpon the way him fortun'd to meet,
Faire marching vnderneath a shady hill,
A goodly knight, all armd in harnesse meete,
That from his head no place appeared to his feete.

v

His carriage was full comely and vpright,
His countenaunce demure and temperate,
But yet so sterne and terrible in sight,
That cheard his friends, and did his foes amate:
He was an Elfin borne of noble state,
And mickle worship in his natiue land;
Well could he tourney and in lists debate,
And knighthood tooke of good Sir *Huons* hand,
When with king *Oberon* he came to Faerie land.

vi

Him als accompanyd vpon the way
A comely Palmer, clad in blacke attire,
Of ripest yeares, and haire all hoarie gray,
That with a staffe his feeble steps did stire,
Least his long way his aged limbes should tire:
And if by lookes one may the mind aread,
He seemd to be a sage and sober sire,
And euer with slow pace the knight did lead,
Who taught his trampling steed with equall steps to tread.

vii

Such whenas *Archimago* them did view,
He weened well to worke some vncouth wile,
Eftsoones vntwisting his deceitfull clew,
He gan to weaue a web of wicked guile,
And with faire countenance and flattring stile,
To them approching, thus the knight bespake:
Faire sonne of *Mars*, that seeke with warlike spoile,
And great atchieu'ments great your selfe to make,
Vouchsafe to stay your steed for humble misers sake.

viii

He stayd his steed for humble misers sake,
And bad tell on the tenor of his plaint;
Who feigning then in euery limbe to quake,
Through inward feare, and seeming pale and faint
With piteous mone his percing speach gan paint;
Deare Lady how shall I declare thy cace,
Whom late I left in langourous constraint?
Would God thy selfe now present were in place,
To tell this ruefull tale; thy sight could win thee grace.

ix

Or rather would, O would it so had chaunst,
That you, most noble Sir, had present beene,
When that lewd ribauld with vile lust aduaunst
Layd first his filthy hands on virgin cleene,
To spoile her daintie corse so faire and sheene,
As on the earth, great mother of vs all,
With liuing eye more faire was neuer seene,
Of chastitie and honour virginall:
Witnesse ye heauens, whom she in vaine to helpe did call.

x

How may it be, (said then the knight halfe wroth,) xi
That knight should knighthood euer so haue shent?
None but that saw (quoth he) would weene for troth,
How shamefully that Maid he did torment.
Her looser golden lockes he rudely rent,
And drew her on the ground, and his sharpe sword,
Against her snowy brest he fiercely bent,
And threatned death with many a bloudie word;
Toung hates to tell the rest, that eye to see abhord.

Therewith amoued from his sober mood,
And liues he yet (said he) that wrought this act,
And doen the heauens afford him vitall food?
He liues, (quoth he) and boasteth of the fact,
Ne yet hath any knight his courage crackt.
Where may that treachour then (said he) be found,
Or by what meanes may I his footing tract?
That shall I shew (said he) as sure, as hound
The stricken Deare doth challenge by the bleeding wound.

xii

He staid not lenger talke, but with fierce ire
And zealous hast away is quickly gone
To seeke that knight, where him that craftie Squire
Supposd to be. They do arriue anone,
Where sate a gentle Lady all alone,
With garments rent, and haire discheueled,
Wringing her hands, and making piteous mone;
Her swollen eyes were much disfigured,
And her faire face with teares was fowly blubbered.

xiii

The knight approaching nigh, thus to her said,
Faire Ladie, through foule sorrow ill bedight,
Great pittie is to see you thus dismaid,
And marre the blossome of your beautie bright:
For thy appease your griefe and heauie plight,
And tell the cause of your conceiued paine.
For if he liue, that hath you doen despight,
He shall you doe due recompence againe,
Or else his wrong with greater puissance maintaine.

xiv

Which when she heard, as in despihtfull wise,
She wilfully her sorrow did augment,
And offred hope of comfort did despise:
Her golden lockes most cruelly she rent,
And scratcht her face with ghastly dreriment,
Ne would she speake, ne see, ne yet be seene,
But hid her visage, and her head downe bent,
Either for grieuous shame, or for great teene,
As if her hart with sorrow had transfixed beene.

xv

Till her that Squire bespake, Madame my lief,
For Gods deare loue be not so wilfull bent,
But doe vouchsafe now to receiue reliefe,
The which good fortune doth to you present.
For what bootes it to weepe and to wayment,
When ill is chaunst, but doth the ill increase,
And the weake mind with double woe torment?
When she her Squire heard speake, she gan appease
Her voluntarie paine, and feele some secret ease.

xvi

Eftsoone she said, Ah gentle trustie Squire,
What comfort can I wofull wretch conceaue,
Or why should euer I henceforth desire,
To see faire heauens face, and life not leaue,
Sith that false Traytour did my honour reauue?
False traytour certes (said the Faerie knight)
I read the man, that euer would deceaue
A gentle Ladie, or her wrong through might:
Death were too little paine for such a foule despight.

xvii

But now, faire Ladie, comfort to you make,
And read, who hath ye wrought this shamefull plight;
That short reuenge the man may ouertake,
Where so he be, and soone vpon him light.
Certes (said she) I wote not how he hight,
But vnder him a gray steede did he wield,
Whose sides with dapled circles weren dight;
Vpright he rode, and in his siluer shield
He bore a bloudie Crosse, that quartred all the field.

xviii

Now by my head (said *Guyon*) much I muse,
How that same knight should do so foule amis,
Or euer gentle Damzell so abuse:
For may I boldly say, he surely is
A right good knight, and true of word ywis:
I present was, and can it witnesse well,
When armes he swore, and streight did enterpris
Th'adventure of the *Errant damozell*,
In which he hath great glorie wonne, as I heare tell.

xix

Nathlesse he shortly shall againe be tryde,
 And fairely quite him of th'imputed blame,
 Else be ye sure he dearely shall abyde,
 Or make you good amendment for the same:
 All wrongs haue mends, but no amends of shame.
 Now therefore Ladie, rise out of your paine,
 And see the saluing of your blotted name.
 Full loth she seemd thereto, but yet did faine;
 For she was inly glad her purpose so to gaine.

xx

Her purpose was not such, as she did faine,
 Ne yet her person such, as it was seene,
 But vnder simple shew and semblant plaine
 Lurckt false *Duessa* secretly vnseene,
 As a chast Virgin, that had wronged beene:
 So had false *Archimago* her disguisd,
 To cloke her guile with sorrow and sad teene;
 And eke himselfe had craftily deuise
 To be her Squire, and do her seruice well aguise.

xxi

Her late forlorne and naked he had found,
 Where she did wander in waste wilderness,
 Lurking in rockes and caues farre vnder ground,
 And with greene mosse cou'ring her nakednesse,
 To hide her shame and loathly filthinesse;
 Sith her Prince *Arthur* of proud ornaments
 And borrow'd beautie spoyld. Her nathlesse
 Th'enchaunter finding fit for his intents,
 Did thus reuest, and deckt with due habiliments.

xxii

For all he did, was to deceiue good knights,
 And draw them from pursuit of praise and fame,
 To slug in slouth and sensuall delights,
 And end their daies with irrenowmed shame.
 And now exceeding grieve him ouercame,
 To see the *Redcrosse* thus aduanced hye;
 Therefore this craftie engine he did frame,
 Against his praise to stirre vp enmitie
 Of such, as vertues like mote vnto him allye.

xxiii

So now he *Guyon* guides an vncouth way
Through woods and mountaines, till they came at last
Into a pleasant dale, that lowly lay
Betwixt two hils, whose high heads ouerplast,
The valley did with coole shade ouercast;
Through midst thereof a little riuer rold,
By which there sate a knight with helme vnlast,
Himselfe refreshing with the liquid cold,
After his trauell long, and labours manifold.

xxiv

Loe yonder he, cryde *Archimage* alowd,
That wrought the shamefull fact, which I did shew;
And now he doth himselfe in secret shrowd,
To flie the vengeance for his outrage dew;
But vaine: for ye shall dearely do him rew,
So God ye speed, and send you good successe;
Which we farre off will here abide to vew.
So they him left, inflam'd with wrathfulnesse,
That streight against that knight his speare he did addresse.

xxv

Who seeing him from farre so fierce to pricke,
His warlike armes about him gan embrace,
And in the rest his readie speare did sticke;
Tho when as still he saw him towards pace,
He gan rencounter him in equall race.
They bene ymet, both readie to affrap,
When suddenly that warriour gan abace
His threatned speare, as if some new mishap
Had him betidde, or hidden daunger did entrap.

xxvi

And cryde, Mercie Sir knight, and mercie Lord,
For mine offence and heedlesse hardiment,
That had almost committed crime abhord,
And with reprochfull shame mine honour shent,
Whiles cursed steele against that badge I bent,
The sacred badge of my Redeemers death,
Which on your shield is set for ornament:
But his fierce foe his steede could stay vneath,
Who prickt with courage kene, did cruell battell breath.

xxvii

But when he heard him speake, streight way he knew
His error, and himselfe inclyning sayd;
Ah deare Sir *Guyon*, well becommeth you,
But me behoueth rather to vpbrayd,
Whose hastie hand so farre from reason strayd,
That almost it did haynous violence
On that faire image of that heauenly Mayd,
That decks and armes your shield with faire defence:
Your court'sie takes on you anothers due offence.

xxviii

So bene they both attone, and doen vpreare
Their beuers bright, each other for to greete;
Goodly comportance each to other beare,
And entertaine themselues with court'sies meet.
Then said the *Redcrosse* knight, Now mote I weete,
Sir *Guyon*, why with so fierce saliaunce,
And fell intent ye did at earst me meet;
For sith I know your goodly gouernaunce,
Great cause, I weene, you guided, or some vncouth chaunce.

xxix

Certes (said he) well mote I shame to tell
The fond encheason, that me hither led.
A false infamous faitour late befell
Me for to meet, that seemed ill bested,
And playnd of grievous outrage, which he red
A knight had wrought against a Ladie gent;
Which to auenge, he to this place me led,
Where you he made the marke of his intent,
And now is fled; foule shame him follow, where he went.

xxx

So can he turne his earnest vnto game,
Through goodly handling and wise temperance.
By this his aged guide in presence came;
Who soone as on that knight his eye did glance,
Eft soones of him had perfect cognizance,
Sith him in Faerie court he late auizd;
And said, Faire sonne, God giue you happie chance,
And that deare Crosse vpon your shield deuizd,
Wherewith aboue all knights ye goodly seeme aguizd.

xxxi

Ioy may you haue, and euerlasting fame,
Of late most hard atchieu'ment by you donne,
For which enrolled is your glorious name
In heauenly Registers aboue the Sunne,
Where you a Saint with Saints your seat haue wonne:
But wretched we, where ye haue left your marke,
Must now anew begin, like race to runne;
God guide thee, *Guyon*, well to end thy warke,
And to the wished hauen bring thy weary barke.

xxxii

Palmer, (him answered the *Redcrosse* knight)
His be the praise, that this atchieu'ment wrought,
Who made my hand the organ of his might;
More then goodwill to me attribute nought:
For all I did, I did but as I ought.
But you, faire Sir, whose pageant next ensewes,
Well mote yee thee, as well can wish your thought,
That home ye may report thrise happie newes;
For well ye worthie bene for worth and gentle thewes.

xxxiii

So courteous conge both did giue and take,
With right hands plighted, pledges of good will.
Then *Guyon* forward gan his voyage make,
With his blacke Palmer, that him guided still.
Still he him guided ouer dale and hill,
And with his steddie staffe did point his way:
His race with reason, and with words his will,
From foule intemperance he oft did stay,
And suffred not in wrath his hastie steps to stray.

xxxiv

In this faire wize they traueild long yfere,
Through many hard assayes, which did betide;
Of which he honour still away did beare,
And spred his glorie through all countries wide.
At last as chaunst them by a forest side
To passe, for succour from the scorching ray,
They heard a ruefull voice, that dearnly cride
With percing shriekes, and many a dolefull lay;
Which to attend, a while their forward steps they stay.

xxxv

But if that carelesse heauens (quoth she) despise
The doome of iust reuenge, and take delight
To see sad pageants of mens miseries,
As bound by them to liue in liues despight,
Yet can they not warne death from wretched wight.
Come then, come soone, come sweetest death to mee,
And take away this long lent loathed light:
Sharpe be thy wounds, but sweet the medicines bee,
That long captiued soules from wearie thraldome free.

xxxvi

But thou, sweet Babe, whom frowning froward fate
Hath made sad witnesse of thy fathers fall,
Sith heauen thee deignes to hold in liuing state,
Long maist thou liue, and better thriue withall,
Then to thy lucklesse parents did befall:
Liue thou, and to thy mother dead attest,
That cleare she dide from blemish criminall;
Thy litle hands embrewd in bleeding brest
Loe I for pledges leaue. So giue me leaue to rest.

xxxvii

With that a deadly shrieke she forth did throw,
That through the wood reechoed againe,
And after gaue a grone so deepe and low,
That seemd her tender hart was rent in twaine,
Or thrild with point of thorough piercing paine;
As gentle Hynd, whose sides with cruell steele
Through launched, forth her bleeding life does raine,
Whiles the sad pang approching she does feele,
Brayes out her latest breath, and vp her eyes doth seele.

xxxviii

Which when that warriour heard, dismounting straict
From his tall steed, he rusht into the thicke,
And soone arriued, where that sad pourtraict
Of death and dolour lay, halfe dead, halfe quicke,
In whose white alabaster brest did sticke
A cruell knife, that made a griesly wound,
From which forth gusht a streme of gorebloud thick,
That all her goodly garments staine around,
And into a deepe sanguine dide the grassie ground.

xxxix

Pittifull spectacle of deadly smart,

xl

Beside a bubbling fountaine low she lay,
Which she increased with her bleeding hart,
And the cleane waues with purple gore did ray;
Als in her lap a louely babe did play
His cruell sport, in stead of sorrow dew;
For in her streaming blood he did embay
His litle hands, and tender ioynts embrew;

Pitifull spectacle, as euer eye did view.

Besides them both, vpon the soiled gras

xli

The dead corse of an armed knight was spred,
Whose armour all with bloud besprinckled was;
His ruddie lips did smile, and rosy red
Did paint his chearefull cheekes, yet being ded,
Seemd to haue beene a goodly personage,
Now in his freshest flowre of lustie hed,
Fit to inflame faire Lady with loues rage,
But that fiers fate did crop the blossome of his age.

Whom when the good Sir *Guyon* did behold,

xlii

His hart gan wexe as starke, as marble stone,
And his fresh bloud did frieze with fearefull cold,
That all his senses seemd bereft attone:
At last his mightie ghost gan deepe to grone,
As Lyon grudging in his great disdaine,
Mournes inwardly, and makes to himselfe mone;
Till ruth and fraile affection did constraine,
His stout courage to stoupe, and shew his inward paine.

Out of her gored wound the cruell steele

xliii

He lightly snatcht, and did the floudgate stop
With his faire garment: then gan softly feele
Her feeble pulse, to proue if any drop
Of liuing bloud yet in her veynes did hop;
Which when he felt to moue, he hoped faire
To call backe life to her forsaken shop;
So well he did her deadly wounds repaire,
That at the last she gan to breath out liuing aire.

Which he perceiuing greatly gan reioice,
And goodly counsell, that for wounded hart
Is meetest med'cine, tempred with sweet voice;
Ay me, deare Lady, which the image art
Of ruefull pitie, and impatient smart,
What direfull chance, armd with reuenging fate,
Or cursed hand hath plaid this cruell part,
Thus fowle to hasten your vntimely date;
Speake, O deare Lady speake: help neuer comes too late.

xliv

Therewith her dim eie-lids she vp gan reare,
On which the drery death did sit, as sad
As lump of lead, and made darke clouds appeare;
But when as him all in bright armour clad
Before her standing she espied had,
As one out of a deadly dreame affright,
She weakely started, yet she nothing drad:
Streight downe againe her selfe in great despight,
She groueling threw to ground, as hating life and light.

xlv

The gentle knight her soone with carefull paine
Vplifted light, and softly did vphold:
Thrise he her reard, and thrise she sunke againe,
Till he his armes about her sides gan fold,
And to her said; Yet if the stony cold
Haue not all seized on your frozen hart,
Let one word fall that may your grieve vnfold,
And tell the secret of your mortall smart;
He oft finds present helpe, who does his grieve impart.

xlvi

Then casting vp a deadly looke, full low
Shee sight from bottome of her wounded brest,
And after, many bitter throbs did throw
With lips full pale and foltring tongue opprest,
These words she breathed forth from riuen chest;
Leaue, ah leaue off, what euer wight thou bee,
To let a wearie wretch from her dew rest,
And trouble dying soules tranquillitee.
Take not away now got, which none would giue to me.

xlvii

Ah farre be it (said he) Deare dame fro mee,
To hinder soule from her desired rest,
Or hold sad life in long captiuitee:
For all I seeke, is but to haue redrest
The bitter pangs, that doth your heart infest.
Tell then, O Lady tell, what fatall priefe
Hath with so huge misfortune you opprest?
That I may cast to compasse your reliefe,
Or die with you in sorrow, and partake your grieve.

xlviii

With feeble hands then stretched forth on hye,
As heauen accusing guiltie of her death,
And with dry drops congealed in her eye,
In these sad words she spent her vtmost breath:
Heare then, O man, the sorrowes that vneath
My tongue can tell, so farre all sense they pas:
Loe this dead corpse, that lies here vnderneath,
The gentlest knight, that euer on greene gras
Gay steed with spurs did pricke, the good Sir *Mordant* was.

xlix

Was, (ay the while, that he is not so now)
My Lord my loue; my deare Lord, my deare loue,
So long as heauens iust with equall brow,
Vouchsafed to behold vs from aboue,
One day when him high courage did emmoue,
As wont ye knights to seeke aduentures wilde,
He pricked forth, his puissant force to proue,
Me then he left enwombed of this child,
This lucklesse child, whom thus ye see with bloud defild.

l

Him fortun'd (hard fortune ye may ghesse)
To come, where vile *Acrasia* does wonne,
Acrasia a false enchaunteresse,
That many errant knights hath foule fordonne:
Within a wandring Island, that doth ronne
And stray in perilous gulfe, her dwelling is;
Faure Sir, if euer there ye trauell, shonne
The cursed land where many wend amis,
And know it by the name; it hight the *Bowre of blis*.

li

Her blisse is all in pleasure and delight, lii
 Wherewith she makes her louers drunken mad,
 And then with words and weedes of wondrous might,
 On them she workes her will to vses bad:
 My lifest Lord she thus beguiled had;
 For he was flesh: (all flesh doth frailtie breed.)
 Whom when I heard to beene so ill bestad,
 Weake wretch I wrapt my selfe in Palmers weed,
 And cast to seeke him forth through daunger and great dread.

Now had faire *Cynthia* by euen tournes liii
 Full measured three quarters of her yeare,
 And thrise three times had fild her crooked hornes,
 Whenas my wombe her burdein would forbear,
 And bad me call *Lucina* to me neare.
Lucina came: a manchild forth I brought:
 The woods, the Nymphes, my bowres, my midwiues weare,
 Hard helpe at need. So deare thee babe I bought,
 Yet nought too deare I deemd, while so my dear I sought.

Him so I sought, and so at last I found, liv
 Where him that witch had thralld to her will,
 In chaines of lust and lewd desires ybound,
 And so transformed from his former skill,
 That me he knew not, neither his owne ill;
 Till through wise handling and faire gouernance,
 I him recured to a better will,
 Purged from drugs of foule intemperance:
 Then meanes I gan devise for his deliuerance.

Which when the vile Enchaunteresse perceiu'd, lv
 How that my Lord from her I would repriue,
 With cup thus charmd, him parting she deceiu'd;
Sad verse, giue death to him that death does giue,
And losse of loue, to her that loues to liue,
So soone as Bacchus with the Nymphe does lincke:
 So parted we and on our iourney driue,
 Till comming to this well, he stoupt to drinke:
 The charme fulfild, dead suddenly he downe did sincke.

Which when I wretch, Not one word more she sayd
 But breaking off the end for want of breath,
 And slyding soft, as downe to sleepe her layd,
 And ended all her woe in quiet death.
 That seeing good Sir *Guyon*, could vneath
 From teares abstaine, for grieve his hart did grate,
 And from so heauie sight his head did wreath,
 Accusing fortune, and too cruell fate,
 Which plunged had faire Ladie in so wretched state.

lvi

Then turning to his Palmer said, Old syre
 Behold the image of mortalitie,
 And feeble nature cloth'd with fleshly tyre,
 When raging passion with fierce tyrannie
 Robs reason of her due regaltie,
 And makes it seruant to her basest part:
 The strong it weakens with infirmitie,
 And with bold furie armes the weakest hart; (smart.
 The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weake through

lvii

But temperance (said he) with golden squire
 Betwixt them both can measure out a meane,
 Neither to melt in pleasures whot desire,
 Nor fry in hartlesse grieve and dolefull teene.
 Thrise happie man, who fares them both atweene:
 But sith this wretched woman ouercome
 Of anguish, rather then of crime hath beene,
 Reserue her cause to her eternall doome,
 And in the meane vouchsafe her honorable toombe.

lviii

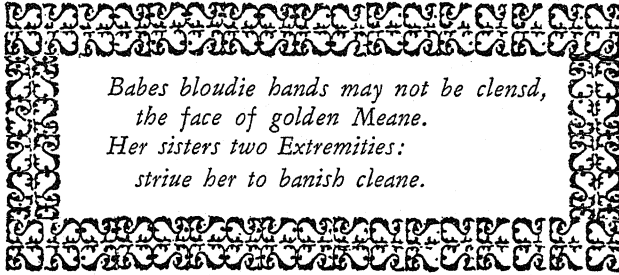
Palmer (quoth he) death is an equall doome
 To good and bad, the common Inne of rest;
 But after death the tryall is to come,
 When best shall be to them, that liued best:
 But both alike, when death hath both supprest,
 Religious reuerence doth buriall teene,
 Which who so wants, wants so much of his rest:
 For all so great shame after death I weene,
 As selfe to dyen bad, vnburied bad to beene.

lix

So both agree their bodies to engraue;
The great earthes wombe they open to the sky,
And with sad Cypresse seemely it embraue,
Then couering with a clod their closed eye,
They lay therein those corses tenderly,
And bid them sleepe in euerlasting peace.
But ere they did their vtmost obsequy,
Sir *Guyon* more affection to increace,
Bynempt a sacred vow, which none should aye releace.

The dead knights sword out of his sheath he drew,
With which he cut a locke of all their heare,
Which medling with their bloud and earth, he threw
Into the graue, and gan deuoutly sweare;
Such and such euill God on *Guyon* reare,
And worse and worse young Orphane be thy paine,
If I or thou dew vengeance doe forbear,
Till guiltie bloud her guerdon doe obtaine:
So shedding many teares, they closd the earth againe.

Cant. II.



THus when Sir *Guyon* with his faithfull guide i
 Had with due rites and dolorous lament
 The end of their sad Tragedie vptyde,
 The litle babe vp in his armes he hent;
 Who with sweet pleasance and bold blandishment
 Gan smyle on them, that rather ought to weepe,
 As carelesse of his woe, or innocent
 Of that was doen, that ruth emperced deepe
 In that knights heart, and wordes with bitter teares did steepe.

Ah lucklesse babe, borne vnder cruell starre, ii
 And in dead parents balefull ashes bred,
 Full litle weenest thou, what sorrowes are
 Left thee for portion of thy liuelihed,
 Poore Orphane in the wide world scattered,
 As budding braunch rent from the natiue tree,
 And throwen forth, till it be withered:
 Such is the state of men: thus enter wee
 Into this life with woe, and end with miseree.

Then soft himselfe inclyning on his knee iii
 Downe to that well, did in the water weene
 (So loue does loath disdainfull nicitee)
 His guiltie hands from bloudie gore to cleene.
 He washt them oft and oft, yet nought they beene
 For all his washing cleaner. Still he stroue,
 Yet still the litle hands were bloudie seene;
 The which him into great amaz'ment droue,
 And into diuerse doubt his wauering wonder cloue.

He wist not whether blot of foule offence
 Might not be purgd with water nor with bath;
 Or that high God, in lieu of innocence,
 Imprinted had that token of his wrath,
 To shew how sore bloudguiltinesse he hat'th;
 Or that the charme and venim, which they druncke,
 Their bloud with secret filth infected hath,
 Being diffused through the senselesse truncke,
 That through the great contagion direfull deadly stunck.

iv

Whom thus at gaze, the Palmer gan to bord
 With goodly reason, and thus faire bespake;
 Ye bene right hard amated, gracious Lord,
 And of your ignorance great maruell make,
 Whiles cause not well conceiued ye mistake.
 But know, that secret vertues are infusd
 In euery fountaine, and in euery lake,
 Which who hath skill them rightly to haue chusd,
 To proofe of passing wonders hath full often vsd.

v

Of those some were so from their sourse indewd
 By great Dame Nature, from whose fruitfull pap
 Their welheads spring, and are with moisture deawd;
 Which feedes each liuing plant with liquid sap,
 And filles with flowres faire *Floraes* painted lap:
 But other some by gift of later grace,
 Or by good prayers, or by other hap,
 Had vertue pourd into their waters bace,
 And thenceforth were renowmd, and sought from place to place.

vi

Such is this well, wrought by occasion straunge,
 Which to her Nymph befell. Vpon a day,
 As she the woods with bow and shafts did raunge,
 The hartlesse Hind and Robucke to dismay,
Dan Faunus chaunst to meet her by the way,
 And kindling fire at her faire burning eye,
 Inflamed was to follow beauties pray,
 And chaced her, that fast from him did fly;
 As Hind from her, so she fled from her enemy.

vii

At last when fayling breath began to faint,
And saw no meanes to scape, of shame affrayd,
She set her downe to weepe for sore constraint,
And to *Diana* calling lowd for ayde,
Her deare besought, to let her dye a mayd.
The goddesse heard, and suddeine where she sate,
Welling out streames of teares, and quite dismayd
With stony feare of that rude rustick mate,
Transformd her to a stone from stedfast virgins state.

viii

Lo now she is that stone, from whose two heads,
As from two weeping eyes, fresh streames do flow,
Yet cold through feare, and old conceiued dreads;
And yet the stone her semblance seemes to show,
Shapt like a maid, that such ye may her know;
And yet her vertues in her water byde:
For it is chast and pure, as purest snow,
Ne lets her waues with any filth be dyde,
But euer like her selfe vnstained hath been tryde.

ix

From thence it comes, that this babes bloudy hand
May not be clensd with water of this well:
Ne certes Sir striue you it to withstand,
But let them still be bloudy, as befell,
That they his mothers innocence may tell,
As she bequeathd in her last testament;
That as a sacred Symbole it may dwell
In her sonnes flesh, to minde reuengement,
And be for all chast Dames an endlesse monument.

x

He hearkned to his reason, and the childe
Vptaking, to the Palmer gaue to beare;
But his sad fathers armes with bloud defilde,
An heauie load himselfe did lightly reare,
And turning to that place, in which whyleare
He left his loftie steed with golden sell,
And goodly gorgeous barbes, him found not theare.
By other accident that earst befell,
He is conuaide, but how or where, here fits not tell.

xi

Which when Sir *Guyon* saw, all were he wroth,
Yet algates mote he soft himselfe appease,
And fairely fare on foot, how euer loth;
His double burden did him sore disease.
So long they traueiled with litle ease,
Till that at last they to a Castle came,
Built on a rocke adioyning to the seas;
It was an auncient worke of antique fame,
And wondrous strong by nature, and by skilfull frame.

xii

Therein three sisters dwelt of sundry sort,
The children of one sire by mothers three;
Who dying whylome did diuide this fort
To them by equall shares in equall fee:
But strifull minde, and diuerse qualitee
Drew them in parts, and each made others foe:
Still did they striue, and dayly disagree;
The eldest did against the youngest goe,
And both against the middest meant to worken woe.

xiii

Where when the knight arriu'd, he was right well
Receiu'd, as knight of so much worth became,
Of second sister, who did far excell
The other two; *Medina* was her name,
A sober sad, and comely curteous Dame;
Who rich arayd, and yet in modest guise,
In goodly garments, that her well became,
Faure marching forth in honorable wize,
Him at the threshold met, and well did enterprize.

xiv

She led him vp into a goodly bowre,
And comely courted with meet modestie,
Ne in her speach, ne in her hauiour,
Was lightnesse seene, or looser vanitie,
But gracious womanhood, and grauitie,
Aboue the reason of her youthly yeares:
Her golden lockes she roundly did vptye
In breaded tramels, that no looser heares
Did out of order stray about her daintie eares.

xv

Whilest she her selfe thus busily did frame,
Seemely to entertaine her new-come guest,
Newes hereof to her other sisters came,
Who all this while were at their wanton rest,
Accourting each her friend with lauish fest:
They were two knights of perelesse puissance,
And famous far abroad for warlike gest,
Which to these Ladies loue did countenaunce,
And to his mistresse each himselfe stroue to aduaunce.

xvi

He that made loue vnto the eldest Dame,
Was hight Sir *Huddibras*, an hardy man;
Yet not so good of deedes, as great of name,
Which he by many rash aduentures wan,
Since errant armes to sew he first began;
More huge in strength, then wise in workes he was,
And reason with foole-hardize ouer ran;
Sterne melancholy did his courage pas,
And was for terrour more, all armd in shyning bras.

xvii

But he that lou'd the youngest, was *Sans-loy*,
He that faire *Vna* late fowle outraged,
The most vnruely, and the boldest boy,
That euer warlike weapons menaged,
And to all lawlesse lust encouraged,
Through strong opinion of his matchlesse might:
Ne ought he car'd, whom he endamaged
By tortious wrong, or whom bereau'd of right.
He now this Ladies champion chose for loue to fight.

xviii

These two gay knights, vowd to so diuerse loues,
Each other does enuie with deadly hate,
And dayly warre against his foeman moues,
In hope to win more fauour with his mate,
And th'others pleasing seruice to abate,
To magnifie his owne. But when they heard,
How in that place straunge knight arriued late,
Both knights and Ladies forth right angry far'd,
And fiercely vnto battell sterne themselues prepar'd.

xix

But ere they could proceede vnto the place,
Where he abode, themselues at discord fell,
And cruell combat ioynd in middle space:
With horrible assault, and furie fell,
They heapt huge strokes, the scorned life to quell,
That all on vprore from her settled seat,
The house was raysd, and all that in did dwell;
Seemd that lowde thunder with amazement great
Did rend the ratling skyes with flames of fouldring heat.

xx

The noyse thereof cald forth that straunger knight,
To weet, what dreadfull thing was there in hand;
Where when as two braue knights in bloudy fight
With deadly rancour he enraunged fond,
His sunbroad shield about his wrest he bond,
And shyning blade vnsheathd, with which he ran
Vnto that stead, their strife to vnderstond;
And at his first arriuall, them began
With goodly meanes to pacifie, well as he can.

xxi

But they him spying, both with greedy forse
Attonce vpon him ran, and him beset
With strokes of mortall steele without remorse,
And on his shield like yron sledges bet:
As when a Beare and Tygre being met
In cruell fight on lybicke Ocean wide,
Espye a traueiler with feet surbet,
Whom they in equall pray hope to deuide,
They stint their strife, and him assaile on euery side.

xxii

But he, not like a wearie traueilere,
Their sharpe assault right boldly did rebut,
And suffred not their blowes to byte him nere,
But with redoubled buffes them backe did put:
Whose griued mindes, which choler did englut,
Against themselues turning their wrathfull spight,
Gan with new rage their shields to hew and cut;
But still when *Guyon* came to part their fight,
With heaue load on him they freshly gan to smight.

xxiii

As a tall ship tossed in troublous seas,
Whom raging windes threatning to make the pray
Of the rough rockes, do diuersly disease,
Meetes two contrary billowes by the way,
That her on either side do sore assay,
And boast to swallow her in greedy graue;
She scorning both their spights, does make wide way,
And with her brest breaking the fomy waue,
Does ride on both their backs, and faire her selfe doth saue.

xxiv

So boldly he him beares, and rusheth forth
Betweene them both, by conduct of his blade.
Wondrous great prowesse and heroick worth
He shewd that day, and rare ensample made,
When two so mighty warriours he dismaded:
Attonce he wards and strikes, he takes and payes,
Now forst to yield, now forcing to inuade,
Before, behind, and round about him layes:
So double was his paines, so double be his prayse.

xxv

Straunge sort of fight, three valiaunt knights to see
Three combats ioyne in one, and to darraine
A triple warre with triple enmitee,
All for their Ladies froward loue to gaine,
Which gotten was but hate. So loue does raine
In stoutest minds, and maketh monstrous warre;
He maketh warre, he maketh peace againe,
And yet his peace is but continuall iarre:
O miserable men, that to him subiect arre.

xxvi

Whilst thus they mingled were in furious armes,
The faire *Medina* with her tresses torne,
And naked brest, in pittie of their harmes,
Emongst them ran, and falling them beforne,
Besought them by the womb, which them had borne,
And by the loues, which were to them most deare,
And by the knighthood, which they sure had sworne,
Their deadly cruell discord to forbear,
And to her iust conditions of faire peace to heare.

xxvii

But her two other sisters standing by,
Her lowd gainsaid, and both their champions bad
Pursew the end of their strong enmity,
As euer of their loues they would be glad.
Yet she with pitthy words and counsell sad,
Still stroue their stubborne rages to reuoke,
That at the last suppressing fury mad,
They gan abstaine from dint of direfull stroke,
And hearken to the sober speaches, which she spoke.

xxviii

Ah puisaunt Lords, what cursed euill Spright,
Or fell *Erinnys* in your noble harts,
Her hellish brond hath kindled with despight,
And stird you vp to worke your wilfull smarts?
Is this the ioy of armes? be these the parts
Of glorious knighthood, after bloud to thrust,
And not regard dew right and iust desarts?
Vaine is the vaunt, and victory vniust,
That more to mighty hands, then rightfull cause doth trust.

xxix

And were there rightfull cause of difference,
Yet were not better, faire it to accord,
Then with bloud guiltinesse to heape offence,
And mortall vengeaunce ioyne to crime abhord?
O fly from wrath, fly, O my liefest Lord:
Sad be the sights, and bitter fruits of warre,
And thousand furies wait on wrathfull sword;
Ne ought the prayse of prowesse more doth marre,
Then fowle reuenging rage, and base contentious iarre.

xxx

But louely concord, and most sacred peace
Doth nourish vertue, and fast friendship breeds;
Weake she makes strong, and strong thing does increace,
Till it the pitch of highest prayse exceeds:
Braue be her warres, and honorable deeds,
By which she triumphes ouer ire and pride,
And winnes an Oliue girlond for her meeds:
Be therefore, O my deare Lords, pacifide,
And this misseeming discord meekely lay aside.

xxxi

Her gracious wordes their rancour did appall,
And suncke so deepe into their boyling brests,
That downe they let their cruell weapons fall,
And lowly did abase their loftie crests
To her faire presence, and discrete behests.
Then she began a treatie to procure,
And stablish termes betwixt both their requests,
That as a law for euer should endure;
Which to obserue in word of knights they did assure.

xxxii

Which to confirme, and fast to bind their league,
After their wearie sweat and bloudy toile,
She them besought, during their quiet treague,
Into her lodging to repaire a while,
To rest themselues, and grace to reconcile.
They soone consent: so forth with her they fare,
Where they are well receiu'd, and made to spoile
Themselues of soiled armes, and to prepare
Their minds to pleasure, and their mouthes to dainty fare.

xxxiii

And those two froward sisters, their faire loues
Came with them eke, all were they wondrous loth,
And fained cheare, as for the time behoues,
But could not colour yet so well the troth,
But that their natures bad appeard in both:
For both did at their second sister grutch,
And inly grieue, as doth an hidden moth
The inner garment fret, not th'vtter touch;
One thought their cheare too litle, th'other thought too mutch.

xxxiv

Elissa (so the eldest hight) did deeme
Such entertainment base, ne ought would eat,
Ne ought would speake, but euermore did seeme
As discontent for want of merth or meat;
No solace could her Paramour intreat
Her once to show, ne court, nor dalliance,
But with bent lowring browes, as she would threat,
She scould, and frownd with froward countenance,
Vnworthy of faire Ladies comely gouernaunce.

xxxv

But young *Perissa* was of other mind,
 Full of disport, still laughing, loosely light,
 And quite contrary to her sisters kind;
 No measure in her mood, no rule of right,
 But poured out in pleasure and delight;
 In wine and meats she flowd aboue the bancke,
 And in excesse exceeded her owne might;
 In sumptuous tire she ioyd her selfe to prancke,
 But of her loue too lauish (litle haue she thancke.)

xxxvi

Fast by her side did sit the bold *Sans-loy*,
 Fit mate for such a mincing mineon,
 Who in her loosenesse tooke exceeding ioy;
 Might not be found a franker franion,
 Of her lewd parts to make companion;
 But *Huddibras*, more like a Malecontent,
 Did see and grieue at his bold fashion;
 Hardly could he endure his hardiment,
 Yet still he sat, and inly did him selfe torment.

xxxvii

Betwixt them both the faire *Medina* sate
 With sober grace, and goodly carriage:
 With equall measure she did moderate
 The strong extremities of their outrage;
 That forward paire she euer would asswage,
 When they would striue dew reason to exceed;
 But that same froward twaine would accourage,
 And of her plenty adde vnto their need:
 So kept she them in order, and her selfe in heed.

xxxviii

Thus fairely she attempered her feast,
 And pleasd them all with meete satietie:
 At last when lust of meat and drinke was ceast,
 She *Guyon* deare besought of curtesie,
 To tell from whence he came through ieopardie,
 And whither now on new aduenture bound.
 Who with bold grace, and comely grauitie,
 Drawing to him the eyes of all around,
 From lofty siege began these words aloud to sound.

xxxix

This thy demaund, O Lady, doth reuiue
Fresh memory in me of that great Queene,
Great and most glorious virgin Queene aliue,
That with her soueraigne powre, and scepter shene
All Faery lond does peaceable sustene.
In widest Ocean she her throne does reare,
That ouer all the earth it may be seene;
As morning Sunne her beames dispredden cleare,
And in her face faire peace, and mercy doth appeare.

xl

In her the riches of all heauenly grace,
In chiefe degree are heaped vp on hye:
And all that else this worlds enclosure bace,
Hath great or glorious in mortall eye,
Adornes the person of her Maiestie;
That men beholding so great excellence,
And rare perfection in mortalitie,
Do her adore with sacred reuerence,
As th'Idole of her makers great magnificence.

xli

To her I homage and my seruice owe,
In number of the noblest knights on ground,
Mongst whom on me she deigned to bestowe
Order of *Maydenhead*, the most renownd,
That may this day in all the world be found:
An yearely solemne feast she wontes to hold
The day that first doth lead the yeare around;
To which all knights of worth and courage bold
Resort, to heare of straunge aduentures to be told.

xlii

There this old Palmer shewed himselfe that day,
And to that mighty Princesse did complaine
Of grieuous mischiefes, which a wicked Fay
Had wrought, and many whelmd in deadly paine,
Whereof he crau'd redresse. My Soueraigne,
Whose glory is in gracious deeds, and ioyes
Throughout the world her mercy to maintaine,
Eftsoones deuise redresse for such annoyes;
Me all vnfit for so great purpose she employes.

xliii

Now hath faire *Phœbe* with her siluer face
Thrise seene the shadowes of the neather world,
Sith last I left that honorable place,
In which her royall presence is introld;
Ne euer shall I rest in house nor hold,
Till I that false *Acrasia* haue wonne;
Of whose fowle deedes, too hideous to be told,
I witnesse am, and this their wretched sonne,
Whose wofull parents she hath wickedly fordonne.

xlii

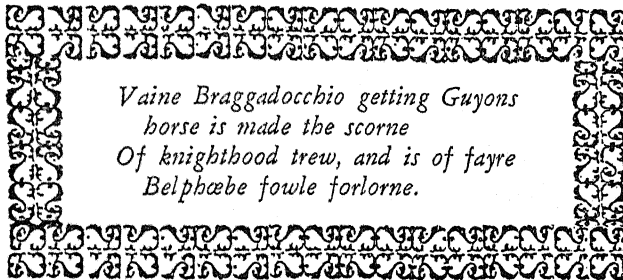
Tell on, faire Sir, said she, that dolefull tale,
From which sad ruth does seeme you to restraine,
That we may pittie such vnhappy bale,
And learne from pleasures poyson to abstaine:
Ill by ensample good doth often gayne.
Then forward he his purpose gan pursew,
And told the storie of the mortall payne,
Which *Mordant* and *Amauia* did rew;
As with lamenting eyes him selfe did lately vew.

xliii

Night was far spent, and now in *Ocean* deepe
Orion, flying fast from hissing snake,
His flaming head did hasten for to steepe,
When of his pitteous tale he end did make;
Whilest with delight of that he wisely spake,
Those guesstes beguiled, did beguile their eyes
Of kindly sleepe, that did them ouertake.
At last when they had markt the chaunged skyes,
They wist their houre was spent; then each to rest him hyes.

xlvi

Cant. III.



S Oone as the morrow faire with purple beames
 Disperst the shadowes of the mistie night,
 And *Titan* playing on the eastern streames,
 Gan cleare the deawy ayre with springing light,
 Sir *Guyon* mindfull of his vow yplight,
 Vprose from drowsie couch, and him addrest
 Vnto the iourney which he had behight:
 His puissaunt armes about his noble brest,
 And many-folded shield he bound about his wrest.

i

Then taking *Congé* of that virgin pure,
 The bloody-handed babe vnto her truth
 Did earnestly commit, and her coniure,
 In vertuous lore to traine his tender youth,
 And all that gentle noriture ensu'th:
 And that so soone as ryper yeares he raught,
 He might for memorie of that dayes ruth,
 Be called *Ruddymane*, and thereby taught,
 T'auenge his Parents death on them, that had it wrought.

ii

So forth he far'd, as now befell, on foot,
 Sith his good steed is lately from him gone;
 Patience perforce; helpelesse what may it boot
 To fret for anger, or for grieve to mone?
 His Palmer now shall foot no more alone:
 So fortune wrought, as vnder greene woods syde
 He lately heard that dying Lady grone,
 He left his steed without, and speare besyde,
 And rushed in on foot to ayd her, ere she dyde.

iii

The whiles a losell wandring by the way,
One that to bountie neuer cast his mind,
Ne thought of honour euer did assay
His baser brest, but in his kestrell kind
A pleasing vaine of glory he did find,
To which his flowing tounge, and troublous spright
Gaued him great ayd, and made him more inclind:
He that braue steed there finding ready dight,
Purloynd both steed and speare, and ran away full light.

iv

Now gan his hart all swell in iollitie,
And of him selfe great hope and helpe conceiu'd,
That puffed vp with smoke of vanitie,
And with selfe-loued personage deceiu'd,
He gan to hope, of men to be receiu'd
For such, as he him thought, or faine would bee:
But for in court gay portaunce he perceiu'd,
And gallant shew to be in greatest gree,
Eftsoones to court he cast t'auaunce his first degree.

v

And by the way he chaunced to espy
One sitting idle on a sunny bancke,
To whom auauing in great brauery,
As Peacocke, that his painted plumes doth pranke,
He smote his courser in the trembling flancke,
And to him threatned his hart-thrilling speare:
The seely man seeing him ryde so rancke,
And ayme at him, fell flat to ground for feare,
And crying Mercy lowd, his pitious hands gan reare.

vi

Thereat the Scarcrow wexed wondrous prowde,
Through fortune of his first aduenture faire,
And with big thundring voyce reuyld him lowd;
Vile Caytiue, vassall of dread and despaire,
Vnworthie of the commune breathed aire,
Why liuest thou, dead dog, a lenger day,
And doest not vnto death thy selfe prepaire.
Dye, or thy selfe my captiue yield for ay;
Great fauour I thee graunt, for aunswere thus to stay.

vii

Hold, O deare Lord, hold your dead-doing hand,
Then loud he cryde, I am your humble thrall.
Ah wretch (quoth he) thy destinies withstand
My wrathfull will, and do for mercy call.
I giue thee life: therefore prostrated fall,
And kisse my stirrup; that thy homage bee.
The Miser threw him selfe, as an Offall,
Streight at his foot in base humilitee,
And cleeped him his liege, to hold of him in fee.

viii

So happy peace they made and faire accord:
Eftsoones this liege-man gan to wexe more bold,
And when he felt the folly of his Lord,
In his owne kind he gan him selfe vnfold:
For he was wylie witted, and growne old
In cunning sleights and practick knauery.
From that day forth he cast for to vphold
His idle humour with fine flattery,
And blow the bellows to his swelling vanity.

ix

Trompart fit man for *Braggadocchio*,
To serue at court in view of vaunting eye;
Vaine-glorious man, when fluttring wind does blow
In his light wings, is lifted vp to skye:
The scorne of knighthood and trew cheualrye,
To thinke without desert of gentle deed,
And noble worth to be aduaunced hye:
Such prayse is shame; but honour vertues meed
Doth beare the fairest flowre in honorable seed.

x

So forth they pas, a well consorted paire,
Till that at length with *Archimage* they meet:
Who seeing one that shone in armour faire,
On goodly courser thundring with his feet,
Eftsoones supposed him a person meet,
Of his reuenge to make the instrument:
For since the *Redcrosse* knight he earst did weet,
To beene with *Guyon* knit in one consent,
The ill, which earst to him, he now to *Guyon* ment.

xi

And comming close to *Trompart* gan inquire
Of him, what mighty warriour that mote bee,
That rode in golden sell with single spere,
But wanted sword to wreake his enmitee.
He is a great aduenturer, (said he)
That hath his sword through hard assay forgone,
And now hath vowd, till he auenged bee,
Of that despight, neuer to wearen none;
That speare is him enough to doen a thousand grone.

xii

Th'enchaunter greatly ioyed in the vaunt,
And weened well ere long his will to win,
And both his foen with equall foyle to daunt.
Tho to him louting lowly, did begin
To plaine of wrongs, which had committed bin
By *Guyon*, and by that false *Redcrosse* knight,
Which two through treason and deceitfull gin,
Had slaine Sir *Mordant*, and his Lady bright:
That mote him honour win, to wreake so foule despight.

xiii

Therewith all suddeinly he seemd enraged,
And threatned death with dreadfull countenaunce,
As if their liues had in his hand beene gaged;
And with stiffe force shaking his mortall launce,
To let him weet his doughtie valiaunce,
Thus said; Old man, great sure shalbe thy meed,
If where those knights for feare of dew vengeance
Do lurke, thou certainly to me areed,
That I may wreake on them their hainous hatefull deed.

xiv

Certes, my Lord, (said he) that shall I soone,
And giue you eke good helpe to their decay,
But mote I wisely you aduise to doon;
Giue no ods to your foes, but do puruay
Your selfe of sword before that bloody day:
For they be two the prowtest knights on ground,
And oft approu'd in many hard assay,
And eke of surest steele, that may be found,
Do arme your selfe against that day, them to confound.

xv

Dotard (said he) let be thy deepe aduise;
Seemes that through many yeares thy wits thee faile,
And that weake eld hath left thee nothing wise,
Else neuer should thy iudgement be so fraile,
To measure manhood by the sword or maile.
Is not enough foure quarters of a man,
Withouten sword or shield, an host to quaile?
Thou little wotest, what this right hand can:
Speake they, which haue beheld the battailes, which it wan.

xvi

The man was much abashed at his boast;
Yet well he wist, that who so would contend
With either of those knights on euen coast,
Should need of all his armes, him to defend;
Yet feared least his boldnesse should offend,
When *Braggadocchio* said, Once I did sweare,
When with one sword seuen knights I brought to end,
Thence forth in battell neuer sword to beare,
But it were that, which noblest knight on earth doth weare.

xvii

Perdie Sir knight, said then th'enchauter bliue,
That shall I shortly purchase to your hond:
For now the best and noblest knight aliue
Prince *Arthur* is, that wonnes in Faerie lond;
He hath a sword, that flames like burning brond.
The same by my deuice I vndertake
Shall by to morrow by thy side be fond.
At which bold word that boaster gan to quake,
And wondred in his mind, what mote that monster make.

xviii

He stayd not for more bidding, but away
Was suddein vanished out of his sight:
The Northerne wind his wings did broad display
At his commaund, and reared him vp light
From off the earth to take his aerie flight.
They lookt about, but no where could espie
Tract of his foot: then dead through great affright
They both nigh were, and each bad other flie:
Both fled attonce, ne euer backe returned eie.

xix

Till that they come vnto a forrest greene, xx
In which they shrowd themselues from causelesse feare;
Yet feare them followes still, where so they beene,
Each trembling leafe, and whistling wind they heare,
As ghastly bug their haire on end does reare:
Yet both doe striue their fearfulnessse to faine.
At last they heard a horne, that shrilled cleare
Throughout the wood, that ecchoed againe,
And made the forrest ring, as it would riue in twaine.

Eft through the thicke they heard one rudely rush; xxi
With noyse whereof he from his loftie steed
Downe fell to ground, and crept into a bush,
To hide his coward head from dying dread.
But *Trompart* stoutly stayd to taken heed,
Of what might hap. Eftsoone there stepped forth
A goodly Ladie clad in hunters weed,
That seemd to be a woman of great worth,
And by her stately portance, borne of heauenly birth.

Her face so faire as flesh it seemed not, xxii
But heauenly pourtraict of bright Angels hew,
Cleare as the skie, withouten blame or blot,
Through goodly mixture of complexions dew;
And in her cheekes the vermeill red did shew
Like roses in a bed of lillies shed,
The which ambrosiall odours from them threw,
And gazers sense with double pleasure fed,
Hable to heale the sicke, and to reuiue the ded.

In her faire eyes two liuing lamps did flame, xxiii
Kindled aboue at th'heauenly makers light,
And darted fyrie beames out of the same,
So passing persant, and so wondrous bright,
That quite bereau'd the rash beholders sight:
In them the blinded god his lustfull fire
To kindle oft assayd, but had no might;
For with dredd Maiestie, and awfull ire,
She broke his wanton darts, and quenched base desire.

Her iuorie forehead, full of bountie braue,
 Like a broad table did it selfe dispred,
 For Loue his loftie triumphes to engraue,
 And write the battels of his great godhed:
 All good and honour might therein be red:
 For there their dwelling was. And when she spake,
 Sweet words, like dropping honny she did shed,
 And twixt the perles and rubins softly brake
 A siluer sound, that heauenly musicke seemd to make.

xxiv

Vpon her eyelids many Graces sate,
 Vnder the shadow of her euen browes,
 Working belgards, and amorous retrate,
 And euery one her with a grace endowes:
 And euery one with meekenesse to her bowes.
 So glorious mirrhour of celestiall grace,
 And soueraine monument of mortall vowes,
 How shall fraile pen descriue her heauenly face,
 For feare through want of skill her beautie to disgrace?

xxv

So faire, and thousand thousand times more faire
 She seemd, when she presented was to sight,
 And was yclad, for heat of scorching aire,
 All in a silken Camus lylly whight,
 Purpled vpon with many a folded plight,
 Which all about besprinkled was throughout,
 With golden aygulets, that glistred bright,
 Like twinckling starres, and all the skirt about
 Was hemd with golden fringe

xxvi

Below her ham her weed did somewhat traine,
 And her streight legs most brauely were embayld
 In gilden buskins of costly Cordwaine,
 All bard with golden bendes, which were entayld
 With curious antickes, and full faire aumayld:
 Before they fastned were vnder her knee
 In a rich Iewell, and therein entrayld
 The ends of all their knots, that none might see,
 How they within their fouldings close enwrapped bee.

xxvii

Like two faire marble pillours they were seene,
 Which doe the temple of the Gods support,
 Whom all the people decke with girlands greene,
 And honour in their festiuall resort;
 Those same with stately grace, and princely port
 She taught to tread, when she her selfe would grace,
 But with the wooddie Nymphes when she did sport,
 Or when the flying Libbard she did chace,
 She could them nimbly moue, and after fly apace.

xxviii

And in her hand a sharpe bore-speare she held,
 And at her backe a bow and quiuer gay,
 Stuft with steele-headed darts, wherewith she queld
 The saluage beastes in her victorious play,
 Knit with a golden bauldricke, which forelay
 Athwart her snowy brest, and did diuide
 Her daintie paps; which like young fruit in May
 Now little gan to swell, and being tide,
 Through her thin weed their places only signified.

xxix

Her yellow lockes crisped, like golden wyre,
 About her shoulders weren loosely shed,
 And when the winde emongst them did inspyre,
 They waued like a penon wide dispred,
 And low behinde her backe were scattered:
 And whether art it were, or heedlesse hap,
 As through the flouing forrest rash she fled,
 In her rude haire sweet flowres themselues did lap,
 And flourishing fresh leaues and blossomes did enwrap.

xxx

Such as *Diana* by the sandie shore
 Of swift *Eurotas*, or on *Cynthus* greene,
 Where all the Nymphes haue her vnwares forlore,
 Wandreth alone with bow and arrowes keene,
 To seeke her game: Or as that famous Queene
 Of *Amazons*, whom *Pyrrhus* did destroy,
 The day that first of *Priame* she was seene,
 Did shew her selfe in great triumphant ioy,
 To succour the weake state of sad afflicted *Troy*.

xxxi

Such when as hartlesse *Trompart* her did vew,
He was dismayed in his coward mind,
And doubted, whether he himselfe should shew,
Or fly away, or bide alone behind:
Both feare and hope he in her face did find,
When she at last him spying thus bespake;
Hayle Groome; didst not thou see a bleeding Hind,
Whose right haunch earst my stedfast arrow strake?
If thou didst, tell me, that I may her ouertake.

xxxii

Wherewith reviu'd, this answere forth he threw;
O Goddess, (for such I thee take to bee)
For neither doth thy face terrestriall shew,
Nor voyce sound mortall; I auow to thee,
Such wounded beast, as that, I did not see,
Sith earst into this forrest wild I came.
But mote thy goodlyhed forgiue it mee,
To weet, which of the Gods I shall thee name,
That vnto thee due worship I may rightly frame.

xxxiii

To whom she thus; but ere her words ensewed,
Vnto the bush her eye did suddein glaunce,
In which vaine *Braggadocchio* was mewed,
And saw it stirre: she left her percing launce,
And towards gan a deadly shaft aduaunce,
In mind to marke the beast. At which sad stowre,
Trompart forth stept, to stay the mortall chaunce,
Out crying, O what euer heauenly powre,
Or earthly wight thou be, withhold this deadly howre.

xxxiv

O stay thy hand for yonder is no game
For thy fierce arrowes, them to exercize,
But loe my Lord, my liege, whose warlike name,
Is farre renownd through many bold emprize;
And now in shade he shrowded yonder lies.
She staid: with that he crould out of his nest,
Forth creeping on his caitiue hands and thies,
And standing stoutly vp, his loftie crest
Did fiercely shake, and rowze, as comming late from rest.

xxxv

As fearefull fowle, that long in secret caue xxxvi
For dread of soaring hauke her selfe hath hid,
Not caring how, her silly life to saue,
She her gay painted plumes disorderid,
Seeing at last her selfe from daunger rid,
Peepes foorth, and soone renewes her natiue pride;
She gins her feathers foule disfigured
Proudly to prune, and set on euery side,
So shakes off shame, ne thinks how erst she did her hide.

So when her goodly visage he beheld, xxxvii
He gan himselfe to vaunt: but when he vewed
Those deadly tooles, which in her hand she held,
Soone into other fits he was transmewed,
Till she to him her gracious speach renewed;
All haile, Sir knight, and well may thee befall,
As all the like, which honour haue pursewed
Through deedes of armes and prowesse martiall;
All vertue merits praise, but such the most of all.

To whom he thus; O fairest vnder skie, xxxviii
True be thy words, and worthy of thy praise,
That warlike feats doest highest glorifie.
Therein haue I spent all my youthly daies,
And many battailes fought, and many fraies
Throughout the world, wher so they might be found,
Endeuouring my dreadded name to raise
Aboue the Moone, that fame may it resound
In her eternall trompe, with laurell girland croud.

But what art thou, O Ladie, which doest raunge xxxix
In this wilde forrest, where no pleasure is,
And doest not it for ioyous court exchaunge,
Emongst thine equall peres, where happie blis
And all delight does raigne, much more then this?
There thou maist loue, and dearely loued bee,
And swim in pleasure, which thou here doest mis;
There maist thou best be seene, and best maist see:
The wood is fit for beasts, the court is fit for thee.

Who so in pompe of proud estate (quoth she)
Does swim, and bathes himselfe in courtly blis,
Does waste his dayes in darke obscuritee,
And in obliuion euer buried is:
Where ease abounds, yt's eath to doe amis;
But who his limbs with labours, and his mind
Behaues with cares, cannot so easie mis.
Abroad in armes, at home in studious kind
Who seekes with painfull toile, shall honor soonest find.

xl

In woods, in waues, in warres she wonts to dwell,
And will be found with perill and with paine;
Ne can the man, that moulds in idle cell,
Vnto her happie mansion attaine:
Before her gate high God did Sweat ordaine,
And wakefull watches euer to abide:
But easie is the way, and passage plaine
To pleasures pallace; it may soone be spide,
And day and night her dores to all stand open wide.

xli

In Princes court, The rest she would haue said,
But that the foolish man, fild with delight
Of her sweet words, that all his sence dismaid,
And with her wondrous beautie raiisht quight,
Gan burne in filthy lust, and leaping light,
Thought in his bastard armes her to embrace.
With that she swaruing backe, her Iauelin bright
Against him bent, and fiercely did menace:
So turned her about, and fled away apace.

xlii

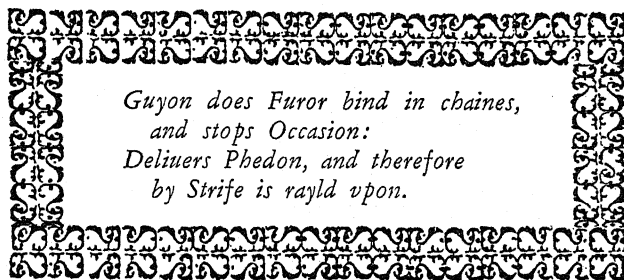
Which when the Peasant saw, amazd he stood,
And griued at her flight; yet durst he not
Pursew her steps, through wild vnknownen wood;
Besides he feard her wrath, and threatned shot
Whiles in the bush he lay, not yet forgot:
Ne car'd he greatly for her presence vaine,
But turning said to *Trompart*, What foule blot
Is this to knight, that Ladie should againe
Depart to woods vntoucht, and leaue so proud disdaine?

xliii

Perdie (said *Trompart*) let her passe at will, xliv
Least by her presence daunger mote befall.
For who can tell (and sure I feare it ill)
But that she is some powre celestiall?
For whiles she spake, her great words did apall
My feeble courage, and my hart oppresse,
That yet I quake and tremble ouer all.
And I (said *Braggadocchio*) thought no lesse,
When first I heard her horne sound with such ghastlinesse.

For from my mothers wombe this grace I haue xlv
Me giuen by eternall destinie,
That earthly thing may not my courage braue
Dismay with feare, or cause on foot to flie,
But either hellish feends, or powres on hie:
Which was the cause, when earst that horne I heard,
Weening it had beene thunder in the skie,
I hid my selfe from it, as one affeard;
But when I other knew, my selfe I boldly reard.

But now for feare of worse, that may betide, xlvi
Let vs soone hence depart. They soone agree;
So to his steed he got, and gan to ride,
As one vnfit therefore, that all might see
He had not trayned bene in cheualree.
Which well that valiant courser did discernie;
For he despysd to tread in dew degree,
But chaufd and fom'd, with courage fierce and sterne,
And to be easd of that base burden still did erne.

Cant. IIII.

IN braue pursuit of honorable deed,
There is I know not what great difference
Betweene the vulgar and the noble seed,
Which vnto things of valorous pretence
Seemes to be borne by natiue influence;
As feates of armes, and loue to entertaine,
But chiefly skill to ride, seemes a science
Proper to gentle blood; some others faine
To menage steeds, as did this vaunter; but in vaine.

i

But he the rightfull owner of that steed,
Who well could menage and subdew his pride,
The whiles on foot was forced for to yeed,
With that blacke Palmer, his most trusty guide;
Who suffred not his wandring feet to slide.
But when strong passion, or weake fleshlinesse
Would from the right way seeke to draw him wide,
He would through temperance and stedfastnesse,
Teach him the weake to strengthen, and the strong suppress.

ii

It fortun'd forth faring on his way,
He saw from farre, or seemed for to see
Some troublous vprore or contentious fray,
Whereto he drew in haste it to agree.
A mad man, or that feigned mad to bee,
Drew by the haire along vpon the ground,
A handsome stripling with great crueltee,
Whom sore he bett, and gor'd with many a wound,
That cheekes with teares, and sides with blood did all abound.

iii

And him behind, a wicked Hag did stalke, iv
In ragged robes, and filthy disaray,
Her other leg was lame, that she no'te walke.
But on a staffe her feeble steps did stay;
Her lockes, that loathly were and hoarie gray,
Grew all afore, and loosely hong vnrold,
But all behind was bald, and worne away,
That none thereof could euer taken hold,
And eke her face ill fauour'd, full of wrinkles old.

And euer as she went, her tongue did walke v
In foule reproch, and termes of vile despight,
Prouoking him by her outrageous talke,
To heape more vengeance on that wretched wight;
Sometimes she raught him stones, wherwith to smite,
Sometimes her staffe, though it her one leg were,
Withouten which she could not go vpright;
Ne any euill meanes she did forbear,
That might him moue to wrath, and indignation reare.

The noble *Guyon* mou'd with great remorse, vi
Approching, first the Hag did thrust away,
And after adding more impetuous forse,
His mightie hands did on the madman lay,
And pluckt him backe; who all on fire streight way,
Against him turning all his fell intent,
With beastly brutish rage gan him assay,
And smot, and bit, and kickt, and scratcht, and rent,
And did he wist not what in his auengement.

And sure he was a man of mickle might, vii
Had he had gouernance, it well to guide:
But when the franticke fit inflamd his spright,
His force was vaine, and strooke more often wide,
Then at the aymed marke, which he had eide:
And oft himselfe he chaunst to hurt vnwares,
Whilst reason blent through passion, nought descride,
But as a blindfold Bull at randon fares, [cares.
And where he hits, nought knowes, and whom he hurts, nought

His rude assault and rugged handeling
 Straunge seemed to the knight, that aye with foe
 In faire defence and goodly menaging
 Of armes was wont to fight, yet nathemoe
 Was he abashed now not fighting so,
 But more enfierced through his currish play,
 Him sternely grypt, and haling to and fro,
 To ouerthrow him strongly did assay,
 But ouerthrew himselfe vnwares, and lower lay.

viii

And being downe the villein sore did beat,
 And bruze with clownish fistes his manly face:
 And eke the Hag with many a bitter threat,
 Still cald vpon to kill him in the place.
 With whose reproch and odious menace
 The knight emboyling in his haughtie hart,
 Knit all his forces, and gan soone vnbrace
 His grasping hold: so lightly did vpstart,
 And drew his deadly weapon, to maintaine his part.

ix

Which when the Palmer saw, he loudly cryde,
 Not so, O *Guyon*, neuer thinke that so
 That Monster can be maistred or destroyd:
 He is not, ah, he is not such a foe,
 As steele can wound, or strength can ouerthrooe.
 That same is *Furor*, cursed cruell wight,
 That vnto knighthood workes much shame and woe;
 And that same Hag, his aged mother, hight
Occasion, the root of all wrath and despight.

x

With her, who so will raging *Furor* tame,
 Must first begin, and well her amenge:
 First her restraine from her reprochfull blame,
 And euill meanes, with which she doth enrage
 Her franticke sonne, and kindles his courage,
 Then when she is withdrawen, or strong withstood,
 It's eath his idle furie to asswage,
 And calme the tempest of his passion wood;
 The bankes are ouerflowen, when stopped is the flood.

xi

Therewith Sir *Guyon* left his first emprise,
And turning to that woman, fast her hent
By the hoare lockes, that hong before her eyes,
And to the ground her threw: yet n'ould she stent
Her bitter rayling and foule reuilement,
But still prouokt her sonne to wreake her wrong;
But nathelesse he did her still torment,
And catching hold of her vngratious tong,
Thereon an yron lock, did fasten firme and strong.

xii

Then when as vse of speach was from her reft,
With her two crooked handes she signes did make,
And beckned him, the last helpe she had left:
But he that last left helpe away did take,
And both her hands fast bound vnto a stake,
That she note stirre. Then gan her sonne to flie
Full fast away, and did her quite forsake;
But *Guyon* after him in haste did hie,
And soone him ouertooke in sad perplexitie.

xiii

In his strong armes he stiffely him embraste,
Who him gainstriuing, nought at all preuaild:
For all his power was vtterly defaste,
And furious fits at earst quite weren quaild:
Oft he re'nforst, and oft his forces fayld,
Yet yield he would not, nor his rancour slacke.
Then him to ground he cast, and rudely hayld,
And both his hands fast bound behind his backe,
And both his feet in fetters to an yron racke.

xiv

With hundred yron chaines he did him bind,
And hundred knots that did him sore constraine:
Yet his great yron teeth he still did grind,
And grimly gnash, threatning reuenge in vaine:
His burning eyen, whom bloudie strakes did staine,
Stared full wide, and threw forth sparkes of fire,
And more for ranck despight, then for great paine,
Shakt his long lockes, colourd like copper-wire,
And bit his tawny beard to shew his raging ire.

xv

Thus when as *Guyon Furor* had captiu'd,
Turning about he saw that wretched Squire,
Whom that mad man of life nigh late depriu'd,
Lying on ground, all soild with bloud and mire:
Whom when as he perceiued to respire,
He gan to comfort, and his wounds to dresse.
Being at last recured, he gan inquire,
What hard mishap him brought to such distresse,
And made that caitiues thral, the thral of wretchednesse.

xvi

With hart then throbbing, and with watry eyes,
Faire Sir (quoth he) what man can shun the hap,
That hidden lyes vnwares him to surpryse?
Misfortune waites aduantage to entrap
The man most warie in her whelming lap.
So me weake wretch, of many weakest one,
Vnweeting, and vnware of such mishap,
She brought to mischief through occasion,
Where this same wicked villain did me light vpon.

xvii

It was a faithlesse Squire, that was the sourse
Of all my sorrow, and of these sad teares,
With whom from tender dug of commune nourse,
Attonce I was vpbrought, and eft when yeares
More rype vs reason lent to chose our Peares,
Our selues in league of vowed loue we knit:
In which we long time without gealous feares,
Or faultie thoughts continewd, as was fit;
And for my part I vow, dissembled not a whit.

xviii

It was my fortune commune to that age,
To loue a Ladie faire of great degree,
The which was borne of noble parentage,
And set in highest seat of dignitee,
Yet seemd no lesse to loue, then loued to bee:
Long I her seru'd, and found her faithfull still,
Ne euer thing could cause vs disagree:
Loue that two harts makes one, makes eke one will:
Each stroue to please, and others pleasure to fulfill.

xix

My friend, hight *Philemon*, I did partake,
 Of all my loue and all my priuitie;
 Who greatly ioyous seemed for my sake,
 And gracious to that Ladie, as to mee,
 Ne euer wight, that mote so welcome bee,
 As he to her, withouten blot or blame,
 Ne euer thing, that she could thinke or see,
 But vnto him she would impart the same:
 O wretched man, that would abuse so gentle Dame.

xx

At last such grace I found, and meanes I wrought,
 That I that Ladie to my spouse had wonne;
 Accord of friends, consent of parents sought,
 Affiance made, my happinesse begonne,
 There wanted nought but few rites to be donne,
 Which mariage make; that day too farre did seeme:
 Most ioyous man, on whom the shining Sunne,
 Did shew his face, my selfe I did esteeme,
 And that my falser friend did no lesse ioyous deeme.

xxi

But ere that wished day his beame disclosd,
 He either enuying my toward good,
 Or of himselfe to treason ill disposd
 One day vnto me came in friendly mood,
 And told for secret how he vnderstood
 That Ladie whom I had to me assynd,
 Had both distaind her honorable blood,
 And eke the faith, which she to me did bynd;
 And therefore wisht me stay, till I more truth should fynd.

xxii

The gnawing anguish and sharpe gelosy,
 Which his sad speech infixd in my brest,
 Ranckled so sore, and festred inwardly,
 That my engreeued mind could find no rest,
 Till that the truth thereof I did outwrest,
 And him besought by that same sacred band
 Betwixt vs both, to counsell me the best.
 He then with solemne oath and plighted hand
 Assur'd, ere long the truth to let me vnderstand.

xxiii

Ere long with like againe he boorded mee,
 Saying, he now had boulded all the floure,
 And that it was a groome of base degree,
 Which of my loue was partner Paramoure:
 Who vsed in a darkesome inner bowre
 Her oft to meet: which better to approue,
 He promised to bring me at that howre,
 When I should see, that would me nearer moue,
 And driue me to withdraw my blind abused loue.

xxiv

This gracelesse man for furtherance of his guile,
 Did court the handmayd of my Lady deare,
 Who glad t'embosome his affection vile,
 Did all she might, more pleasing to appeare.
 One day to worke her to his will more neare,
 He woo'd her thus: *Pryene* (so she hight)
 What great despight doth fortune to thee beare,
 Thus lowly to abase thy beautie bright,
 That it should not deface all others lesser light?

xxv

But if she had her least helpe to thee lent,
 T'adorne thy forme according thy desart,
 Their blazing pride thou wouldest soone haue blent,
 And staynd their prayes with thy least good part;
 Ne should faire *Claribell* with all her art,
 Though she thy Lady be, approch thee neare:
 For prooffe thereof, this euening, as thou art,
 Aray thy selfe in her most gorgeous geare,
 That I may more delight in thy embracement deare.

xxvi

The Maiden proud through prayse, and mad through loue
 Him hearkned to, and soone her selfe arayd,
 The whiles to me the treachour did remoue
 His craftie engin, and as he had sayd,
 Me leading, in a secret corner layd,
 The sad spectatour of my Tragedie;
 Where left, he went, and his owne false part playd,
 Disguised like that groome of base degree,
 Whom he had feignd th'abuser of my loue to bee.

xxvii

Eftsoones he came vnto th'appointed place,
And with him brought *Pryene*, rich arayd,
In *Claribellaes* clothes. Her proper face
I not discerned in that darkesome shade,
But weend it was my loue, with whom he playd.
Ah God, what horroure and tormenting grieve
My hart, my hands, mine eyes, and all assayd?
Me liefer were ten thousand deathes priefe,
Then wound of gealous worme, and shame of such repriefe.

xxviii

I home returning, fraught with fowle despight,
And chawing vengeance all the way I went,
Soone as my loathed loue appeard in sight,
With wrathfull hand I slew her innocent;
That after soone I dearely did lament:
For when the cause of that outrageous deede
Demaunded, I made plaine and euident,
Her faultie Handmayd, which that bale did breede,
Confest, how *Philemon* her wrought to chaunge her weede.

xxix

Which when I heard, with horrible affright
And hellish fury all enragd, I sought
Vpon my selfe that vengeable despight
To punish: yet it better first I thought,
To wreake my wrath on him, that first it wrought.
To *Philemon*, false faytour *Philemon*
I cast to pay, that I so dearely bought;
Of deadly drugs I gaue him drinke anon,
And washt away his guilt with guiltie potion.

xxx

Thus heaping crime on crime, and grieve on grieve,
To losse of loue adioyning losse of frend,
I meant to purge both with a third mischief,
And in my woes beginner it to end:
That was *Pryene*; she did first offend,
She last should smart: with which cruell intent,
When I at her my murderous blade did bend,
She fled away with ghastly dreriment,
And I pursewing my fell purpose, after went.

xxxi

Feare gaue her wings, and rage enforst my flight; xxxii
Through woods and plaines so long I did her chace,
Till this mad man, whom your victorious might
Hath now fast bound, me met in middle space,
As I her, so he me pursewd apace,
And shortly ouertooke: I breathing yre,
Sore chauffed at my stay in such a cace,
And with my heat kindled his cruell fyre;
Which kindled once, his mother did more rage inspyre.

Betwixt them both, they haue me doen to dye, xxxiii
Through wounds, and strokes, and stubborne handeling,
That death were better, then such agony,
As grieve and furie vnto me did bring;
Of which in me yet stickes the mortall sting,
That during life will neuer be appeasd.
When he thus ended had his sorrowing,
Said *Guyon*, Squire, sore haue ye beene diseasd;
But all your hurts may soone through temperance be easd.

Then gan the Palmer thus, Most wretched man, xxxiv
That to affections does the bridle lend;
In their beginning they are weake and wan,
But soone through suff'rance grow to fearefull end;
Whiles they are weake betimes with them contend:
For when they once to perfect strength do grow,
Strong warres they make, and cruell battry bend
Gainst fort of Reason, it to ouerthrow:
Wrath, gelosie, grieve, loue this Squire haue layd thus low.

Wrath, gealosie, grieve, loue do thus expell: xxxv
Wrath is a fire, and gealosie a weede,
Grieve is a flood, and loue a monster fell;
The fire of sparkes, the weede of little seede,
The flood of drops, the Monster filth did breede:
But sparks, seed, drops, and filth do thus delay;
The sparks soone quench, the springing seed outweed,
The drops dry vp, and filth wipe cleane away:
So shall wrath, gealosie, grieve, loue dye and decay.

Vnlucky Squire (said *Guyon*) sith thou hast xxxvi
 Falne into mischiefe through intemperaunce,
 Henceforth take heede of that thou now hast past,
 And guide thy wayes with warie gouernaunce,
 Least worse betide thee by some later chaunce.
 But read how art thou nam'd, and of what kin.
Phedon I hight (quoth he) and do aduaunce
 Mine auncestry from famous *Coradin*,
 Who first to rayse our house to honour did begin.

Thus as he spake, lo far away they spyde xxxvii
 A varlet running towards hastily,
 Whose flying feet so fast their way applyde,
 That round about a cloud of dust did fly,
 Which mingled all with sweate, did dim his eye.
 He soone approched, panting, breathlesse, whot,
 And all so soyld, that none could him descry;
 His countenaunce was bold, and bashed not
 For *Guyons* lookes, but scornefull eyglaunce at him shot.

Behind his backe he bore a brasen shield, xxxviii
 On which was drawen faire, in colours fit,
 A flaming fire in midst of bloudy field,
 And round about the wreath this word was writ,
Burnt I do burne. Right well beseemed it,
 To be the shield of some redoubted knight;
 And in his hand two darts exceeding flit,
 And deadly sharpe he held, whose heads were dight
 In poyson and in bloud, of malice and despight.

When he in presence came, to *Guyon* first xxxix
 He boldly spake, Sir knight, if knight thou bee,
 Abandon this forestalled place at erst,
 For feare of further harme, I counsell thee,
 Or bide the chaunce at thine owne ieoperdie.
 The knight at his great boldnesse wondered,
 And though he scornd his idle vanitie,
 Yet mildly him to purpose answered;
 For not to grow of nought he it coniectured.

Varlet, this place most dew to me I deeme,
Yielded by him, that held it forcibly.
But whence should come that harme, which thou doest seeme
To threat to him, that minds his chaunce t'abye?
Perdy (said he) here comes, and is hard by
A knight of wondrous powre, and great assay,
That neuer yet encountred enemy,
But did him deadly daunt, or fowle dismay;
Ne thou for better hope, if thou his presence stay.

xl

How hight he then (said *Guyon*) and from whence?
Pyrochles is his name, renowmed farre
For his bold feats and hardy confidence,
Full oft approu'd in many a cruell warre,
The brother of *Cymochles*, both which arre
The sonnes of old *Acrates* and *Despight*,
Acrates sonne of *Phlegeton* and *Iarre*;
But *Phlegeton* is sonne of *Herebus* and *Night*;
But *Herebus* sonne of *Aeternitie* is hight.

xli

So from immortall race he does proceede,
That mortall hands may not withstand his might,
Drad for his derring do, and bloudy deed;
For all in bloud and spoile is his delight.
His am I *Atin*, his in wrong and right,
That matter make for him to worke vpon,
And stirre him vp to strife and cruell fight.
Fly therefore, fly this fearefull stead anon,
Least thy foolhardize worke thy sad confusion.

xlii

His be that care, whom most it doth concerne,
(Said he) but whither with such hasty flight
Art thou now bound? for well mote I discerne
Great cause, that carries thee so swift and light.
My Lord (quoth he) me sent, and streight behight
To seeke *Occasion*, where so she bee:
For he is all disposd to bloudy fight,
And breathes out wrath and hainous crueltie;
Hard is his hap, that first fals in his ieopardie.

xliii

Madman (said then the Palmer) that does seeke

xlii

Occasion to wrath, and cause of strife;
She comes vnsought, and shonned followes eke.
Happy, who can abstaine, when Rancour rife
Kindles Reuenge, and threats his rusty knife;
Woe neuer wants, where euery cause is caught,
And rash *Occasion* makes vnquiet life.

Then loe, where bound she sits, whom thou hast sought,
(Said *Guyon*,) let that message to thy Lord be brought.

That when the varlet heard and saw, streight way

xlii

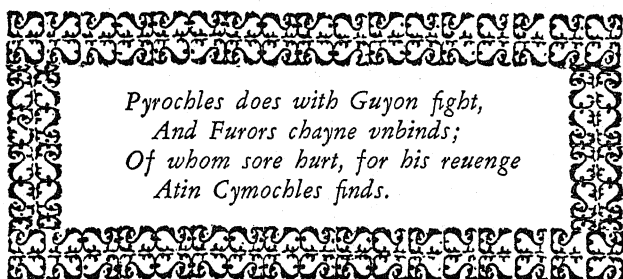
He waxed wondrous wroth, and said, Vile knight,
That knights and knighthood doest with shame vpbay,
And shewst th'ensample of thy childish might,
With silly weake old woman thus to fight.
Great glory and gay spoile sure hast thou got,
And stoutly prou'd thy puissance here in sight;
That shall *Pyrochles* well requite, I wot,
And with thy bloud abolish so reprochfull blot.

With that one of his thrillant darts he threw,

xlii

Headed with ire and vengeable despight;
The quiuering steele his ayimed end well knew,
And to his brest it selfe intended right:
But he was warie, and ere it empight
In the meant marke, aduaunst his shield atweene,
On which it seizing, no way enter might,
But backe rebounding, left the forckhead keene;
Eftsoones he fled away, and might no where be seene.

Cant. V.



WHo euer doth to temperaunce apply
 His stedfast life, and all his actions frame,
 Trust me, shall find no greater enemy,
 Then stubborne perturbation, to the same;
 To which right well the wise do giue that name,
 For it the goodly peace of stayed mindes
 Does ouerthrow, and troublous warre proclame:
 His owne woes authour, who so bound it findes,
 As did *Pyrochles*, and it wilfully vnbindes.

i

After that varlets flight, it was not long,
 Ere on the plaine fast pricking *Guyon* spide
 One in bright armes embatteiled full strong,
 That as the Sunny beames do glaunce and glide
 Vpon the trembling waue, so shined bright,
 And round about him threw forth sparkling fire,
 That seemd him to enflame on euery side:
 His steed was bloudy red, and fomed ire,
 When with the maistring spur he did him roughly stire.

ii

Approching nigh, he neuer stayd to greete,
 Ne chaffar words, prowd courage to prouoke,
 But prickt so fiers, that vnderneath his feete
 The smouldring dust did round about him smoke,
 Both horse and man nigh able for to choke;
 And fairly couching his steele-headed speare,
 Him first saluted with a sturdy stroke;
 It booted nought Sir *Guyon* comming neare
 To thinke, such hideous puissaunce on foot to beare.

iii

But lightly shunned it, and passing by,
With his bright blade did smite at him so fell,
That the sharpe steele arriuing forcibly
On his broad shield, bit not, but glauncing fell
On his horse necke before the quilted sell
And from the head the body sundred quight.
So him dismounted low, he did compell
On foot with him to matchen equall fight;
The truncked beast fast bleeding, did him fowly dight.

iv

Sore bruized with the fall, he slow vprose,
And all enraged, thus him loudly shent;
Disleall knight, whose coward courage chose
To wreake it selfe on beast all innocent,
And shund the marke, at which it should be ment,
Thereby thine armes seeme strong, but manhood fraile;
So hast thou oft with guile thine honour blent;
But litle may such guile thee now auaile,
If wonted force and fortune do not much me faile.

v

With that he drew his flaming sword, and strooke
At him so fiercely, that the vpper marge
Of his seuenfolding shield away it tooke,
And glauncing on his helmet, made a large
And open gash therein: were not his targe,
That broke the violence of his intent,
The weary soule from thence it would discharge;
Nathelesse so sore a buff to him it lent,
That made him reele, and to his brest his beuer bent.

vi

Exceeding wroth was *Guyon* at that blow,
And much ashamd, that stroke of liuing arme
Should him dismay, and make him stoup so low,
Though otherwise it did him litle harme:
Tho hurling high his yron braced arme,
He smote so manly on his shoulder plate,
That all his left side it did quite disarm;
Yet there the steele stayd not, but inly bate
Deepe in his flesh, and opened wide a red floodgate.

vii

Deadly dismayd, with horroure of that dint
Pyrochles was, and griued eke entyre;
Yet nathemore did it his fury stint,
But added flame vnto his former fire,
That welnigh molt his hart in raging yre;
Ne thenceforth his approued skill, to ward,
Or strike, or hurtle round in warlike gyre,
Remembred he, ne car'd for his saufgard,
But rudely rag'd, and like a cruell Tygre far'd.

viii

He hewd, and lasht, and foynd, and thundred blowes,
And euery way did seeke into his life,
Ne plate, ne male could ward so mighty throwes,
But yielded passage to his cruell knife.
But *Guyon*, in the heat of all his strife,
Was warie wise, and closely did awayt
Auauntage, whilest his foe did rage most rife;
Sometimes a thwart, sometimes he strooke him strayt,
And falsed oft his blowes, t'illude him with such bayt.

ix

Like as a Lyon, whose imperiall powre
A prowde rebellious Vnicorne defies,
T'auoide the rash assault and wrathfull stowre
Of his fiers foe, him to a tree applies,
And when him running in full course he spies,
He slips aside; the whiles that furious beast
His precious horne, sought of his enimies,
Strikes in the stocke, ne thence can be releast,
But to the mighty victour yields a bounteous feast.

x

With such faire slight him *Guyon* often faild,
Till at the last all breathlesse, wearie, faint
Him spying, with fresh onset he assaild,
And kindling new his courage seeming queint,
Strooke him so hugely, that through great constraint
He made him stoup perforce vnto his knee,
And do vnwilling worship to the Saint,
That on his shield depainted he did see;
Such homage till that instant neuer learned hee.

xi

- Whom *Guyon* seeing stoup, pursewed fast xii
 The present offer of faire victory,
 And soone his dreadfull blade about he cast,
 Wherewith he smote his haughty crest so hye,
 That streight on ground made him full low to lye;
 Then on his brest his victour foote he thrust,
 With that he cryde, Mercy, do me not dye,
 Ne deeme thy force by fortunes doome vniust,
 That hath (maugre her spight) thus low me laid in dust.
- Eftsoones his cruell hand Sir *Guyon* stayd, xiii
 Tempring the passion with aduizement slow,
 And maistring might on enemy dismayd:
 For th'equall dye of warre he well did know;
 Then to him said, Liue and allegaunce owe,
 To him that giues thee life and libertie,
 And henceforth by this dayes ensample trow,
 That hasty wroth, and heedlesse hazardrie
 Do breede repentaunce late, and lasting infamie.
- So vp he let him rise, who with grim looke xiv
 And count'naunce sterne vpstanding, gan to grind
 His grated teeth for great disdeigne, and shooke
 His sandy lockes, long hanging downe behind,
 Knotted in bloud and dust, for grieve of mind,
 That he in ods of armes was conquered;
 Yet in himselfe some comfort he did find,
 That him so noble knight had maistered,
 Whose bounty more then might, yet both he wondered.
- Which *Guyon* marking said, Be nought agrieu'd, xv
 Sir knight, that thus ye now subdewed arre:
 Was neuer man, who most conquestes atchieu'd
 But sometimes had the worse, and lost by warre,
 Yet shortly gaynd, that losse exceeded farre:
 Losse is no shame, nor to be lesse then foe,
 But to be lesser, then himselfe, doth marre
 Both losers lot, and victours prayse alsoe.
 Vaine others ouerthrowes, who selfe doth ouerthrowe.

Fly, O *Pyrochles*, fly the dreadfull warre,
That in thy selfe thy lesser parts do moue,
Outrageous anger, and woe-working iarre,
Direfull impatience, and hart murdring loue;
Those, those thy foes, those warriours far remoue,
Which thee to endlesse bale captiued lead.
But sith in might thou didst my mercy proue,
Of curtesie to me the cause aread,
That thee against me drew with so impetuous dread.

xvi

Dreadlesse (said he) that shall I soone declare:
It was complaind, that thou hadst done great tort
Vnto an aged woman, poore and bare,
And thralld her in chaines with strong effort,
Voide of all succour and needfull comfort:
That ill beseemes thee, such as I thee see,
To worke such shame. Therefore I thee exhort,
To chaunge thy will, and set *Occasion* free,
And to her captiue sonne yield his first libertee.

xvii

Thereat Sir *Guyon* smilde, And is that all
(Said he) that thee so sore displeased hath?
Great mercy sure, for to enlarge a thrall,
Whose freedome shall thee turne to greatest scath.
Nath'lesse now quench thy whot emboyling wrath:
Loe there they be; to thee I yield them free.
Thereat he wondrous glad, out of the path
Did lightly leape, where he them bound did see,
And gan to breake the bands of their captiuitee.

xviii

Soone as *Occasion* felt her selfe vntyde,
Before her sonne could well assoyled bee,
She to her vse returnd, and streight defyde
Both *Guyon* and *Pyrochles*: th'one (said shee)
Bycause he wonne; the other because hee
Was wonne: So matter did she make of nought,
To stirre vp strife, and do them disagree:
But soone as *Furor* was enlargd, she sought
To kindle his quencht fire, and thousand causes wrought.

xix

It was not long, ere she inflam'd him so,
 That he would algates with *Pyrochles* fight,
 And his redeemer chalengd for his foe,
 Because he had not well mainteind his right,
 But yielded had to that same straunger knight:
 Now gan *Pyrochles* wex as wood, as hee,
 And him affronted with impatient might:
 So both together fiers engrasped bee,
 Whiles *Guyon* standing by, their vncouth strife does see.

xx

Him all that while *Occasion* did prouoke
 Against *Pyrochles*, and new matter framed
 Vpon the old, him stirring to be wroke
 Of his late wrongs, in which she oft him blamed
 For suffering such abuse, as knighthood shamed,
 And him dishabled quite. But he was wise
 Ne would with vaine occasions be inflamed;
 Yet others she more vrgent did deuise:
 Yet nothing could him to impatience entise.

xxi

Their fell contention still increased more,
 And more thereby increased *Furors* might,
 That he his foe has hurt, and wounded sore,
 And him in bloud and durt deformed quight.
 His mother eke, more to augment his spight,
 Now brought to him a flaming fire brond,
 Which she in *Stygian* lake, ay burning bright,
 Had kindled: that she gaue into his hond,
 That armd with fire, more hardly he mote him withstond.

xxii

Tho gan that villein wex so fiers and strong,
 That nothing might sustaine his furious forse;
 He cast him downe to ground, and all along
 Drew him through durt and myre without remorse,
 And fowly battered his comely corse,
 That *Guyon* much disdeignd so loathly sight.
 At last he was compeld to cry perforce,
 Helpe, O Sir *Guyon*, helpe most noble knight,
 To rid a wretched man from hands of hellish wight.

xxiii

The knight was greatly moued at his plaint,
 And gan him dight to succour his distresse,
 Till that the Palmer, by his graue restraint,
 Him stayd from yielding pitifull redresse;
 And said, Deare sonne, thy causelesse ruth represse,
 Ne let thy stout hart melt in pittie vayne:
 He that his sorrow sought through wilfulnesse,
 And his foe fettred would release agayne,
 Deserues to tast his follies fruit, repented payne.

xxiv

Guyon obeyd; So him away he drew
 From needlesse trouble of renewing fight
 Already fought, his voyage to pursew.
 But rash *Pyrochles* varlet, *Atin* hight,
 When late he saw his Lord in heauy plight,
 Vnder Sir *Guyons* puissaunt stroke to fall,
 Him deeming dead, as then he seemd in sight,
 Fled fast away, to tell his funerall
 Vnto his brother, whom *Cymochles* men did call.

xxv

He was a man of rare redoubted might,
 Famous throughout the world for warlike prayse,
 And glorious spoiles, purchast in perilous fight:
 Full many doughtie knights he in his dayes
 Had doen to death, subdewde in equall frayes,
 Whose carkases, for terrour of his name,
 Of fowles and beastes he made the piteous prayes,
 And hong their conquered armes for more defame
 On gallow trees, in honour of his dearest Dame.

xxvi

His dearest Dame is that Enchaunteresse,
 The vile *Acrasia*, that with vaine delightes,
 And idle pleasures in her *Bowre* of *Blisse*,
 Does charme her louers, and the feeble sprightes
 Can call out of the bodies of fraile wightes:
 Whom then she does transforme to monstrous hewes,
 And horribly misshapes with vgly sightes,
 Captiu'd eternally in yron mewes,
 And darksom dens, where *Titan* his face neuer shewes.

xxvii

There *Atin* found *Cymochles* sojourning,
 To serue his Lemans loue: for he by kind,
 Was giuen all to lust and loose liuing,
 When euer his fiers hands he free mote find:
 And now he has pourd out his idle mind
 In daintie delices, and lauish ioyes,
 Hauing his warlike weapons cast behind,
 And flowes in pleasures, and vaine pleasing toyes,
 Mingled emongst loose Ladies and lasciuious boyes.

xxviii

And ouer him, art striuing to compaire
 With nature, did an Arber greene dispred,
 Framed of wanton Yuie, flouing faire,
 Through which the fragrant Eglantine did spred
 His pricking armes, entrayld with roses red,
 Which daintie odours round about them threw,
 And all within with flowres was garnished,
 That when myld *Zephyrus* emongst them blew,
 Did breath out bounteous smels, and painted colors shew.

xxix

And fast beside, there trickled softly downe
 A gentle streame, whose murmuring waue did play
 Emongst the pumy stones, and made a sowne,
 To lull him soft a sleepe, that by it lay;
 The wearie Traueiler, wandring that way,
 Therein did often quench his thristy heat,
 And then by it his wearie limbes display,
 Whiles creeping slomber made him to forget
 His former paine, and wypt away his toylsom sweat.

xxx

And on the other side a pleasaunt groue
 Was shot vp high, full of the stately tree,
 That dedicated is t'*Olympicke Ioue*,
 And to his sonne *Alcides*, whenas hee
 Gaynd in *Nemea* goodly victoree;
 Therein the mery birds of euery sort
 Chaunted alowd their chearefull harmonie:
 And made emongst them selues a sweet consort,
 That quickned the dull spright with musicall comfort.

xxxi

There he him found all carelesly displayd,
In secret shadow from the sunny ray,
On a sweet bed of lillies softly layd,
Amidst a flocke of Damzels fresh and gay,
That round about him dissolute did play
Their wanton follies, and light meriments;
Euery of which did loosely disaray
Her vpper parts of meet habiliments,
And shewd them naked, deckt with many ornaments.

xxxii

And euery of them stroue, with most delights,
Him to aggrate, and greatest pleasures shew;
Some framd faire lookes, glancing like euening lights,
Others sweet words, dropping like honny dew;
Some bathed kisses, and did soft embrew
The sugred licour through his melting lips:
One boastes her beautie, and does yeeld to vew
Her daintie limbes aboue her tender hips;
Another her out boastes, and all for tryall strips.

xxxiii

He, like an Adder, lurking in the weeds,
His wandring thought in deepe desire does steepe,
And his fraile eye with spoyle of beautie feedes;
Sometimes he falsely faines himselfe to sleepe,
Whiles through their lids his wanton eies do peepe,
To steale a snatch of amorous concept,
Whereby close fire into his heart does creepe:
So, he them deceiues, deceiu'd in his deceit,
Made drunke with drugs of deare voluptuous receipt.

xxxiv

Atin arriuing there, when him he spide,
Thus in still waues of deepe delight to wade,
Fiercely approching, to him lowdly cride,
Cymochles; oh no, but *Cymochles* shade,
In which that manly person late did fade,
What is become of great *Acrates* sonne?
Or where hath he hong vp his mortall blade,
That hath so many haughtie conquests wonne?
Is all his force forlorne, and all his glory donne?

xxxv

Then pricking him with his sharpe-pointed dart,
He said; Vp, vp, thou womanish weake knight,
That here in Ladies lap entombed art,
Vnmindfull of thy praise and prowest might,
And weetlesse eke of lately wrought despight,
Whiles sad *Pyrochles* lies on senselesse ground,
And groneth out his vtmost grudging spright,
Through many a stroke, and many a streaming wound,
Calling thy helpe in vaine, that here in ioyes art dround.

xxxvi

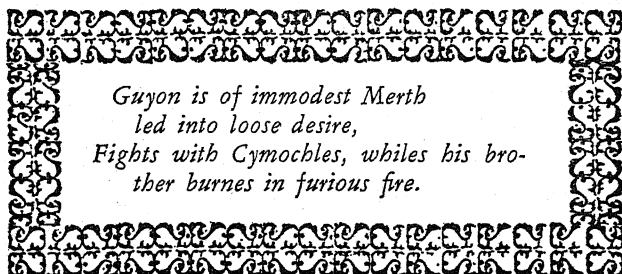
Suddeinly out of his delightfull dreame
The man awoke, and would haue questiond more;
But he would not endure that wofull theame
For to dilate at large, but vrged sore
With percing words, and pittifull implore,
Him hastie to arise. As one affright
With hellish feends, or *Furies* mad vprore,
He then vprose, inflam'd with fell despight,
And called for his armes; for he would algates fight.

xxxvii

They bene ybrought; he quickly does him dight,
And lightly mounted, passeth on his way,
Ne Ladies loues, ne sweete entreaties might
Appease his heat, or hastie passage stay;
For he has vowd, to beene aueng'd that day,
(That day it selfe him seemed all too long:)
On him, that did *Pyrochles* deare dismay:
So proudly pricketh on his courser strong,
And *Atin* aie him pricks with spurs of shame and wrong.

xxxviii

Cant. VI.



A Harder lesson, to learne Continence
 In ioyous pleasure, then in grievous paine:
 For sweetnesse doth allure the weaker sence
 So strongly, that vneathes it can refraine
 From that, which feeble nature couets faine;
 But griepe and wrath, that be her enemies,
 And foes of life, she better can restraine;
 Yet vertue vauntes in both their victories,
 And *Guyon* in them all shewes goodly maisteries.

Whom bold *Cymochles* traueilling to find,
 With cruell purpose bent to wreake on him
 The wrath, which *Atin* kindled in his mind,
 Came to a riuer, by whose vtmost brim
 Wayting to passe, he saw whereas did swim
 A long the shore, as swift as glaunce of eye,
 A litle Gondelay, bedecked trim
 With boughes and arbours wouen cunningly,
 That like a litle forrest seemed outwardly.

And therein sate a Ladie fresh and faire,
 Making sweet solace to her selfe alone;
 Sometimes she sung, as loud as larke in aire,
 Sometimes she laught, that nigh her breth was gone,
 Yet was there not with her else any one,
 That might to her moue cause of meriment:
 Matter of merth enough, though there were none,
 She could deuise, and thousand waies inuent,
 To feede her foolish humour, and vaine iolliment.

Which when farre off *Cymochles* heard, and saw,
He loudly cald to such, as were a bord,
The little barke vnto the shore to draw,
And him to ferrie ouer that deepe ford:
The merry marriner vnto his word
Soone hearkned, and her painted bote streightway
Turnd to the shore, where that same warlike Lord
She in receiu'd; but *Atin* by no way
She would admit, albe the knight her much did pray.

iv

Eftsoones her shallow ship away did slide,
More swift, then swallow sheres the liquid skie,
Withouten oare or Pilot it to guide,
Or winged canuas with the wind to flie,
Only she turn'd a pin, and by and by
It cut away vpon the yielding waue,
Ne cared she her course for to apply:
For it was taught the way, which she would haue,
And both from rocks and flats it selfe could wisely saue.

v

And all the way, the wanton Damzell found
New merth, her passenger to entertaine:
For she in pleasant purpose did abound,
And greatly ioyed merry tales to faine,
Of which a store-house did with her remaine,
Yet seemed, nothing well they her became;
For all her words she drownd with laughter vaine,
And wanted grace in vtt'ring of the same,
That turned all her pleasance to a scoffing game.

vi

And other whiles vaine toyes she would deuize,
As her fantasticke wit did most delight,
Sometimes her head she fondly would aguize
With gaudie girlonds, or fresh flowrets dight
About her necke, or rings of rushes plight;
Sometimes to doe him laugh, she would assay
To laugh at shaking of the leaues light,
Or to behold the water worke, and play
About her litle frigot, therein making way.

vii

Her light behauiour, and loose dalliaunce
Gaued wondrous great contentment to the knight,
That of his way he had no souenaunce,
Nor care of vow'd reuenge, and cruell fight,
But to weake wench did yeeld his martiall might.
So easie was to quench his flamed mind
With one sweet drop of sensuall delight,
So easie is, t'appease the stormie wind
Of malice in the calme of pleasant womankind.

viii

Diuerse discourses in their way they spent,
Mongst which *Cymochles* of her questioned,
Both what she was, and what that vsage ment,
Which in her cot she daily practised.
Vaine man (said she) that wouldest be reckoned
A straunger in thy home, and ignoraunt
Of *Phædria* (for so my name is red)
Of *Phædria*, thine owne fellow seruaunt;
For thou to serue *Acrasia* thy selfe doest vaunt.

ix

In this wide Inland sea, that hight by name
The *Idle lake*, my wandering ship I row,
That knowes her port, and thither sailes by ayme,
Ne care, ne feare I, how the wind do blow,
Or whether swift I wend, or whether slow:
Both slow and swift a like do serue my tourne,
Ne swelling *Neptune*, ne loud thundring *Ioue*
Can chaunge my cheare, or make me euer mourne;
My litle boat can safely passe this perilous bourne.

x

Whiles thus she talked, and whiles thus she toyd,
They were farre past the passage, which he spake,
And come vnto an Island, waste and voyd,
That floted in the midst of that great lake,
There her small Gondelay her port did make,
And that gay paire issuing on the shore
Disburdned her. Their way they forward take
Into the land, that lay them faire before,
Whose pleasaunce she him shew'd, and plentifull great store.

xi

- It was a chosen plot of fertile land, xii
Emongst wide waues set, like a litle nest,
As if it had by Natures cunning hand
Bene choisely picked out from all the rest,
And laid forth for ensample of the best:
No daintie flowre or herbe, that growes on ground,
No arboret with painted blossomes drest,
And smelling sweet, but there it might be found
To bud out faire, and her sweet smels throw all around.
- No tree, whose braunches did not brauely spring; xiii
No braunch, whereon a fine bird did not sit:
No bird, but did her shrill notes sweetly sing;
No song but did containe a louely dit:
Trees, braunches, birds, and songs were framed fit,
For to allure fraile mind to carelesse ease.
Carelesse the man soone woxe, and his weake wit
Was ouercome of thing, that did him please;
So pleased, did his wrathfull purpose faire appease.
- Thus when she had his eyes and senses fed xiv
With false delights, and fild with pleasures vaine,
Into a shadie dale she soft him led,
And laid him downe vpon a grassie plaine;
And her sweet selfe without dread, or disdaine,
She set beside, laying his head disarm'd
In her loose lap, it softly to sustaine,
Where soone he slumbred, fearing not be harm'd,
The whiles with a loud lay she thus him sweetly charm'd.
- Behold, O man, that toilesome paines doest take, xv
The flowres, the fields, and all that pleasant growes,
How they themselues doe thine ensample make,
Whiles nothing enuious nature them forth throwes
Out of her fruitfull lap; how, no man knowes,
They spring, they bud, they blossome fresh and faire,
And deck the world with their rich pompous showes;
Yet no man for them taketh paines or care,
Yet no man to them can his carefull paines compare.

The lilly, Ladie of the flowring field,
The Flowre-deluce, her louely Paramoure,
Bid thee to them thy fruitlesse labours yield,
And soone leaue off this toylesome wearie stoure;
Loe loe how braue she decks her bounteous boure,
With silken curtens and gold couerlets,
Therein to shrowd her sumptuous Belamoure,
Yet neither spinnes nor cardes, ne cares nor frets,
But to her mother Nature all her care she lets.

xvi

Why then dost thou, O man, that of them all
Art Lord, and eke of nature Soueraine,
Wilfully make thy selfe a wretched thrall,
And wast thy ioyous houres in needlesse paine,
Seeking for daunger and aduentures vaine?
What bootes it all to haue, and nothing vse?
Who shall him rew, that swimming in the maine,
Will die for thirst, and water doth refuse?
Refuse such fruitlesse toile, and present pleasures chuse.

xvii

By this she had him lulled fast a sleepe,
That of no worldly thing he care did take;
Then she with liquors strong his eyes did steepe,
That nothing should him hastily awake:
So she him left, and did her selfe betake
Vnto her boat againe, with which she cleft
The slouthfull waue of that great griesly lake;
Soone she that Island farre behind her left,
And now is come to that same place, where first she weft.

xviii

By this time was the worthy *Guyon* brought
Vnto the other side of that wide strond,
Where she was rowing, and for passage sought:
Him needed not long call, she soone to hond
Her ferry brought, where him she byding fond,
With his sad guide; himselfe she tooke a boord,
But the *Blacke Palmer* suffred still to stond,
Ne would for price, or prayers once affoord,
To ferry that old man ouer the perlous foord.

xix

Guyon was loath to leaue his guide behind,
Yet being entred, might not backe retyre;
For the flit barke, obaying to her mind,
Forth launched quickly, as she did desire,
Ne gaue him leaue to bid that aged sire
Adieu, but nimbly ran her wonted course
Through the dull billowes thicke as troubled mire,
Whom neither wind out of their seat could forse,
Nor timely tides did driue out of their sluggish sourse.

xx

And by the way, as was her wonted guize,
Her merry fit she freshly gan to reare,
And did of ioy and iollitie deuize,
Her selfe to cherish, and her guest to cheare:
The knight was courteous, and did not forbear
Her honest merth and pleasaunce to partake;
But when he saw her toy, and gibe, and geare,
And passe the bonds of modest merimake,
Her dalliance he despisd, and follies did forsake.

xxi

Yet she still followed her former stile,
And said, and did all that mote him delight,
Till they arriued in that pleasant Ile,
Where sleeping late she left her other knight.
But when as *Guyon* of that land had sight,
He wist himselfe amisse, and angry said;
Ah Dame, perdie ye haue not doen me right,
Thus to mislead me, whiles I you obaid:
Me litle needed from my right way to haue straid.

xxii

Faire Sir (quoth she) be not displeasd at all;
Who fares on sea, may not commaund his way,
Ne wind and weather at his pleasure call:
The sea is wide, and easie for to stray;
The wind vnstable, and doth neuer stay.
But here a while ye may in safety rest,
Till season serue new passage to assay;
Better safe port, then be in seas distrest.
Therewith she laught, and did her earnest end in iest.

xxiii

But he halfe discontent, mote nathelesse
Himselfe appease, and issewd forth on shore:
The ioyes whereof, and happie fruitfulnessse,
Such as he saw, she gan him lay before,
And all though pleasant, yet she made much more:
The fields did laugh, the flowres did freshly spring,
The trees did bud, and earely blossomes bore,
And all the quire of birds did sweetly sing,
And told that gardins pleasures in their caroling.

xxiv

And she more sweet, then any bird on bough,
Would oftentimes emongst them beare a part,
And striue to passe (as she could well enough)
Their natiue musicke by her skilfull art:
So did she all, that might his constant hart
Withdraw from thought of warlike enterprize,
And drowne in dissolute delights apart,
Where noyse of armes, or vew of martiall guize
Might not reuiue desire of knightly exercize.

xxv

But he was wise, and warie of her will,
And euer held his hand vpon his hart:
Yet would not seeme so rude, and thewed ill,
As to despise so courteous seeming part,
That gentle Ladie did to him impart,
But fairely tempring fond desire subdewd,
And euer her desired to depart.
She list not heare, but her disports poursewd,
And euer bad him stay, till time the tide renewd.

xxvi

And now by this, *Cymochles* howre was spent,
That he awoke out of his idle dreme,
And shaking off his drowzie dreriment,
Gan him auize, how ill did him beseeme,
In slouthfull sleepe his molten hart to steme,
And quench the brond of his conceiued ire.
Tho vp he started, stird with shame extreme,
Ne staied for his Damzell to inquire,
But marched to the strond, there passage to require.

xxvii

And in the way he with Sir *Guyon* met,
 Accompanyde with *Phædria* the faire,
 Eftsoones he gan to rage, and inly fret,
 Crying, Let be that Ladie debonaire,
 Thou recreant knight, and soone thy selfe prepaire
 To battell, if thou meane her loue to gaine:
 Loe, loe already, how the fowles in aire
 Doe flocke, awaiting shortly to obtaine
 Thy carcasse for their pray, the guerdon of thy paine.

xxviii

And therewithall he fiercely at him flew,
 And with importune outrage him assayld;
 Who soone prepar'd to field, his sword forth drew,
 And him with equall value counteruayld:
 Their mightie strokes their haberieons dismayld,
 And naked made each others manly spalles;
 The mortall steele despiteously entayld
 Deepe in their flesh, quite through the yron walles,
 That a large purple streme adown their giambeux falles.

xxix

Cymochles, that had neuer met before
 So puissant foe, with enuious despight
 His proud presumed force increased more,
 Disdeigning to be held so long in fight;
 Sir *Guyon* grudging not so much his might,
 As those vnknighly raylings, which he spoke,
 With wrathfull fire his courage kindled bright,
 Thereof deuising shortly to be wroke,
 And doubling all his powres, redoubled euery stroke.

xxx

Both of them high attonce their hands enhaunst,
 And both attonce their huge blowes downe did sway;
Cymochles sword on *Guyons* shield yglaunst,
 And thereof nigh one quarter sheard away;
 But *Guyons* angry blade so fierce did play
 On th'others helmet, which as *Titan* shone,
 That quite it cloue his plumed crest in tway,
 And bared all his head vnto the bone;
 Wherewith astonisht, still he stood, as senselesse stone.

xxxi

Still, as he stood, faire *Phædria*, that beheld
That deadly daunger, soone atweene them ran;
And at their feet her selfe most humbly feld,
Crying with pitteous voice, and count'nance wan;
Ah well away, most noble Lords, how can
Your cruell eyes endure so pitteous sight,
To shed your liues on ground? wo worth the man,
That first did teach the cursed steele to bight
In his owne flesh, and make way to the liuing spright.

xxxii

If euer loue of Ladie did emperce
Your yron brestes, or pittie could find place,
Withhold your bloudie hands from battell fierce,
And sith for me ye fight, to me this grace
Both yeeld, to stay your deadly strife a space.
They stayd a while: and forth she gan proceed:
Most wretched woman, and of wicked race,
That am the author of this hainous deed,
And cause of death betweene two doughtie knights doe breed.

xxxiii

But if for me ye fight, or me will serue,
Not this rude kind of battell, nor these armes
Are meet, the which doe men in bale to sterue,
And dolefull sorrow heape with deadly harmes:
Such cruell game my scarmoges disarmes:
Another warre, and other weapons I
Doe loue, where loue does giue his sweet alarmes,
Without bloudshed, and where the enemy
Does yeeld vnto his foe a pleasant victory.

xxxiv

Debatefull strife, and cruell enmitie
The famous name of knighthood fowly shend;
But louely peace, and gentle amitie,
And in Amours the passing houres to spend,
The mightie martiall hands doe most commend;
Of loue they euer greater glory bore,
Then of their armes: *Mars* is *Cupidoes* frend,
And is for *Venus* loues renowmed more,
Then all his wars and spoiles, the which he did of yore.

xxxv

Therewith she sweetly smyld. They though full bent, xxxvi
To proue extremities of bloudie fight,
Yet at her speach their rages gan relent,
And calme the sea of their tempestuous spight,
Such powre haue pleasing words: such is the might
Of courteous clemencie in gentle hart.
Now after all was ceast, the Faery knight
Besought that Damzell suffer him depart,
And yield him readie passage to that other part.

She no lesse glad, then he desirous was xxxvii
Of his departure thence; for of her ioy
And vaine delight she saw he light did pas,
A foe of folly and immodest toy,
Still solemne sad, or still disdainfull coy,
Delighting all in armes and cruell warre,
That her sweet peace and pleasures did annoy,
Troubled with terrour and vnquiet iarre,
That she well pleased was thence to amoue him farre.

Tho him she brought aboard, and her swift bote xxxviii
Forthwith directed to that further strand;
The which on the dull waues did lightly flote
And soone arriued on the shallow sand,
Where gladsome *Guyon* salied forth to land,
And to that Damzell thanks gaue for reward.
Vpon that shore he spied *Atin* stand,
There by his maister left, when late he far'd
In *Phædrias* flit barke ouer that perlous shard.

Well could he him remember, sith of late xxxix
He with *Pyrochles* sharp debatement made;
Streight gan he him reuile, and bitter rate,
As shepheards curre, that in darke euenings shade
Hath tracted forth some saluage beastes trade;
Vile Miscreant (said he) whither doest thou flie
The shame and death, which will thee soone inuade?
What coward hand shall doe thee next to die,
That art thus foully fled from famous enemye?

With that he stiffely shooke his steelehead dart:
But sober *Guyon*, hearing him so raile,
Though somewhat moued in his mightie hart,
Yet with strong reason maistred passion fraile,
And passed fairely forth. He turning taile,
Backe to the strond retyrd, and there still stayd,
Awaiting passage, which him late did faile;
The whiles *Cymochles* with that wanton mayd
The hastie heat of his auowd reuenge delayd.

xl

Whylest there the varlet stood, he saw from farre
An armed knight, that towards him fast ran,
He ran on foot, as if in lucklesse warre
His forlorne steed from him the victour wan;
He seemed breathlesse, hartlesse, faint, and wan,
And all his armour sprinckled was with bloud,
And soyld with durtie gore, that no man can
Discerne the hew thereof. He neuer stood,
But bent his hastie course towards the idle flood.

xli

The varlet saw, when to the flood he came,
How without stop or stay he fiercely lept,
And deepe him selfe beduked in the same,
That in the lake his loftie crest was steept,
Ne of his safetie seemed care he kept,
But with his raging armes he rudely flasht
The waues about, and all his armour swept,
That all the bloud and filth away was washt,
Yet still he bet the water, and the billowes dasht.

xlii

Atin drew nigh, to weet what it mote bee;
For much he wondred at that vncouth sight;
Whom should he, but his owne deare Lord, there see,
His owne deare Lord *Pyrochles*, in sad plight,
Readie to drowne himselfe for fell despight.
Harrow now out, and well away, he cryde,
What dismall day hath lent this cursed light,
To see my Lord so deadly damnifyde?
Pyrochles, O *Pyrochles*, what is thee betyde?

xliii

I burne, I burne, I burne, then loud he cryde,
 O how I burne with implacable fire,
 Yet nought can quench mine inly flaming syde,
 Nor sea of licour cold, nor lake of mire,
 Nothing but death can doe me to respire.
 Ah be it (said he) from *Pyrochles* farre
 After pursewing death once to require,
 Or think, that ought those puissant hands may marre:
 Death is for wretches borne vnder vnhappy starre.

xliv

Perdie, then is it fit for me (said he)
 That am, I weene, most wretched man aliue,
 Burning in flames, yet no flames can I see,
 And dying daily, daily yet reuiue:
 O *Atin*, helpe to me last death to giue.
 The varlet at his plaint was griued so sore,
 That his deepe wounded hart in two did riue,
 And his owne health remembring now no more,
 Did follow that ensample, which he blam'd afore.

xlv

Into the lake he leapt, his Lord to ayd,
 (So Loue the dread of daunger doth despise)
 And of him catching hold him strongly stayd
 From drowning. But more happie he, then wise
 Of that seas nature did him not aise.
 The waues thereof so slow and sluggish were,
 Engrost with mud, which did them foule agrise,
 That euery weightie thing they did vpbeare,
 Ne ought mote euer sinke downe to the bottome there.

xlvi

Whiles thus they struggled in that idle waue,
 And stroue in vaine, the one himselfe to drowne,
 The other both from drowning for to saue,
 Lo, to that shore one in an auncient gowne,
 Whose hoarie locks great grauitie did crowne,
 Holding in hand a goodly arming sword,
 By fortune came, led with the troublous sowne:
 Where drenched deepe he found in that dull ford
 The carefull seruant, striuing with his raging Lord.

xlvii

Him *Atin* spying, knew right well of yore,
 And loudly cald, Helpe helpe, O *Archimage*;
 To saue my Lord, in wretched plight forlore;
 Helpe with thy hand, or with thy counsell sage:
 Weake hands, but counsell is most strong in age.
 Him when the old man saw, he wondred sore,
 To see *Pyrochles* there so rudely rage:
 Yet sithens helpe, he saw, he needed more
 Then pittie, he in hast approached to the shore.

xlvi

And cald, *Pyrochles*, what is this, I see?
 What hellish furie hath at earst thee hent?
 Furious euer I thee knew to bee,
 Yet neuer in this straunge astonishment.
 These flames, these flames (he cryde) do me torment.
 What flames (quoth he) when I thee present see,
 In daunger rather to be dreht, then brent?
 Harrow, the flames, which me consume (said hee)
 Ne can be quencht, within my secret bowels bee.

xlix

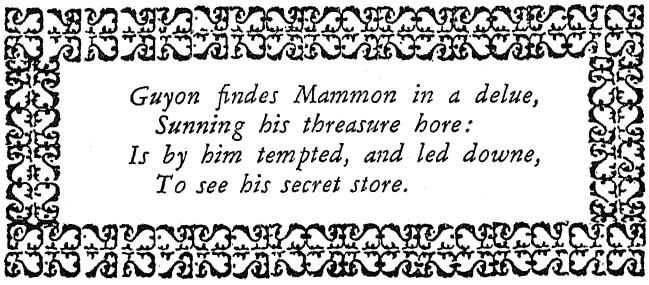
That cursed man, that cruell feend of hell,
Furor, oh *Furor* hath me thus bedight:
 His deadly wounds within my liuers swell,
 And his whot fire burnes in mine entrails bright,
 Kindled through his infernall brond of spight,
 Sith late with him I batteil vaine would boste;
 That now I weene *Ioues* dreaded thunder light
 Does scorch not halfe so sore, nor damned ghoste
 In flaming *Phlegeton* does not so felly roste.

l

Which when as *Archimago* heard, his griefe
 He knew right well, and him attonce disarmd:
 Then searcht his secret wounds, and made a priefe
 Of euery place, that was with brusing harmd,
 Or with the hidden fire too inly warmd.
 Which done, he balmes and herbes thereto applyde,
 And euermore with mighty spels them charmd,
 That in short space he has them qualifyde,
 And him restor'd to health, that would haue algates dyde.

li

Cant. VII.



*Guyon findes Mammon in a delue,
Sunning his threasure hore:
Is by him tempted, and led downe,
To see his secret store.*

AS Pilot well expert in perilous waue,
That to a stedfast starre his course hath bent,
When foggy mistes, or cloudy tempests haue
The faithfull light of that faire lampe yblent,
And couer'd heauen with hideous dreriment,
Vpon his card and compas firmes his eye,
The maisters of his long experiment,
And to them does the steddy helme apply,
Bidding his winged vessell fairely forward fly.

i

So *Guyon* hauing lost his trusty guide,
Late left beyond that *Ydle lake*, proceedes
Yet on his way, of none accompanide;
And euermore himselfe with comfort feedes,
Of his owne vertues, and prayse-worthy deedes.
Long so he yode, yet no aduenture found,
Which fame of her shrill trompet worthy reedes:
For still he traueild through wide wastfull ground,
That nought but desert wilderness shew'd all around.

ii

At last he came vnto a gloomy glade,
Couer'd with boughes and shrubs from heauens light,
Whereas he sitting found in secret shade
An vncouth, saluage, and vnciuile wight,
Of griesly hew, and fowle ill fauour'd sight;
His face with smoke was tand, and eyes were belear'd,
His head and beard with sout were ill bedight,
His cole-blacke hands did seeme to haue beene seard
In smithes fire-spitting forge, and nayles like clawes appeared.

iii

His yron coate all ouergrowne with rust,
Was vnderneath enueloped with gold,
Whose glistring glosse darkned with filthy dust,
Well it appeared, to haue beene of old
A worke of rich entayle, and curious mould,
Wouen with antickes and wild Imagery:
And in his lap a masse of coyne he told,
And turned vpsidowne, to feede his eye
And couetous desire with his huge threasury.

iv

And round about him lay on euery side
Great heapes of gold, that neuer could be spent:
Of which some were rude owre, not purifide
Of *Mulcibers* deuouring element;
Some others were new driuen, and distent
Into great Ingoes, and to wedges square;
Some in round plates withouten moniment;
But most were stampd, and in their metall bare
The antique shapes of kings and kesars straunge and rare.

v

Soone as he *Guyon* saw, in great affright
And hast he rose, for to remoue aside
Those pretious hils from straungers enuious sight,
And downe them poured through an hole full wide,
Into the hollow earth, them there to hide.
But *Guyon* lightly to him leaping, stayd
His hand, that trembled, as one terrifyde;
And though him selfe were at the sight dismayd,
Yet him perforce restraynd, and to him doubtfull sayd.

vi

What art thou man, (if man at all thou art)
That here in desert hast thine habitaunce,
And these rich heapes of wealth doest hide apart
From the worldes eye, and from her right vsaunce?
Thereat with staring eyes fixed askaunce,
In great disdaine, he answerd; Hardy Elfe,
That darest vew my direfull countenaunce,
I read thee rash, and heedlesse of thy selfe,
To trouble my still seate, and heapes of pretious pelfe.

vii

God of the world and worldlings I me call,
Great *Mammon*, greatest god below the skye,
That of my plenty poure out vnto all,
And vnto none my graces do enuye:
Riches, renowme, and principality,
Honour, estate, and all this worldes good,
For which men swinck and sweat incessantly,
Fro me do flow into an ample flood,
And in the hollow earth haue their eternall brood.

viii

Wherefore if me thou deigne to serue and sew,
At thy commaund lo all these mountaines bee;
Or if to thy great mind, or greedy vew
All these may not suffise, there shall to thee
Ten times so much be numbred francke and free.
Mammon (said he) thy godheades vaunt is vaine,
And idle offers of thy golden fee;
To them, that couet such eye-glutting gaine,
Proffer thy giftes, and fitter seruaunts entertaine.

ix

Me ill besits, that in der-doing armes,
And honours suit my vowed dayes do spend,
Vnto thy bounteous baytes, and pleasing charmes,
With which weake men thou witchest, to attend:
Regard of worldly mucke doth fowly blend,
And low abase the high heroicke spright,
That ioyes for crownes and kingdomes to contend;
Faire shields, gay steedes, bright armes be my delight:
Those be the riches fit for an aduent'rous knight.

x

Vaine glorious Elfe (said he) doest not thou weet,
That money can thy wantes at will supply?
Sheilds, steeds, and armes, and all things for thee meet
It can puruay in twinckling of an eye;
And crownes and kingdomes to thee multiply.
Do not I kings create, and throw the crowne
Sometimes to him, that low in dust doth ly?
And him that raignd, into his rowme thrust downe,
And whom I lust, do heape with glory and renowne?

xi

All otherwise (said he) I riches read, xii
And deeme them roote of all disquietnesse;
First got with guile, and then preseru'd with dread,
And after spent with pride and lauishnesse,
Leauing behind them grieve and heauinesse.
Infinite mischiefes of them do arize,
Strife, and debate, bloudshed, and bitterness,
Outrageous wrong, and hellish couetize,
That noble heart as great dishonour doth despize.

Ne thine be kingdomes, ne the scepters thine; xiii
But realmes and rulers thou doest both confound,
And loyall truth to treason doest incline;
Witnessse the guiltlesse bloud pourd oft on ground,
The crowned often slaine, the slayer croud,
The sacred Diademe in peeces rent,
And purple robe gored with many a wound;
Castles surprizd, great cities sackt and brent:
So mak'st thou kings, and gaynest wrongfull gouernement.

Long were to tell the troublous stormes, that tosse xiv
The priuate state, and make the life vnsweet:
Who swelling sayles in Caspian sea doth crosse,
And in frayle wood on *Adrian* gulfe doth fleet,
Doth not, I weene, so many euils meet.
Then *Mammon* waxing wroth, And why then, said,
Are mortall men so fond and vndiscreet,
So euill thing to seeke vnto their ayd,
And hauing not complaine, and hauing it vpbraid?

Indeede (quoth he) through fowle intemperaunce, xv
Frayle men are oft captiu'd to couetise:
But would they thinke, with how small allowaunce
Vntroubled Nature doth her selfe suffise,
Such superfluities they would despise,
Which with sad cares empeach our natiue ioyes:
At the well head the purest streames arise:
But mucky filth his braunching armes annoyes,
And with vncomely weedes the gentle waue accloyes.

The antique world, in his first flowring youth, xvi
 Found no defect in his Creatours grace,
 But with glad thanks, and vnreproued truth,
 The gifts of soueraigne bountie did embrace:
 Like Angels life was then mens happy cace;
 But later ages pride, like corn-fed steed,
 Abusd her plenty, and fat swolne encrease
 To all licentious lust, and gan exceed
 The measure of her meane, and naturall first need.

Then gan a cursed hand the quiet wombe xvii
 Of his great Grandmother with steele to wound,
 And the hid treasures in her sacred tombe,
 With Sacriledge to dig. Therein he found
 Fountaines of gold and siluer to abound,
 Of which the matter of his huge desire
 And pompous pride eftsoones he did compound;
 Then auarice gan through his veines inspire
 His greedy flames, and kindled life-deuouring fire.

Sonne (said he then) let be thy bitter scorne, xviii
 And leaue the rudenesse of that antique age
 To them, that liu'd therein in state forlorne;
 Thou that doest liue in later times, must wage
 Thy workes for wealth, and life for gold engage.
 If then thee list my offred grace to vse,
 Take what thou please of all this surplusage;
 If thee list not, leaue haue thou to refuse:
 But thing refused, do not afterward accuse.

Me list not (said the Elfin knight) receaue xix
 Thing offred, till I know it well be got,
 Ne wote I, but thou didst these goods bereaue
 From rightfull owner by vnrighteous lot,
 Or that bloud guiltinesse or guile them blot.
 Perdy (quoth he) yet neuer eye did vew,
 Ne tounge did tell, ne hand these handled not,
 But safe I haue them kept in secret mew,
 From heauens sight, and powre of all which them pursew.

What secret place (quoth he) can safely hold
So huge a masse, and hide from heauens eye?
Or where hast thou thy wonne, that so much gold
Thou canst preserue from wrong and robbery?
Come thou (quoth he) and see. So by and by
Through that thicke couert he him led, and found
A darkesome way, which no man could descry,
That deepe descended through the hollow ground,
And was with dread and horroure compassed around.

xx

At length they came into a larger space,
That stretcht it selfe into an ample plaine,
Through which a beaten broad high way did trace,
That streight did lead to *Plutoes* griesly raine:
By that wayes side, there sate infernall Payne,
And fast beside him sat tumultuous Strife:
The one in hand an yron whip did straine,
The other brandished a bloody knife,
And both did gnash their teeth, and both did threaten life.

xxi

On thother side in one consort there sate,
Cruell Reuenge, and rancorous Despight,
Disloyall Treason, and hart-burning Hate,
But gnawing Gealosie out of their sight
Sitting alone, his bitter lips did bight,
And trembling Feare still to and fro did fly,
And found no place, where safe he shroud him might,
Lamenting Sorrow did in darknesse lye.
And Shame his vgly face did hide from liuing eye.

xxii

And ouer them sad Horroure with grim hew,
Did alwayes sore, beating his yron wings;
And after him Owles and Night-rauens flew,
The hatefull messengers of heauy things,
Of death and dolour telling sad tidings;
Whiles sad *Celeno*, sitting on a clift,
A song of bale and bitter sorrow sings,
That hart of flint a sunder could haue rift:
Which hauing ended, after him she flyeth swift.

xxiii

All these before the gates of *Pluto* lay,
 By whom they passing, spake vnto them nought.
 But th'Elfin knight with wonder all the way
 Did feed his eyes, and fild his inner thought.
 At last him to a litle dore he brought,
 That to the gate of Hell, which gaped wide,
 Was next adioyning, ne them parted ought:
 Betwixt them both was but a litle stride,
 That did the house of Richesse from hell-mouth diuide.

xxiv

Before the dore sat selfe-consuming Care,
 Day and night keeping wary watch and ward,
 For feare least Force or Fraud should vnaware
 Breake in, and spoile the treasure there in gard:
 Ne would he suffer Sleepe once thither-ward
 Approch, albe his drowsie den were next;
 For next to death is Sleepe to be compard:
 Therefore his house is vnto his annex;
 Here Sleep, there Richesse, and Hel-gate them both betwext.

xxv

So soone as *Mammon* there arriu'd, the dore
 To him did open, and afforded way;
 Him followed eke Sir *Guyon* euermore,
 Ne darkenesse him, ne daunger might dismay.
 Soone as he entred was, the dore streight way
 Did shut, and from behind it forth there lept
 An vgly feend, more fowle then dismall day,
 The which with monstrous stalke behind him stept,
 And euer as he went, dew watch vpon him kept.

xxvi

Well hoped he, ere long that hardy guest,
 If euer couetous hand, or lustfull eye,
 Or lips he layd on thing, that likt him best,
 Or euer sleepe his eye-strings did vntye,
 Should be his pray. And therefore still on hye
 He ouer him did hold his cruell clawes,
 Threatning with greedy gripe to do him dye
 And rend in peeces with his rauinous pawes,
 If euer he transgrest the fatall *Stygian* lawes.

xxvii

That houses forme within was rude and strong, xxviii
Like an huge caue, hewne out of rocky clift,
From whose rough vault the ragged breaches hong,
Embossed with massy gold of glorious gift,
And with rich metall loaded euery rift,
That heauy ruine they did seeme to threat;
And ouer them *Arachne* high did lift
Her cunning web, and spread her subtile net,
Enwrapped in fowle smoke and clouds more blacke then Iet.

Both rooffe, and floore, and wals were all of gold, xxix
But ouergrowne with dust and old decay,
And hid in darkenesse, that none could behold
The hew thereof: for view of chearefull day
Did neuer in that house it selfe display,
But a faint shadow of vncertain light;
Such as a lamp, whose life does fade away:
Or as the Moone cloathed with cloudy night,
Does shew to him, that walkes in feare and sad affright.

In all that rowme was nothing to be seene, xxx
But huge great yron chests and coffers strong,
All bard with double bends, that none could weene
Them to efforce by violence or wrong;
On euery side they placed were along.
But all the ground with sculs was scattered,
And dead mens bones, which round about were flong,
Whose liues, it seemed, whilome there were shed,
And their vile carcasses now left vnburied.

They forward passe, ne *Guyon* yet spoke word, xxxi
Till that they came vnto an yron dore,
Which to them opened of his owne accord,
And shewd of riches such exceeding store,
As eye of man did neuer see before;
Ne euer could within one place be found,
Though all the wealth, which is, or was of yore,
Could gathered be through all the world around,
And that aboue were added to that vnder ground.

The charge thereof vnto a couetous Spright
Commaunded was, who thereby did attend,
And warily awaited day and night,
From other couetous feends it to defend,
Who it to rob and ransacke did intend.
Then *Mammon* turning to that warriour, said;
Loe here the worldes blis, loe here the end,
To which all men do ayme, rich to be made:
Such grace now to be happy, is before thee laid.

xxxii

Certes (said he) I n'll thine offred grace,
Ne to be made so happy do intend:
Another blis before mine eyes I place,
Another happinesse, another end.
To them, that list, these base regards I lend:
But I in armes, and in atchieuements braue,
Do rather choose my flitting houres to spend,
And to be Lord of those, that riches haue,
Then them to haue my selfe, and be their seruile sclaue.

xxxiii

Thereat the feend his gnashing teeth did grate,
And grieu'd, so long to lacke his greedy pray;
For well he weened, that so glorious bayte
Would tempt his guest, to take thereof assay:
Had he so doen, he had him snatcht away,
More light then Culuer in the Faulcons fist.
Eternall God thee saue from such decay.
But whenas *Mammon* saw his purpose mist,
Him to entrap vnwares another way he wist.

xxxiv

Thence forward he him led, and shortly brought
Vnto another rowme, whose dore forthright,
To him did open, as it had beene taught:
Therein an hundred raunges weren pight,
And hundred fornaces all burning bright;
By euery fornace many feends did bide,
Deformed creatures, horrible in sight,
And euery feend his busie paines applide,
To melt the golden metall, ready to be tride.

xxxv

One with great bellowes gathered filling aire,
And with forst wind the fewell did inflame;
Another did the dying bronds repaire
With yron touns, and sprinckled oft the same
With liquid waues, fiers *Vulcans* rage to tame,
Who maistring them, renewd his former heat;
Some scumd the drosse, that from the metall came;
Some stird the molten owre with ladles great;
And euery one did swincke, and euery one did sweat.

xxxvi

But when as earthly wight they present saw,
Glistring in armes and battailous aray,
From their whot worke they did themselues withdraw
To wonder at the sight: for till that day,
They neuer creature saw, that came that way.
Their staring eyes sparckling with feruent fire,
And vgly shapes did nigh the man dismay,
That were it not for shame, he would retire,
Till that him thus bespake their soueraigne Lord and sire.

xxxvii

Behold, thou Faeries sonne, with mortall eye,
That liuing eye before did neuer see:
The thing, that thou didst craue so earnestly,
To weet, whence all the wealth late shewd by mee,
Proceeded, lo now is reueald to thee.
Here is the fountaine of the worldes good:
Now therefore, if thou wilt enriched bee,
Auisse thee well, and chaunge thy wilfull mood,
Least thou perhaps hereafter wish, and be withstood.

xxxviii

Suffise it then, thou Money God (quoth hee)
That all thine idle offers I refuse.
All that I need I haue; what needeth mee
To couet more, then I haue cause to vse?
With such vaine shewes thy worldlings vile abuse:
But giue me leaue to follow mine emprise.
Mammon was much displeasd, yet no'te he chuse,
But beare the rigour of his bold mesprise,
And thence him forward led, him further to entise.

xxxix

He brought him through a darksome narrow strait, xi
 To a broad gate, all built of beaten gold:
 The gate was open, but therein did wait
 A sturdy villein, striding stiffe and bold,
 As if that highest God defie he would;
 In his right hand an yron club he held,
 But he himselfe was all of golden mould,
 Yet had both life and sence, and well could weld
 That cursed weapon, when his cruell foes he queld.

Disdayne he called was, and did disdain xli
 To be so cald, and who so did him call:
 Sterne was his looke, and full of stomacke vaine,
 His portaunce terrible, and stature tall,
 Far passing th'hight of men terrestriall;
 Like an huge Gyant of the *Titans* race,
 That made him scorne all creatures great and small,
 And with his pride all others powre deface:
 More fit amongst blacke fiendes, then men to haue his place.

Soone as those glitterand armes he did espye, xlii
 That with their brightnesse made that darknesse light,
 His harmefull club he gan to hurtle hye,
 And threaten batteill to the Faery knight;
 Who likewise gan himselfe to batteill dight,
 Till *Mammon* did his hasty hand withhold,
 And counseld him abstaine from perilous fight:
 For nothing might abash the villein bold,
 Ne mortall steele emperce his miscreated mould.

So hauing him with reason pacifide, xliii
 And the fiers Carle commaunding to forbear,
 He brought him in. The rowme was large and wide,
 As it some Gyeld or solemne Temple weare:
 Many great golden pillours did vpbeare
 The massy roofe, and riches huge sustayne,
 And euery pillour decked was full deare
 With crownes and Diademes, and titles vaine,
 Which mortall Princes wore, whiles they on earth did rayne.

A route of people there assembled were,
Of euery sort and nation vnder skye,
Which with great vpror preaced to draw nere
To th'vpper part, where was aduaunced hye
A stately siege of soueraigne maiestye;
And thereon sat a woman gorgeous gay,
And richly clad in robes of royaltye,
That neuer earthly Prince in such aray
His glory did enhaunce, and pompous pride display.

xliv

Her face right wondrous faire did seeme to bee,
That her broad beauties beam great brightnes threw
Through the dim shade, that all men might it see:
Yet was not that same her owne natiue hew,
But wrought by art and counterfett shew,
Thereby more louers vnto her to call;
Nath'lesse most heauenly faire in deed and vew
She by creation was, till she did fall;
Thenceforth she sought for helps, to cloke her crime withall.

xlv

There, as in glistring glory she did sit,
She held a great gold chaine ylincked well,
Whose vpper end to highest heauen was knit,
And lower part did reach to lowest Hell;
And all that preace did round about her swell,
To catchen hold of that long chaine, thereby
To clime aloft, and others to excell:
That was *Ambition*, rash desire to sty,
And euery lincke thereof a step of dignity.

xlvi

Some thought to raise themselues to high degree,
By riches and vnrighteous reward,
Some by close shouldring, some by flatteree;
Others through friends, others for base regard;
And all by wrong wayes for themselues prepard.
Those that were vp themselues, kept others low,
Those that were low themselues, held others hard,
Ne suffred them to rise or greater grow,
But euery one did striue his fellow downe to throw.

xlvii

Which whenas *Guyon* saw, he gan inquire,
 What meant that preace about that Ladies throne,
 And what she was that did so high aspire.
 Him *Mammon* answered; That goodly one,
 Whom all that folke with such contention,
 Do flocke about, my deare, my daughter is;
 Honour and dignitie from her alone,
 Deriued are, and all this worldes blis
 For which ye men do striue: few get, but many mis.

xlvi

And faire *Philotime* she rightly hight,
 The fairest wight that wonneth vnder skye,
 But that this darksome neather world her light
 Doth dim with horreur and deformitie,
 Worthy of heauen and hye felicitie,
 From whence the gods haue her for enuy thrust:
 But sith thou hast found fauour in mine eye,
 Thy spouse I will her make, if that thou lust,
 That she may thee aduaunce for workes and merites iust.

xlix

Gramercy *Mammon* (said the gentle knight)
 For so great grace and offred high estate;
 But I, that am fraile flesh and earthly wight,
 Vnworthy match for such immortall mate
 My selfe well wote, and mine vnequall fate;
 And were I not, yet is my trouth yplight,
 And loue auowd to other Lady late,
 That to remoue the same I haue no might:
 To chaunge loue causelesse is reproch to warlike knight.

1

Mammon emmoued was with inward wrath;
 Yet forcing it to faine, him forth thence led
 Through griesly shadowes by a beaten path,
 Into a gardin goodly garnished
 With hearbs and fruits, whose kinds mote not be red:
 Not such, as earth out of her fruitfull wombe
 Throwes forth to men, sweet and well sauoured,
 But direfull deadly blacke both leafe and bloom,
 Fit to adorne the dead, and decke the drery toombe.

li

There mournfull *Cypresse* grew in greatest store,
And trees of bitter *Gall*, and *Heben* sad,
Dead sleeping *Poppy*, and blacke *Hellebore*,
Cold *Coloquintida*, and *Tetra* mad,
Mortall *Samnitis*, and *Cicuta* bad,
With which th'vniust *Atheniens* made to dy
Wise *Socrates*, who thereof quaffing glad
Pourd out his life, and last Philosophy
To the faire *Critias* his dearest Belamy.

lii

The *Gardin of Proserpina* this hight;
And in the midst thereof a siluer seat,
With a thicke Arber goodly ouer dight,
In which she often vsd from open heat
Her selfe to shroud, and pleasures to entreat.
Next thereunto did grow a goodly tree,
With braunches broad dispred and body great,
Clothed with leaues, that none the wood mote see
And loaden all with fruit as thicke as it might bee.

liii

Their fruit were golden apples glistring bright,
That goodly was their glory to behold,
On earth like neuer grew, ne liuing wight
Like euer saw, but they from hence were sold;
For those, which *Hercules* with conquest bold
Got from great *Atlas* daughters, hence began,
And planted there, did bring forth fruit of gold:
And those with which th'*Eubæan* young man wan
Swift *Atalanta*, when through craft he her out ran.

liv

Here also sprong that goodly golden fruit,
With which *Acontius* got his loue trew,
Whom he had long time sought with fruitlesse suit:
Here eke that famous golden Apple grew,
The which emongst the gods false *Ate* threw;
For which th'*Idæan* Ladies disagreed,
Till partiall *Paris* dempt it *Venus* dew,
And had of her, faire *Helen* for his meed,
That many noble *Greekes* and *Troians* made to bleed.

lv

The warlike elfe, much wondred at this tree,
 So faire and great, that shadowed all the ground,
 And his broad braunches, laden with rich fee,
 Did stretch themselues without the vtmost bound
 Of this great gardin, compast with a mound,
 Which ouer-hanging, they themselues did steepe,
 In a blacke flood which flow'd about it round;
 That is the riuier of *Cocytus* deepe,
 In which full many soules do endlesse waile and weepe.

lvi

Which to behold, he clomb vp to the banke,
 And looking downe, saw many damned wights,
 In those sad waues, which direfull deadly stanke,
 Plonged continually of cruell Sprights,
 That with their pitteous cryes, and yelling shrights,
 They made the further shore resounden wide:
 Emongst the rest of those same ruefull sights,
 One cursed creature, he by chaunce espide,
 That drenched lay full deepe, vnder the Garden side.

lvii

Deepe was he drenched to the vpmost chin,
 Yet gaped still, as coueting to drinke
 Of the cold liquor, which he waded in,
 And stretching forth his hand, did often thinke
 To reach the fruit, which grew vpon the brincke:
 But both the fruit from hand, and floud from mouth
 Did flie abacke, and made him vainely swinke:
 The whiles he steru'd with hunger and with drouth
 He daily dyde, yet neuer throughly dyen couth.

lviii

The knight him seeing labour so in vaine,
 Askt who he was, and what he ment thereby:
 Who groning deepe, thus answerd him againe;
 Most cursed of all creatures vnder skye,
 Lo *Tantalus*, I here tormented lye:
 Of whom high *Ioue* wont whylome feasted bee,
 Lo here I now for want of food doe dye:
 But if that thou be such, as I thee see,
 Of grace I pray thee, giue to eat and drinke to mee.

lix

Nay, nay, thou greedie *Tantalus* (quoth he)
Abide the fortune of thy present fate,
And vnto all that liue in high degree,
Ensample be of mind intemperate,
To teach them how to vse their present state.
Then, gan the cursed wretch aloud to cry,
Accusing highest *Ioue* and gods ingrate,
And eke blaspheming heauen bitterly,
As authour of vniustice, there to let him dye.

lx

He lookt a little further, and espyde
Another wretch, whose carkasse deepe was drent
Within the riuer, which the same did hyde:
But both his hands most filthy feculent,
Aboue the water were on high extent,
And faynd to wash themselues incessantly;
Yet nothing cleaner were for such intent,
But rather fowler seemed to the eye;
So lost his labour vaine and idle industry.

lxi

The knight him calling, asked who he was,
Who lifting vp his head, him answerd thus:
I *Pilate* am the falsest Iudge, alas,
And most vniust, that by vnrighteous
And wicked doome, to Iewes despiteous
Deliuered vp the Lord of life to die,
And did acquite a murdrer felonous;
The whiles my hands I washt in puritie,
The whiles my soule was soyld with foule iniquitie.

lxii

Infinite moe, tormented in like paine
He there beheld, too long here to be told:
Ne *Mammon* would there let him long remaine,
For terrour of the tortures manifold,
In which the damned soules he did behold,
But roughly him bespake. Thou fearefull foole,
Why takest not of that same fruit of gold,
Ne sittest downe on that same siluer stoole,
To rest thy wearie person, in the shadow coole.

lxiii

All which he did, to doe him deadly fall
In frayle intemperance through sinfull bayt;
To which if he inclined had at all,
That dreadfull feend, which did behind him wayt,
Would him haue rent in thousand peeces strayt:
But he was warie wise in all his way,
And well perceiued his deceitfull sleight,
Ne suffred lust his safetie to betray;
So goodly did beguile the Guyler of the pray.

lxiv

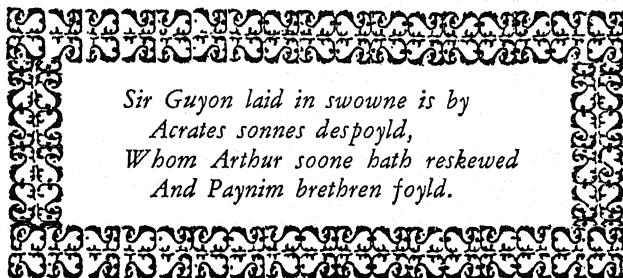
And now he has so long remained there,
That vitall powres gan wexe both weake and wan,
For want of food, and sleepe, which two vpbeare,
Like mightie pillours, this fraile life of man,
That none without the same endure can.
For now three dayes of men were full outwrought,
Since he this hardie enterprize began:
For thy great *Mammon* fairely he besought,
Into the world to guide him backe, as he him brought.

lxv

The God, though loth, yet was constraind t'obay,
For lenger time, then that, no liuing wight
Below the earth, might suffred be to stay:
So backe againe, him brought to liuing light.
But all so soone as his enfeebled spright
Gan sucke this vitall aire into his brest,
As ouercome with too exceeding might,
The life did flit away out of her nest,
And all his senses were with deadly fit opprest.

lxvi

Cant. VIII.



And is there care in heauen? and is there loue
 In heauenly spirits to these creatures bace,
 That may compassion of their euils moue?
 There is: else much more wretched were the cace
 Of men, then beasts. But O th'exceeding grace
 Of highest God, that loues his creatures so,
 And all his workes with mercy doth embrace,
 That blessed Angels, he sends to and fro,
 To serue to wicked man, to serue his wicked foe.

How oft do they, their siluer bowers leaue,
 To come to succour vs, that succour want?
 How oft do they with golden pineons, cleaue
 The flitting skyes, like flying Pursuiuant,
 Against foule feends to aide vs millitant?
 They for vs fight, they watch and dewly ward,
 And their bright Squadrons round about vs plant,
 And all for loue, and nothing for reward:
 O why should heauenly God to men haue such regard?

During the while, that *Guyon* did abide
 In *Mammons* house, the Palmer, whom whyleare
 That wanton Mayd of passage had denide,
 By further search had passage found elsewhere,
 And being on his way, approched neare,
 Where *Guyon* lay in traunce, when suddenly
 He heard a voice, that called loud and cleare,
 Come hither, come hither, O come hastily;
 That all the fields resounded with the ruefull cry.

i

ii

iii

The Palmer lent his eare vnto the noyce,
To weet, who called so importunely:
Againe he heard a more efforced voyce,
That bad him come in haste. He by and by
His feeble feet directed to the cry;
Which to that shadie delue him brought at last,
Where *Mammon* earst did sunne his threasury:
There the good *Guyon* he found slumbring fast
In senselesse dreame; which sight at first him sore aghast.

iv

Beside his head there sate a faire young man,
Of wondrous beautie, and of freshest yeares,
Whose tender bud to blossome new began,
And flourish faire aboue his equall peares;
His snowy front curled with golden heares,
Like *Phœbus* face adornd with sunny rayes,
Diuinely shone, and two sharpe winged sheares,
Decked with diuerse plumes, like painted layes,
Were fixed at his backe, to cut his ayerie wayes.

v

Like as *Cupido* on *Idæan* hill,
When hauing laid his cruell bow away,
And mortall arrowes, wherewith he doth fill
The world with murdrous spoiles and bloudie pray,
With his faire mother he him dights to play,
And with his goodly sisters, *Graces* three;
The Goddesses pleased with his wanton play,
Suffers her selfe through sleepe beguild to bee,
The whiles the other Ladies mind their merry glee.

vi

Whom when the Palmer saw, abasht he was
Through fear and wonder, that he nought could say,
Till him the child bespoke, Long lackt, alas,
Hath bene thy faithfull aide in hard assay,
Whiles deadly fit thy pupill doth dismay;
Behold this heauie sight, thou reuerend Sire,
But dread of death and dolour doe away;
For life ere long shall to her home retire,
And he that breathlesse seemes, shal corage bold respire.

vii

The charge, which God doth vnto me arret,
Of his deare safetie, I to thee commend;
Yet will I not forgoe, ne yet forget
The care thereof my selfe vnto the end,
But euermore him succour, and defend
Against his foe and mine: watch thou I pray;
For euill is at hand him to offend.
So hauing said, eftsoones he gan display
His painted nimble wings, and vanisht quite away.

viii

The Palmer seeing his left empty place,
And his slow eyes beguiled of their sight,
Woxe sore affraid, and standing still a space,
Gaz'd after him, as fowle escapt by flight;
At last him turning to his charge behight,
With trembling hand his troubled pulse gan try;
Where finding life not yet dislodged quight,
He much reioyst, and coud it tenderly,
As chicken newly hatcht, from dreaded destiny.

ix

At last he spide, where towards him did pace
Two Paynim knights, all armd as bright as skie,
And them beside an aged Sire did trace,
And farre before a light-foot Page did flie,
That breathed strife and troublous enmitie;
Those were the two sonnes of *Acrates* old,
Who meeting earst with *Archimago* slie,
Foreby that idle strond, of him were told,
That he, which earst them combatted, was *Guyon* bold.

x

Which to auenge on him they dearely vowd,
Where euer that on ground they mote him fynd;
False *Archimage* prouokt their courage prowld,
And stryfull *Atin* in their stubborne mynd
Coles of contention and whot vengeance tynd.
Now bene they come, whereas the Palmer sate,
Keeping that slombred corse to him assynd;
Well knew they both his person, sith of late
With him in bloudie armes they rashly did debate.

xi

Whom when *Pyrochles* saw, inflam'd with rage,
 That sire he foule bespake, Thou dotard vile,
 That with thy brutenesse shendst thy comely age,
 Abandone soone, I read, the caitiue spoile
 Of that same outcast carkasse, that erewhile
 Made it selfe famous through false trechery,
 And crownd his coward crest with knightly stile;
 Loe where he now inglorious doth lye,
 To proue he liued ill, that did thus foully dye.

xii

To whom the Palmer fearelesse answered;
 Certes, Sir knight, ye bene too much to blame,
 Thus for to blot the honour of the dead,
 And with foule cowardize his carkasse shame,
 Whose liuing hands immortalizd his name.
 Vile is the vengeance on the ashes cold,
 And enuie base, to barke at sleeping fame:
 Was neuer wight, that treason of him told;
 Your selfe his prowesse prou'd and found him fiers and bold.

xiii

Then said *Cymochles*; Palmer, thou doest dote,
 Ne canst of prowesse, ne of knighthood deeme,
 Saue as thou seest or hearst. But well I wote,
 That of his puissance tryall made extreeme;
 Yet gold all is not, that doth golden seeme,
 Ne all good knights, that shake well speare and shield:
 The worth of all men by their end esteeme,
 And then due praise, or due reproch them yield;
 Bad therefore I him deeme, that thus lies dead on field.

xiv

Good or bad (gan his brother fierce reply)
 What doe I recke, sith that he dyde entire?
 Or what doth his bad death now satisfy
 The greedy hunger of reuenging ire,
 Sith wrathfull hand wrought not her owne desire?
 Yet since no way is left to wreake my spight,
 I will him reauue of armes, the victors hire,
 And of that shield, more worthy of good knight;
 For why should a dead dog be deckt in armour bright?

xv

Faire Sir, said then the Palmer suppliaunt,
For knighthoods loue, do not so foule a deed,
Ne blame your honour with so shamefull vaunt
Of vile reuenge. To spoile the dead of weed
Is sacrilege, and doth all sinnes exceed;
But leaue these relicks of his liuing might,
To decke his herce, and trap his tomb-blacke steed.
What herce or steede (said he) should he haue dight,
But be entombed in the rauē or the kight?

xvi

With that, rude hand vpon his shield he laid,
And th'other brother gan his helme vnlace,
Both fiercely bent to haue him disaraid;
Till that they spide, where towards them did pace
An armed knight, of bold and bounteous grace,
Whose squire bore after him an heben launce,
And couerd shield. Well kend him so farre space
Th'enchauter by his armes and amenaunce,
When vnder him he saw his Lybian steed to prauince.

xvii

And to those brethren said, Rise rise by liue,
And vnto battell doe your selues addresse;
For yonder comes the prowest knight aliue,
Prince *Arthur*, flowre of grace and nobillesse,
That hath to Paynim knights wrought great distresse,
And thousand Sar'zins foully donne to dye.
That word so deepe did in their harts impresse,
That both eftsoones vpstarted furiously,
And gan themselues prepare to battell greedily.

xviii

But fierce *Pyrochles*, lacking his owne sword,
The want thereof now greatly gan to plaine,
And *Archimage* besought, him that afford,
Which he had brought for *Braggadocchio* vaine.
So would I (said th'enchauter) glad and faine
Beteeme to you this sword, you to defend,
Or ought that else your honour might maintaine,
But that this weapons powre I well haue kend,
To be contrarie to the worke, which ye intend.

xix

For that same knights owne sword this is of yore,
Which *Merlin* made by his almightie art
For that his noursling, when he knighthood swore,
Therewith to doen his foes eternall smart.
The metall first he mixt with *Medæwart*,
That no enchauntment from his dint might saue;
Then it in flames of *Aetna* wrought apart,
And seuen times dipped in the bitter waue
Of hellish *Styx*, which hidden vertue to it gaue.

The vertue is, that neither steele, nor stone
The stroke thereof from entrance may defend;
Ne euer may be vsed by his fone,
Ne forst his rightfull owner to offend,
Ne euer will it breake, ne euer bend.
Wherefore *Morddure* it rightfully is hight.
In vaine therefore, *Pyrochles*, should I lend
The same to thee, against his lord to fight,
For sure it would deceiue thy labour, and thy might.

Foolish old man, said then the Pagan wroth,
That weenest words or charmes may force withstond:
Soone shalt thou see, and then beleeeue for troth,
That I can carue with this inchaunted brond
His Lords owne flesh. Therewith out of his hond
That vertuous steele he rudely snatcht away,
And *Guyons* shield about his wrest he bond;
So readie dight, fierce battaile to assay,
And match his brother proud in battailous array.

By this that straunger knight in presence came,
And goodly salued them; who nought againe
Him answered, as courtesie became,
But with sterne lookes, and stomachous disdaine,
Gaued signes of grudge and discontentment vaine:
Then turning to the Palmer, he gan spy
Where at his feete, with sorrowfull demaine
And deadly hew, an armed corse did lye,
In whose dead face he red great magnanimity.

Said he then to the Palmer, Reuerend syre,
What great misfortune hath betidd this knight?
Or did his life her fatall date expyre,
Or did he fall by treason, or by fight?
How euer, sure I rew his pitteous plight.
Not one, nor other, (said the Palmer graue)
Hath him befalne, but cloudes of deadly night
A while his heauie eylids couer'd haue,
And all his senses drowned in deepe senselesse waue.

xxiv

Which, those his cruell foes, that stand hereby,
Making aduantage, to reuenge their spight,
Would him disarm, and threaten shamefully,
Vnworthy vsage of redoubted knight.
But you, faire Sir, whose honorable sight
Doth promise hope of helpe, and timely grace,
Mote I beseech to succour his sad plight,
And by your powre protect his feeble cace.
First praise of knighthood is, foule outrage to deface.

xxv

Palmer, (said he) no knight so rude, I weene,
As to doen outrage to a sleeping ghost:
Ne was there euer noble courage seene,
That in aduantage would his puissance bost:
Honour is least, where oddes appeareth most.
May be, that better reason will asswage
The rash reuengers heat. Words well dispost
Haue secret powre, t'appease inflamed rage:
If not, leaue vnto me thy knights last patronage.

xxvi

Tho turning to those brethren, thus bespoke,
Ye warlike payre, whose valorous great might
It seemes, iust wrongs to vengeance doe prouoke,
To wreake your wrath on this dead seeming knight,
Mote ought allay the storme of your despight,
And settle patience in so furious heat?
Not to debate the chalenge of your right,
But for this carkasse pardon I entreat,
Whom fortune hath alreadie laid in lowest seat.

xxvii

To whom *Cymochles* said; For what art thou,
 That mak'st thy selfe his dayes-man, to prolong
 The vengeance prest? Or who shall let me now,
 On this vile bodie from to wreake my wrong,
 And make his carkasse as the outcast dong?
 Why should not that dead carrion satisfie
 The guilt, which if he liued had thus long,
 His life for due reuenge should deare abie?
 The trespasse still doth liue, albe the person die.

xxviii

Indeed (then said the Prince) the euill donne
 Dyes not, when breath the bodie first doth leaue,
 But from the grandsyre to the Nephewes sonne,
 And all his seed the curse doth often cleaue,
 Till vengeance vtterly the guilt bereaue:
 So streightly God doth iudge. But gentle knight,
 That doth against the dead his hand vpheauē,
 His honour staines with rancour and despight,
 And great disparagment makes to his former might.

xxix

Pyrochles gan reply the second time,
 And to him said, Now felon sure I read,
 How that thou art partaker of his crime:
 Therefore by *Termagaunt* thou shalt be dead.
 With that his hand, more sad then lomp of lead,
 Vplifting high, he weened with *Morddure*,
 His owne good sword *Morddure*, to cleaue his head.
 The faithfull steele such treason no'uld endure,
 But swaruing from the marke, his Lords life did assure.

xxx

Yet was the force so furious and so fell,
 That horse and man it made to reele aside;
 Nath'lesse the Prince would not forsake his sell:
 For well of yore he learned had to ride,
 But full of anger fiercely to him cride;
 False traitour miscreant, thou broken hast
 The law of armes, to strike foe vndefide.
 But thou thy treasons fruit, I hope, shalt taste
 Right sowre, and feele the law, the which thou hast defast.

xxxi

With that his balefull speare, he fiercely bent xxxii
Against the Pagans brest, and therewith thought
His cursed life out of her lodge haue rent:
But ere the point arriued, where it ought,
That seuen-fold shield, which he from *Guyon* brought
He cast betwene to ward the bitter stound:
Through all those foldes the steelehead passage wrought
And through his shoulder pierst; wherwith to ground
He groueling fell, all gored in his gushing wound.

Which when his brother saw, fraught with great grieve xxxiii
And wrath, he to him leaped furiously,
And fowly said, By *Mahoune*, cursed thiefe,
That direfull stroke thou dearely shalt aby.
Then hurling vp his harmefull blade on hye,
Smote him so hugely on his haughtie crest,
That from his saddle forced him to fly:
Else mote it needes downe to his manly brest
Haue cleft his head in twaine, and life thence dispossesest.

Now was the Prince in daungerous distresse, xxxiv
Wanting his sword, when he on foot should fight:
His single speare could doe him small redresse,
Against two foes of so exceeding might,
The least of which was match for any knight.
And now the other, whom he earst did daunt,
Had reard himselfe againe to cruell fight,
Three times more furious, and more puissaunt,
Vnmindfull of his wound, of his fate ignoraunt.

So both attonce him charge on either side, xxxv
With hideous strokes, and importable powre,
That forced him his ground to trauerse wide,
And wisely watch to ward that deadly stowre:
For in his shield, as thicke as stormie showre,
Their strokes did raine, yet did he neuer quaile,
Ne backward shrinke, but as a stedfast towre,
Whom foe with double battry doth assaile,
Them on her bulwarke beares, and bids them nought auaile.

So stoutly he withstood their strong assay, xxxvi
 Till that at last, when he aduantage spyde,
 His poinant speare he thrust with puissant sway
 At proud *Cymochles*, whiles his shield was wyde,
 That through his thigh the mortall steele did gryde:
 He swaruing with the force, within his flesh
 Did breake the launce, and let the head abyde:
 Out of the wound the red bloud flowed fresh,
 That vnderneath his feet soone made a purple plesh.

Horribly then he gan to rage, and rayle, xxxvii
 Cursing his Gods, and himselfe damning deepe:
 Als when his brother saw the red bloud rayle
 Adowne so fast, and all his armour steepe,
 For very felnesse lowd he gan to weepe,
 And said, Caytiue, curse on thy cruell hond,
 That twise hath sped; yet shall it not thee keepe
 From the third brunt of this my fatall brond:
 Loe where the dreadfull Death behind thy backe doth stond.

With that he strooke, and th'other strooke withall, xxxviii
 That nothing seem'd mote beare so monstrous might:
 The one vpon his couered shield did fall,
 And glauncing downe would not his owner byte:
 But th'other did vpon his troncheon smyte,
 Which hewing quite a sunder, further way
 It made, and on his hacqueton did lyte,
 The which diuiding with importune sway,
 It seizd in his right side, and there the dint did stay.

Wyde was the wound, and a large lukewarme flood, xxxix
 Red as the Rose, thence gushed grieuously;
 That when the Paynim spyde the streaming blood,
 Gaue him great hart, and hope of victory.
 On th'other side, in huge perplexity,
 The Prince now stood, hauing his weapon broke;
 Nought could he hurt, but still at ward did ly:
 Yet with his troncheon he so rudely stroke
Cymochles twise, that twise him forst his foot reuke.

Whom when the Palmer saw in such distresse, xl
Sir *Guyons* sword he lightly to him raught,
And said; Faire Son, great God thy right hand blesse,
To vse that sword so wisely as it ought.
Glad was the knight, and with fresh courage fraught,
When as againe he armed felt his hond;
Then like a Lion, which hath long time saught
His robbed whelpes, and at the last them fond
Amongst the shepheard swaynes, then wexeth wood and yond.

So fierce he laid about him, and dealt blowes xli
On either side, that neither mayle could hold,
Ne shield defend the thunder of his throwes:
Now to *Pyrochles* many strokes he told;
Eft to *Cymochles* twise so many fold:
Then backe againe turning his busie hond,
Them both attonce compeld with courage bold,
To yield wide way to his hart-thrilling brond;
And though they both stood stiffe, yet could not both withstond.

As saluage Bull, whom two fierce mastiues bayt, xlii
When rancour doth with rage him once engore,
Forgets with warie ward them to awayt,
But with his dreadfull hornes them driues afore,
Or flings aloft, or treads downe in the flore,
Breathing out wrath, and bellowing disdaine,
That all the forrest quakes to heare him rore:
So rag'd Prince *Arthur* twixt his foemen twaine,
That neither could his mightie puissance sustaine.

But euer at *Pyrochles* when he smit, xliii
Who *Guyons* shield cast euer him before,
Whereon the Faery Queenes pourtract was writ,
His hand relented, and the stroke forbore,
And his deare hart the picture gan adore,
Which oft the Paynim sau'd from deadly stowre.
But him henceforth the same can saue no more;
For now arriued is his fatall howre,
That no'te auoyded be by earthly skill or powre.

For when *Cymochles* saw the fowle reproch, xliv
Which them appeached, prickt with guilty shame,
And inward griefe, he fiercely gan approach,
Resolu'd to put away that loathly blame,
Or dye with honour and desert of fame;
And on the hauberk stroke the Prince so sore,
That quite disparted all the linked frame,
And pierced to the skin, but bit no more,
Yet made him twise to reele, that neuer moou'd afore.

Whereat renfierst with wrath and sharpe regret, xlv
He stroke so hugely with his borrowd blade,
That it empierst the Pagans burganet,
And cleauing the hard steele, did deepe inuade
Into his head, and cruell passage made
Quite through his braine. He tombling downe on ground,
Breathd out his ghost, which to th'infernall shade
Fast flying, there eternall torment found,
For all the sinnes, wherewith his lewd life did abound.

Which when his german saw, the stony feare xlvi
Ran to his hart, and all his sence dismayd,
Ne thenceforth life ne courage did appeare,
But as a man, whom hellish feends haue frayd,
Long trembling still he stood: at last thus sayd;
Traytour what hast thou doen? how euer may
Thy cursed hand so cruelly haue swayd
Against that knight: Harrow and well away,
After so wicked deed why liu'st thou lenger day?

With that all desperate as loathing light, xlvii
And with reuenge desiring soone to dye,
Assembling all his force and vtmost might,
With his owne sword he fierce at him did flye,
And strooke, and foynd, and lasht outrageously,
Withouten reason or regard. Well knew
The Prince, with patience and sufferance sly
So hasty heat soone cooled to subdew:
Tho when this breathlesse woxe, that batteil gan renew.

As when a windy tempest bloweth hye,
That nothing may withstand his stormy stowre,
The cloudes, as things affrayd, before him flye;
But all so soone as his outrageous powre
Is layd, they fiercely then begin to shoure,
And as in scorne of his spent stormy spight,
Now all attonce their malice forth do poure;
So did Prince *Arthur* beare himselfe in fight,
And suffred rash *Pyrochles* wast his idle might.

xlvi

At last when as the Sarazin perceiu'd,
How that straunge sword refusd, to serue his need,
But when he stroke most strong, the dint deceiu'd,
He flong it from him, and deuoyd of dreed,
Vpon him lightly leaping without heed,
Twixt his two mighty armes engrasped fast,
Thinking to ouerthrow and downe him tred:
But him in strength and skill the Prince surpast,
And through his nimble sleight did vnder him down cast.

xlix

Nought booted it the Paynim then to striue;
For as a Bittur in the Eagles claw,
That may not hope by flight to scape aliue,
Still waites for death with dread and trembling aw;
So he now subiect to the victours law,
Did not once moue, nor vpward cast his eye,
For vile disdaine and rancour, which did gnaw
His hart in twaine with sad melancholy,
As one that loathed life, and yet despisd to dye.

l

But full of Princely bounty and great mind,
The Conquerour nought cared him to slay,
But casting wrongs and all reuenge behind,
More glory thought to giue life, then decay,
And said, Paynim, this is thy dismall day;
Yet if thou wilt renounce thy miscreaunce,
And my trew liegeman yield thy selfe for ay,
Life will I graunt thee for thy valiaunce,
And all thy wrongs will wipe out of my souenaunce.

li

Foole (said the Pagan) I thy gift defye,
But vse thy fortune, as it doth befall,
And say, that I not ouercome do dye,
But in despight of life, for death do call.
Wroth was the Prince, and sory yet withall,
That he so wilfully refused grace;
Yet sith his fate so cruelly did fall,
His shining Helmet he gan soone vnlace,
And left his headlesse body bleeding all the place.

lii

By this Sir *Guyon* from his traunce awakt,
Life hauing maistered her sencelesse foe;
And looking vp, when as his shield he lakt,
And sword saw not, he wexed wondrous woe:
But when the Palmer, whom he long ygoe
Had lost, he by him spide, right glad he grew,
And said, Deare sir, whom wandring to and fro
I long haue lackt, I ioy thy face to vew;
Firme is thy faith, whom daunger neuer fro me drew.

liii

But read what wicked hand hath robbed mee
Of my good sword and shield? The Palmer glad,
With so fresh hew vprising him to see,
Him answered; Faire sonne, be no whit sad
For want of weapons, they shall soone be had.
So gan he to discourse the whole debate,
Which that straunge knight for him sustained had,
And those two Sarazins confounded late,
Whose carcases on ground were horribly prostrate.

liv

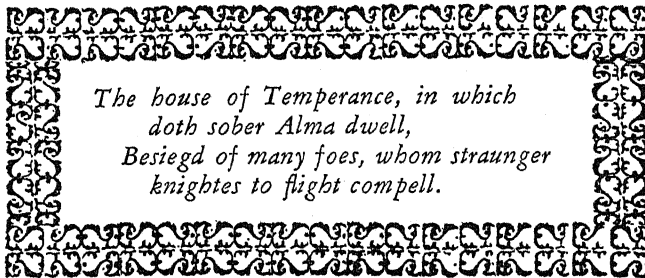
Which when he heard, and saw the tokens trew,
His hart with great affection was embayd,
And to the Prince bowing with reuerence dew,
As to the Patrone of his life, thus sayd;
My Lord, my liege, by whose most gracious ayd
I liue this day, and see my foes subdewd,
What may suffise, to be for meede repayd
Of so great graces, as ye haue me shewd,
But to be euer bound

lv

To whom the Infant thus, Faire Sir, what need
Good turnes be counted, as a seruile bond,
To bind their doers, to receiue their meede?
Are not all knights by oath bound, to withstond
Oppressours powre by armes and puissant hond?
Suffise, that I haue done my dew in place.
So goodly purpose they together fond,
Of kindnesse and of curteous aggrace;
The whiles false *Archimage* and *Atin* fled apace.

lvi

Cant. IX.



OF all Gods workes, which do this world adorne,
There is no one more faire and excellent,
Then is mans body both for powre and forme,
Whiles it is kept in sober gouernment;
But none then it, more fowle and indecent,
Distempred through misrule and passions bace:
It growes a Monster, and incontinent
Doth loose his dignitie and natieue grace.
Behold, who list, both one and other in this place.

i

After the Paynim brethren conquer'd were,
The *Briton* Prince recou'ring his stolne sword,
And *Guyon* his lost shield, they both yfere
Forth passed on their way in faire accord,
Till him the Prince with gentle court did bord;
Sir knight, mote I of you this curt'sie read,
To weet why on your shield so goodly scord
Beare ye the picture of that Ladies head?
Full liuely is the semblaunt, though the substance dead.

ii

Faire Sir (said he) if in that picture dead
Such life ye read, and vertue in vaine shew,
What mote ye weene, if the trew liuely-head
Of that most glorious visage ye did vew?
But if the beautie of her mind ye knew,
That is her bountie, and imperiall powre,
Thousand times fairer then her mortall hew,
O how great wonder would your thoughts deuoure,
And infinite desire into your spirite poure!

iii

She is the mighty Queene of *Faerie*,
Whose faire retrait I in my shield do beare;
She is the flowre of grace and chastitie,
Throughout the world renowned far and neare,
My lief, my liege, my Soueraigne, my deare,
Whose glory shineth as the morning starre,
And with her light the earth enlumines cleare;
Far reach her mercies, and her prayes farre,
As well in state of peace, as puissaunce in warre.

iv

Thrise happy man, (said then the *Briton* knight)
Whom gracious lot, and thy great valiaunce
Haue made thee souldier of that *Princesse* bright,
Which with her bounty and glad countenance
Doth blesse her seruaunts, and them high aduaunce.
How may straunge knight hope euer to aspire,
By faithfull seruice, and meet amenance,
Vnto such blisse? sufficient were that hire
For losse of thousand liues, to dye at her desire.

v

Said *Guyon*, Noble Lord, what meed so great,
Or grace of earthly Prince so soueraigne,
But by your wondrous worth and warlike feat
Ye well may hope, and easely attaine?
But were your will, her sold to entertaine,
And numbred be mongst knights of *Maydenbed*,
Great guerdon, well I wote, should you remaine,
And in her fauour high be reckoned,
As *Arthegall*, and *Sophy* now beene honored.

vi

Certes (then said the Prince) I God auow,
That sith I armes and knighthood first did plight,
My whole desire hath beene, and yet is now,
To serue that Queene with all my powre and might.
Now hath the Sunne with his lamp-burning light,
Walkt round about the world, and I no lesse,
Sith of that Goddess I haue sought the sight,
Yet no where can her find: such happinesse
Heauen doth to me enuy, and fortune fauourlesse.

vii

Fortune, the foe of famous cheuisaunce

viii

Seldome (said *Guyon*) yields to vertue aide,
 But in her way throwes mischiefe and mischaunce,
 Whereby her course is stopt, and passage staid.
 But you faire Sir, be not herewith dismaid,
 But constant keepe the way, in which ye stand;
 Which were it not, that I am else delaid
 With hard aduenture, which I haue in hand,
 I labour would to guide you through all Faery land.

Gramercy Sir (said he) but mote I weete,

ix

What straunge aduenture do ye now pursew?
 Perhaps my succour, or aduizement meete
 Mote stead you much your purpose to subdew.
 Then gan Sir *Guyon* all the story shew
 Of false *Acrasia*, and her wicked wiles,
 Which to auenge, the Palmer him forth drew
 From Faery court. So talked they, the whiles
 They wasted had much way, and measurd many miles.

And now faire *Phœbus* gan decline in hast

x

His weary wagon to the Western vane,
 Whenas they spide a goodly castle, plast
 Foreby a riuer in a pleasant dale,
 Which choosing for that euenings hospitale,
 They thither marcht: but when they came in sight,
 And from their sweaty Coursers did auale,
 They found the gates fast barred long ere night,
 And euery loup fast lockt, as fearing foes despight.

Which when they saw, they weened fowle reproch

xi

Was to them doen, their entrance to forstall,
 Till that the Squire gan nigher to approch;
 And wind his horne vnder the castle wall,
 That with the noise it shooke, as it would fall:
 Eftsoones forth looked from the highest spire
 The watch, and lowd vnto the knights did call,
 To weete, what they so rudely did require.
 Who gently answered, They entrance did desire.

Fly fly, good knights, (said he) fly fast away xii
If that your liues ye loue, as meete ye should;
Fly fast, and saue your selues from neare decay,
Here may ye not haue entraunce, though we would:
We would and would againe, if that we could;
But thousand enemies about vs raue,
And with long siege vs in this castle hould:
Seuen yeares this wize they vs besieged haue,
And many good knights slaine, that haue vs sought to saue.

Thus as he spoke, loe with outrageous cry xiii
A thousand villeins round about them swarmd
Out of the rockes and caues adioyning nye,
Vile caytiue wretches, ragged, rude, deformd,
All threatning death, all in straunge manner armd,
Some with vnweldy clubs, some with long speares,
Some rusty kniues, some staues in fire warmd.
Sterne was their looke, like wild amazed steares,
Staring with hollow eyes, and stiffe vpstanding heares.

Fiersly at first those knights they did assaile, xiv
And droue them to recoile: but when againe
They gaue fresh charge, their forces gan to faile,
Vnhable their encounter to sustaine;
For with such puissaunce and impetuous maine
Those Champions broke on them, that forst them fly,
Like scattered Sheepe, whenas the Shepheards swaine
A Lyon and a Tigre doth espye,
With greedy pace forth rushing from the forest nye.

A while they fled, but soone returnd againe xv
With greater fury, then before was found;
And euermore their cruell Capitaine
Sought with his raskall routs t'enclose them round,
And ouerrun to tread them to the ground.
But soone the knights with their bright-burning blades
Broke their rude troupes, and orders did confound,
Hewing and slashing at their idle shades;
For though they bodies seeme, yet substance from them fades.

As when a swarme of Gnats at euentide
Out of the fennes of Allan do arise,
Their murmuring small trompets sounden wide,
Whiles in the aire their clustring army flies,
That as a cloud doth seeme to dim the skies;
Ne man nor beast may rest, or take repast,
For their sharpe wounds, and noyous iniuries,
Till the fierce Northerne wind with blustering blast
Doth blow them quite away, and in the *Ocean* cast.

xvi

Thus when they had that troublous rout disperst,
Vnto the castle gate they come againe,
And entraunce crau'd, which was denied erst.
Now when report of that their perilous paine,
And combrous conflict, which they did sustaine,
Came to the Ladies eare, which there did dwell,
She forth issewed with a goodly traine
Of Squires and Ladies equipaged well,
And entertained them right fairely, as befell.

xvii

Alma she called was, a virgin bright;
That had not yet felt *Cupides* wanton rage,
Yet was she woo'd of many a gentle knight,
And many a Lord of noble parentage,
That sought with her to lincke in marriage:
For she was faire, as faire mote euer bee,
And in the flowre now of her freshest age;
Yet full of grace and goodly modestee,
That euen heauen reioyced her sweete face to see.

xviii

In robe of lilly white she was arayd,
That from her shoulder to her heele downe raught,
The traine whereof loose far behind her strayd,
Braunched with gold and pearle, most richly wrought,
And borne of two faire Damsels, which were taught
That seruice well. Her yellow golden heare
Was trimly wouen, and in tresses wrought,
Ne other tyre she on her head did weare,
But crowned with a garland of sweete Rosiere.

xix

Goodly she entertaind those noble knights,
And brought them vp into her castle hall;
Where gentle court and gracious delight
She to them made, with mildnesse virginall,
Shewing her selfe both wise and liberall:
There when they rested had a season dew,
They her besought of fauour speciall,
Of that faire Castle to affoord them vew;
She graunted, and them leading forth, the same did shew.

xx

First she them led vp to the Castle wall,
That was so high, as foe might not it clime,
And all so faire, and fensible withall,
Not built of bricke, ne yet of stone and lime,
But of thing like to that *Ægyptian* slime,
Whereof king *Nine* whilome built *Babell* towre;
But O great pitty, that no lenger time
So goodly workemanship should not endure:
Soone it must turne to earth; no earthly thing is sure.

xxi

The frame thereof seemd partly circulare,
And part triangulare, O worke diuine;
Those two the first and last proportions are,
The one imperfect, mortall, fœminine;
Th'other immortall, perfect, masculine,
And twixt them both a quadrate was the base,
Proportioned equally by seuen and nine;
Nine was the circle set in heauens place,
All which compacted made a goodly diapase.

xxii

Therein two gates were placed seemly well:
The one before, by which all in did pas,
Did th'other far in workmanship excell;
For not of wood, nor of enduring bras,
But of more worthy substance fram'd it was;
Doubly disparted, it did locke and close,
That when it locked, none might thorough pas,
And when it opened, no man might it close,
Still open to their friends, and closed to their foes.

xxiii

Of hewen stone the porch was fairely wrought,
 Stone more of valew, and more smooth and fine,
 Then Iet or Marble far from Ireland brought;
 Ouer the which was cast a wandring vine,
 Enchaced with a wanton yuie twine.
 And ouer it a faire Portcullis hong,
 Which to the gate directly did incline,
 With comely compasse, and compacture strong,
 Neither vnseemely short, nor yet exceeding long.

xxiv

Within the Barbican a Porter sate,
 Day and night duely keeping watch and ward,
 Nor wight, nor word mote passe out of the gate,
 But in good order, and with dew regard;
 Vtters of secrets he from thence debard,
 Bablers of folly, and blazers of crime.
 His larumbell might lowd and wide be hard,
 When cause requird, but neuer out of time;
 Early and late it rong, at euening and at prime.

xxv

And round about the porch on euery side
 Twise sixteen warders sat, all armed bright
 In glistring steele, and strongly fortifide:
 Tall yeomen seemed they, and of great might,
 And were enraunged ready, still for fight.
 By them as *Alma* passed with her gwestes,
 They did obeysaunce, as beseemed right,
 And then againe returned to their restes:
 The Porter eke to her did lout with humble gwestes.

xxvi

Thence she them brought into a stately Hall,
 Wherein were many tables faire dispred,
 And ready dight with drapets festiuall,
 Against the viaundes should be ministred.
 At th'upper end there sate, yclad in red
 Downe to the ground, a comely personage,
 That in his hand a white rod menaged,
 He Steward was hight *Diet*; rype of age,
 And in demeanure sober, and in counsell sage.

xxvii

And through the Hall there walked to and fro
A iolly yeoman, Marshall of the same,
Whose name was *Appetite*; he did bestow
Both guestes and meate, when euer in they came,
And knew them how to order without blame,
As him the Steward bad. They both attone
Did dewty to their Lady, as became;
Who passing by, forth led her guestes anone
Into the kitchin rowme, ne spard for nicenesse none.

xxviii

It was a vau't ybuilt for great dispenche,
With many raunges reard along the wall;
And one great chimney, whose long tonnell thence,
The smoke forth threw. And in the midst of all
There placed was a caudron wide and tall,
Vpon a mighty furnace, burning whot,
More whot, then *Aetn'*, or flaming *Mongiball*:
For day and night it brent, ne ceased not,
So long as any thing it in the caudron got.

xxix

But to delay the heat, least by mischaunce
It might breake out, and set the whole on fire,
There added was by goodly ordinaunce,
An huge great paire of bellowes, which did styre
Continually, and cooling breath inspyre.
About the Caudron many Cookes accoyld,
With hookes and ladles, as need did require;
The whiles the viandes in the vessell boyld
They did about their businesse sweat, and sorely toyld.

xxx

The maister Cooke was cald *Concoction*,
A carefull man, and full of comely guise:
The kitchin Clerke, that hight *Digestion*,
Did order all th'Achates in seemely wise,
And set them forth, as well he could deuise.
The rest had seuerall offices assind,
Some to remoue the scum, as it did rise;
Others to beare the same away did mind;
And others it to vse according to his kind.

xxxi

But all the liquour, which was fowle and wast, xxxii
Not good nor seruiceable else for ought,
They in another great round vessell plast,
Till by a conduit pipe it thence were brought:
And all the rest, that noyous was, and nought,
By secret wayes, that none might it espy,
Was close conuaid, and to the back-gate brought,
That cleped was *Port Esquiline*, whereby
It was auoided quite, and throwne out priuily.

Which goodly order, and great workmans skill xxxiii
Whenas those knights beheld, with rare delight,
And gazing wonder they their minds did fill;
For neuer had they seene so straunge a sight.
Thence backe againe faire *Alma* led them right,
And soone into a goodly Parlour brought,
That was with royall arras richly dight,
In which was nothing pourtrahed, nor wrought,
Not wrought, nor pourtrahed, but easie to be thought.

And in the midst thereof vpon the floure, xxxiv
A louely beuy of faire Ladies sate,
Courtred of many a iolly Paramoure,
The which them did in modest wise amate,
And eachone sought his Lady to aggrate:
And eke emongst them litle *Cupid* playd
His wanton sports, being returned late
From his fierce warres, and hauing from him layd
His cruell bow, wherewith he thousands hath dismayd.

Diuerse delights they found them selues to please; xxxv
Some song in sweet consort, some laught for ioy,
Some plaid with strawes, some idly sat at ease;
But other some could not abide to toy,
All pleasaunce was to them grieve and annoy:
This fround, that faund, the third for shame did blush,
Another seemed enuious, or coy,
Another in her teeth did gnaw a rush:
But at these straungers presence euery one did hush.

Soone as the gracious *Alma* came in place,
They all attonce out of their seates arose,
And to her homage made, with humble grace:
Whom when the knights beheld, they gan dispose
Themselves to court, and each a Damsell chose:
The Prince by chaunce did on a Lady light,
That was right faire and fresh as morning rose,
But somewhat sad, and solemne eke in sight,
As if some pensieve thought constraind her gentle spright.

xxxvi

In a long purple pall, whose skirt with gold,
Was fretted all about, she was arayd;
And in her hand a Poplar braunch did hold:
To whom the Prince in curteous manner said;
Gentle Madame, why beene ye thus dismaid,
And your faire beautie do with sadnesse spill?
Liues any, that you hath thus ill apaid?
Or doen you loue, or doen you lacke your will?
What euer be the cause, it sure beseemes you ill.

xxxvii

Faire Sir, (said she halfe in disdaine full wise,)
How is it, that this word in me ye blame,
And in your selfe do not the same aduise?
Him ill beseemes, anothers fault to name,
That may vnwares be blotted with the same:
Pensieve I yeeld I am, and sad in mind,
Through great desire of glory and of fame;
Ne ought I weene are ye therein behind,
That haue twelue moneths sought one, yet no where can her find.

xxxviii

The Prince was inly moued at her speach,
Well weeting trew, what she had rashly told;
Yet with faire samblaunt sought to hide the breach,
Which chaunge of colour did perforce vnfold,
Now seeming flaming whot, now stony cold.
Tho turning soft aside, he did inquire,
What wight she was, that Poplar braunch did hold:
It answered was, her name was *Prays-desire*,
That by well doing sought to honour to aspire.

xxxix

The whiles, the *Faerie* knight did entertaine
 Another Damsell of that gentle crew,
 That was right faire, and modest of demaine,
 But that too oft she chaung'd her natiue hew:
 Straunge was her tyre, and all her garment blew,
 Close round about her tuckt with many a plight:
 Vpon her fist the bird, which shoneth vew,
 And keepes in couerts close from liuing wight,
 Did sit, as yet ashamd, how rude *Pan* did her dight.

xl

So long as *Guyon* with her commoned,
 Vnto the ground she cast her modest eye,
 And euer and anone with rosie red
 The bashfull bloud her snowy cheekes did dye,
 That her became, as polisht yuory,
 Which cunning Craftesman hand hath ouerlayd
 With faire vermilion or pure Castory.

xli

Great wonder had the knight, to see the mayd
 So straungely passioned, and to her gently sayd,

Faire Damzell, seemeth, by your troubled cheare,
 That either me too bold ye weene, this wise
 You to molest, or other ill to feare
 That in the secret of your hart close lyes,
 From whence it doth, as cloud from sea arise.
 If it be I, of pardon I you pray;
 But if ought else that I mote not deuise,
 I will, if please you it discure, assay,
 To ease you of that ill, so wisely as I may.

xlii

She answerd nought, but more abasht for shame,
 Held downe her head, the whiles her louely face
 The flashing bloud with blushing did inflame,
 And the strong passion mard her modest grace,
 That *Guyon* meruayld at her vncouth cace:
 Till *Alma* him bespake, Why wonder yee
 Faire Sir at that, which ye so much embrace?
 She is the fountaine of your modestee;
 You shamefast are, but *Shamefastnesse* it selfe is shee.

xliii

Thereat the Elfe did blush in priuitee,
And turnd his face away; but she the same
Dissembled faire, and faynd to ouersee.
Thus they awhile with court and goodly game,
Themselues did solace each one with his Dame,
Till that great Ladie thence away them sought,
To vew her castles other wondrous frame.
Vp to a stately Turret she them brought,
Ascending by ten steps of Alablaster wrought.

xliv

That Turrets frame most admirable was,
Like highest heauen compassed around,
And lifted high aboue this earthly masse,
Which it suruew'd, as hils doen lower ground;
But not on ground mote like to this be found,
Not that, which antique *Cadmus* whylome built
In *Thebes*, which *Alexander* did confound;
Nor that proud towre of *Troy*, though richly guilt,
From which young *Hectors* bloud by cruell *Greekes* was spilt.

xlv

The roofe hereof was arched ouer head,
And deckt with flowers and herbars daintily;
Two goodly Beacons, set in watches stead,
Therein gaue light, and flam'd continually:
For they of liuing fire most subtilly
Were made, and set in siluer sockets bright,
Couer'd with lids deuiz'd of substance sly,
That readily they shut and open might.
O who can tell the prayses of that makers might!

xlvii

Ne can I tell, ne can I stay to tell
This parts great workmanship, and wondrous powre,
That all this other worlds worke doth excell,
And likest is vnto that heauenly towre,
That God hath built for his owne blessed bowre.
Therein were diuerse roomes, and diuerse stages,
But three the chiefest, and of greatest powre,
In which there dwelt three honorable sages,
The wisest men, I weene, that liued in their ages.

xlviii

Not he, whom *Greece*, the Nourse of all good arts,
 By *Phæbus* doome, the wisest thought aliue,
 Might be compar'd to these by many parts:
 Nor that sage *Pylian* syre, which did suruiue
 Three ages, such as mortall men contriue,
 By whose aduise old *Priams* cittie fell,
 With these in praise of pollicies mote striue.
 These three in these three roomes did sundry dwell,
 And counselled faire *Alma*, how to gouerne well.

xlviii

The first of them could things to come foresee:
 The next could of things present best aduize;
 The third things past could keepe in memoree,
 So that no time, nor reason could arize,
 But that the same could one of these comprize.
 For thy the first did in the forepart sit,
 That nought mote hinder his quicke preiudize:
 He had a sharpe foresight, and working wit,
 That neuer idle was, ne once could rest a whit.

xlix

His chamber was dispaunted all within,
 With sundry colours, in the which were writ
 Infinite shapes of things dispersed thin;
 Some such as in the world were neuer yit,
 Ne can deuized be of mortall wit;
 Some daily seene, and knowen by their names,
 Such as in idle fantasies doe flit:
 Infernall Hags, *Centaurs*, feendes, *Hippodames*,
 Apes, Lions, *Ægles*, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames.

1

And all the chamber filled was with flyes,
 Which buzzed all about, and made such sound,
 That they encombred all mens eares and eyes,
 Like many swarmes of Bees assembled round,
 After their hiues with honny do abound:
 All those were idle thoughts and fantasies,
 Deuices, dreames, opinions vnsound,
 Shewes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies;
 And all that fained is, as leasings, tales, and lies.

li

Emongst them all sate he, which wonned there,
 That hight *Phantastes* by his nature trew;
 A man of yeares yet fresh, as mote appere,
 Of swarth complexion, and of crabbed hew,
 That him full of melancholy did shew;
 Bent hollow beetle browes, sharpe staring eyes,
 That mad or foolish seemd: one by his vew
 Mote deeme him borne with ill disposed skyes,
 When oblique *Saturne* sate in the house of agonyes.

lii

Whom *Alma* hauing shewed to her guesstes,
 Thence brought them to the second roome, whose wals
 Were painted faire with memorable gestes,
 Of famous Wisards, and with picturals
 Of Magistrates, of courts, of tribunals,
 Of commen wealthes, of states, of pollicy,
 Of lawes, of iudgements, and of decretals;
 All artes, all science, all Philosophy,
 And all that in the world was aye thought wittily.

liii

Of those that roome was full, and them among
 There sate a man of ripe and perfect age,
 Who did them meditate all his life long,
 That through continuall practise and vsage,
 He now was growne right wise, and wondrous sage.
 Great pleasure had those stranger knights, to see
 His goodly reason, and graue personage,
 That his disciples both desir'd to bee;
 But *Alma* thence them led to th'hindmost roome of three.

liv

That chamber seemed ruinous and old,
 And therefore was remoued farre behind,
 Yet were the wals, that did the same vphold,
 Right firme and strong, though somewhat they declind;
 And therein sate an old oldman, halfe blind,
 And all decrepit in his feeble corse,
 Yet liuely vigour rested in his mind,
 And recompenst him with a better scorse:
 Weake body well is chang'd for minds redoubled forse.

lv

This man of infinite remembrance was, lvi
And things foregone through many ages held,
Which he recorded still, as they did pas,
Ne suffred them to perish through long eld,
As all things else, the which this world doth weld,
But laid them vp in his immortall scrine,
Where they for euer incorrupted dweld:
The warres he well remembred of king *Nine*,
Of old *Assaracus*, and *Inachus* diuine.

The yeares of *Nestor* nothing were to his, lvii
Ne yet *Mathusalem*, though longest liu'd;
For he remembred both their infancies:
Ne wonder then, if that he were depriu'd
Of natiue strength now, that he them suruiu'd.
His chamber all was hangd about with rolles,
And old records from auncient times deriu'd,
Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolles,
That were all worme-eaten, and full of canker holes.

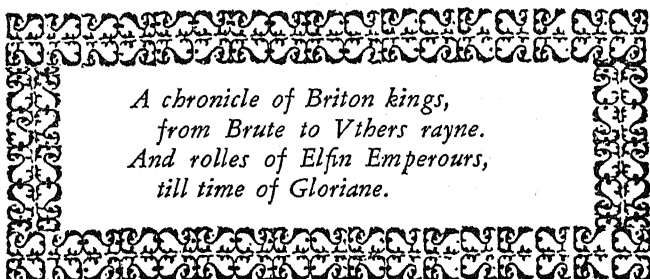
Amidst them all he in a chaire was set, lviii
Tossing and turning them withouten end;
But for he was vnhabie them to fet,
A litle boy did on him still attend,
To reach, when euer he for ought did send;
And oft when things were lost, or laid amis,
That boy them sought, and vnto him did lend.
Therefore he *Anamnestes* cleped is,
And that old man *Eumnestes*, by their propertis.

The knights there entring, did him reuerence dew lix
And wondred at his endlesse exercise,
Then as they gan his Librarie to vew,
And antique Registers for to auise,
There chaunced to the Princes hand to rize,
An auncient booke, hight *Briton monuments*,
That of this lands first conquest did deuize,
And old diuision into Regiments,
Till it reduced was to one mans gouernments.

Sir *Guyon* chaunst eke on another booke,
That hight *Antiquitie* of *Faerie* lond.
In which when as he greedily did looke,
Th' off-spring of Elues and Faries there he fond,
As it deliuered was from hond to hond:
Whereat they burning both with feruent fire,
Their countries auncestry to vnderstond,
Crau'd leaue of *Alma*, and that aged sire,
To read those bookes; who gladly graunted their desire.

lx

Cant. X.



WHo now shal giue vnto me words and sound, i
 Equall vnto this haughtie enterprise?
 Or who shall lend me wings, with which from ground
 My lowly verse may loftily arise,
 And lift it selfe vnto the highest skies?
 More ample spirit, then hitherto was wount,
 Here needes me, whiles the famous auncestries
 Of my most dreaded Soueraigne I recount,
 By which all earthly Princes she doth farre surmount.

Ne vnder Sunne, that shines so wide and faire, ii
 Whence all that liues, does borrow life and light,
 Liues ought, that to her lineage may compaire,
 Which though from earth it be deriued right,
 Yet doth it selfe stretch forth to heauens hight,
 And all the world with wonder ouerspred;
 A labour huge, exceeding farre my might:
 How shall fraile pen, with feare disparaged,
 Conceiue such soueraigne glory, and great bountihed?

Argument worthy of *Mæonian* quill, iii
 Or rather worthy of great *Phæbus* rote,
 Whereon the ruines of great *Ossa* hill,
 And triumphes of *Phlegrean* Ioue he wrote,
 That all the Gods admird his loftie note.
 But if some relish of that heauenly lay
 His learned daughters would to me report,
 To decke my song withall, I would assay,
 Thy name, O soueraigne Queene, to blazon farre away.

Thy name O soueraine Queene, thy realme and race,
From this renowned Prince deriued arre,
Who mightily vpheld that royall mace,
Which now thou bear'st, to thee descended farre
From mightie kings and conquerours in warre,
Thy fathers and great Grandfathers of old,
Whose noble deedes aboue the Northerne starre
Immortall fame for euer hath enrold;
As in that old mans booke they were in order told.

iv

The land, which warlike Britons now possesse,
And therein haue their mightie empire raysd,
In antique times was saluage wilderness,
Vnpeopled, vnmanurd, vnprou'd, vnpraysd,
Ne was it Island then, ne was it paysd
Amid the *Ocean* waues, ne was it sought
Of marchants farre, for profits therein praysd,
But was all desolate, and of some thought
By sea to haue bene from the *Celticke* mayn-land brought.

v

Ne did it then deserue a name to haue,
Till that the venturous Mariner that way
Learning his ship from those white rocks to saue,
Which all along the Southerne sea-coast lay,
Threatning vnheddie wrecke and rash decay,
For safeties sake that same his sea-marke made,
And namd it *Albion*. But later day
Finding in it fit ports for fishers trade,
Gan more the same frequent, and further to inuade.

vi

But farre in land a saluage nation dwelt,
Of hideous Giants, and halfe beastly men,
That neuer tasted grace, nor goodnesse felt,
But like wild beasts lurking in loathsome den,
And flying fast as Roebucke through the fen,
All naked without shame, or care of cold,
By hunting and by spoiling liued then;
Of stature huge, and eke of courage bold,
That sonnes of men amazd their sternnesse to behold.

vii

But whence they sprong, or how they were begot,
Vneath is to assure; vneath to wene
That monstrous error, which doth some assot,
That *Dioclesians* fiftie daughters shene
Into this land by chaunce haue driuen bene,
Where companing with feends and filthy Sprights,
Through vaine illusion of their lust vnclene,
They brought forth Giants and such dreadfull wights,
As farre exceeded men in their immeasurd mights.

viii

They held this land, and with their filthinesse
Polluted this same gentle soyle long time:
That their owne mother loathd their beastlinesse,
And gan abhorre her broods vnkindly crime,
All were they borne of her owne natieue slime;
Vntill that *Brutus* anciently deriu'd
From royall stocke of old *Assaracs* line,
Driuen by fatall error, here arriu'd,
And them of their vniust possession depriu'd.

ix

But ere he had established his throne,
And spred his empire to the vtmost shore,
He fought great battels with his saluage fone;
In which he them defeated euermore,
And many Giants left on groning flore;
That well can witnesse yet vnto this day
The westerne Hough, besprincled with the gore
Of mightie *Goëmot*, whom in stout fray
Corineus conquered, and cruelly did slay.

x

And eke that ample Pit, yet farre renownd,
For the large leape, which *Debon* did compell
Coulin to make, being eight lugs of grownd;
Into the which returning backe, he fell,
But those three monstrous stones doe most excell
Which that huge sonne of hideous *Albion*,
Whose father *Hercules* in Fraunce did quell,
Great *Godmer* threw, in fierce contention,
At bold *Canutus*; but of him was slaine anon.

xi

In meed of these great conquests by them got,
Corineus had that Prouince vtmost west,
 To him assigned for his worthy lot,
 Which of his name and memorable gest
 He called *Cornewaile*, yet so called best:
 And *Debons* shayre was, that is *Deuonshyre*:
 But *Canute* had his portion from the rest,
 The which he cald *Canutium*, for his hyre;
 Now *Cantium*, which Kent we commenly inquire.

xii

Thus *Brute* this Realme vnto his rule subdewd,
 And raigned long in great felicitie,
 Lou'd of his friends, and of his foes eschewd,
 He left three sonnes, his famous progeny,
 Borne of faire *Inogene* of *Italy*;
 Mongst whom he parted his imperiall state,
 And *Locrine* left chiefe Lord of *Britany*.
 At last ripe age bad him surrender late
 His life, and long good fortune vnto finall fate.

xiii

Locrine was left the soueraine Lord of all;
 But *Albanact* had all the Northrene part,
 Which of himselfe *Albania* he did call;
 And *Camber* did possesse the Westerne quart,
 Which *Seuerne* now from *Logris* doth depart:
 And each his portion peaceably enioyd,
 Ne was there outward breach, nor grudge in hart,
 That once their quiet gouernment annoyd,
 But each his paines to others profit still employd.

xiv

Vntill a nation straung, with visage swart,
 And courage fierce, that all men did affray,
 Which through the world then swarmd in euery part,
 And ouerflow'd all countries farre away,
 Like *Noyes* great flood, with their importune sway,
 This land inuaded with like violence,
 And did themselues through all the North display:
 Vntill that *Locrine* for his Realmes defence,
 Did head against them make, and strong munifience.

xv

He them encountred, a confused rout, xvi

Foreby the Riuer, that whylome was hight
The auncient *Abus*, where with courage stout
He them defeated in victorious fight,
And chaste so fiercely after fearfull flight,
That forst their Chieftaine, for his safeties sake,
(Their Chieftaine *Humber* named was aright)

Vnto the mightie streame him to betake,
Where he an end of battell, and of life did make.

The king returned proud of victorie, xvii

And insolent wox through vnwonted ease,
That shortly he forgot the ieopardie,
Which in his land he lately did appease,
And fell to vaine voluptuous disease:
He lou'd faire Ladie *Estrild*, lewdly lou'd,
Whose wanton pleasures him too much did please,
That quite his hart from *Guendolene* remou'd,

From *Guendolene* his wife, though alwaies faithfull prou'd.

The noble daughter of *Corineus* xviii

Would not endure to be so vile disdaind,
But gathering force, and courage valorous,
Encountred him in battell well ordaind,
In which him vanquisht she to fly constraind:
But she so fast pursewd, that him she tooke,
And threw in bands, where he till death remaind;
Als his faire Leman, flying through a brooke,
She ouerhent, nought moued with her piteous looke.

But both her selfe, and eke her daughter deare, xix

Begotten by her kingly Paramoure,
The faire *Sabrina* almost dead with feare,
She there attached, farre from all succoure;
The one she slew in that impatient stoure,
But the sad virgin innocent of all,
Adowne the rolling riuer she did poure,
Which of her name now *Seuerne* men do call:

Such was the end, that to disloyall loue did fall.

Then for her sonne, which she to *Locrin* bore,
 Madan was young, vnmeet the rule to sway,
In her owne hand the crowne she kept in store,
Till ryper yeares he raught, and stronger stay:
During which time her powre she did display
Through all this realme, the glorie of her sex,
And first taught men a woman to obay:
But when her sonne to mans estate did wex,
She it surrendred, ne her selfe would lenger vex.

xx

Tho *Madan* raignd, vnworthie of his race:
 For with all shame that sacred throne he fild:
Next *Memprise*, as vnworthy of that place,
In which being consorted with *Manild*,
For thirst of single kingdome him he kild.
But *Ebranck* salued both their infamies
With noble deedes, and warreyd on *Brunchild*
In *Henault*, where yet of his victories
Braue moniments remaine, which yet that land enuies.

xxi

An happie man in his first dayes he was,
 And happie father of faire progeny:
For all so many weekes as the yeare has,
So many children he did multiply;
Of which were twentie sonnes, which did apply,
Their minds to praise, and cheualrous desire:
Those germans did subdew all Germany,
Of whom it hight; but in the end their Sire
With foule repulse from Fraunce was forced to retire.

xxii

Which blot his sonne succeeding in his seat,
 The second *Brute*, the second both in name,
And eke in semblance of his puissance great,
Right well recur'd, and did away that blame
With recompence of euerlasting fame.
He with his victour sword first opened,
The bowels of wide Fraunce, a forlorne Dame,
And taught her first how to be conquered;
Since which, with sundrie spoiles she hath beene ransacked.

xxiii

Let *Scaldis* tell, and let tell *Hania*,

xxiv

And let the marsh of *Estham bruges* tell,
What colour were their waters that same day,
And all the moore twixt *Eluersham* and *Dell*,
With bloud of *Henalois*, which therein fell.

How oft that day did sad *Brunchildis* see

The greene shield dyde in dolorous vermell?

That not *Scuith guiridh* it mote seeme to bee,

But rather y *Scuith gogh*, signe of sad crueltee.

His sonne king *Leill* by fathers labour long,

xxv

Enioyd an heritage of lasting peace,

And built *Cairleill*, and built *Cairleon* strong.

Next *Huddibras* his realme did not encrease,

But taught the land from wearie warres to cease.

Whose footsteps *Bladud* following, in arts

Exceld at *Athens* all the learned preace,

From whence he brought them to these saluage parts,

And with sweet science mollifide their stubborne harts.

Ensample of his wondrous faculty,

xxvi

Behold the boyling Bathes at *Cairbadon*,

Which seeth with secret fire eternally,

And in their entrails, full of quicke Brimston,

Nourish the flames, which they are warm'd vpon,

That to their people wealth they forth do well,

And health to euery forreine nation:

Yet he at last contending to excell

The reach of men, through flight into fond mischief fell.

Next him king *Leyr* in happie peace long raind,

xxvii

But had no issue male him to succeed,

But three faire daughters, which were well vptraind,

In all that seemed fit for kingly seed:

Mongst whom his realme he equally decreed

To haue diuided. Tho when feeble age

Nigh to his vtmost date he saw proceed,

He cald his daughters; and with speeches sage

Inquyrd, which of them most did loue her parentage.

The eldest *Gonorill* gan to protest,
That she much more then her owne life him lou'd:
And *Regan* greater loue to him profest,
Then all the world, when euer it were proou'd;
But *Cordeill* said she lou'd him, as behoou'd:
Whose simple answer, wanting colours faire
To paint it forth, him to displeasance moou'd,
That in his crowne he counted her nō haire,
But twixt the other twaine his kingdome whole did shaire.

xxviii

So wedded th'one to *Maglan* king of Scots,
And th'other to the king of *Cambria*,
And twixt them shayrd his realme by equall lots:
But without dowre the wise *Cordelia*,
Was sent to *Aganip* of *Celtica*.
Their aged Syre, thus eased of his crowne,
A priuate life led in *Albania*,
With *Gonorill*, long had in great renowne,
That nought him grieu'd to bene from rule deposed downe.

xxix

But true it is, that when the oyle is spent,
The light goes out, and weeke is throwne away;
So when he had resign'd his regiment,
His daughter gan despise his drouping day,
And wearie waxe of his continuall stay.
Tho to his daughter *Regan* he repayrd,
Who him at first well vsed euery way;
But when of his departure she despayrd,
Her bountie she abated, and his cheare empayrd.

xxx

The wretched man gan then auise too late,
That loue is not, where most it is profest,
Too truely tryde in his extreamest state;
At last resolu'd likewise to proue the rest,
He to *Cordelia* him selfe addrest,
Who with entire affection him receau'd,
As for her Syre and king her seemed best;
And after all an army strong she leau'd,
To war on those, which him had of his realme bereau'd.

xxxi

So to his crowne she him restor'd againe,
 In which he dyde, made ripe for death by eld,
 And after wild, it should to her remaine:
 Who peaceably the same long time did weld:
 And all mens harts in dew obedience held:
 Till that her sisters children, woxen strong
 Through proud ambition, against her rebeld,
 And ouercommen kept in prison long,
 Till wearie of that wretched life, her selfe she hong.

xxxii

Then gan the bloudie brethren both to raine:
 But fierce *Cundah* gan shortly to enuie
 His brother *Morgan*, prickt with proud disdaine,
 To haue a pere in part of soueraintie,
 And kindling coles of cruell enmitie,
 Raisd warre, and him in battell ouerthrew:
 Whence as he to those woodie hils did flie,
 Which hight of him *Glamorgan*, there him slew:
 Then did he raigne alone, when he none equall knew.

xxxiii

His sonne *Riuallo* his dead roome did supply,
 In whose sad time bloud did from heauen raine:
 Next great *Gurgustus*, then faire *Cæcily*
 In constant peace their kingdomes did containe,
 After whom *Lago*, and *Kinmarke* did raine,
 And *Gorbogud*, till farre in yeares he grew:
 Then his ambitious sonnes vnto them twaine,
 Arraught the rule, and from their father drew,
 Stout *Ferrex* and sterne *Porrex* him in prison threw.

xxxiv

But O, the greedy thirst of royall crowne,
 That knowes no kinred, nor regards no right,
 Stird *Porrex* vp to put his brother downe;
 Who vnto him assembling forreine might,
 Made warre on him, and fell him selfe in fight:
 Whose death t'auenge, his mother mercilesse,
 Most mercilesse of women, *Wyden* hight,
 Her other sonne fast sleeping did oppresse,
 And with most cruell hand him murdred pittillesse.

xxxv

Here ended *Brutus* sacred progenie,
Which had seuen hundred yeares this scepter borne,
With high renowme, and great felicitie;
The noble braunch from th'antique stocke was torne
Through discord, and the royall throne forlorne:
Thenceforth this Realme was into factions rent,
Whilest each of *Brutus* boasted to be borne,
That in the end was left no monument
Of *Brutus*, nor of Britons glory auncient.

xxxvi

Then vp arose a man of matchlesse might,
And wondrous wit to menage high affaires,
Who stird with pittie of the stressed plight
Of this sad Realme, cut into sundry shaires
By such, as claymd themselues *Brutes* rightfull haire,
Gathered the Princes of the people loose,
To taken counsell of their common cares;
Who with his wisdom won, him streight did choose
Their king, and swore him fealty to win or loose.

xxxvii

Then made he head against his enimies,
And *Ymner* slew, of *Logris* miscreate;
Then *Ruddoc* and proud *Stater*, both allyes,
This of *Albanie* newly nominate,
And that of *Cambry* king confirmed late,
He ouerthrew through his owne valiaunce;
Whose countreis he redus'd to quiet state,
And shortly brought to ciuill gouernaunce,
Now one, which earst were many, made through variaunce.

xxxviii

Then made he sacred lawes, which some men say
Were vnto him reueald in vision,
By which he freed the Traueilers high way,
The Churches part, and Ploughmans portion,
Restraining stealth, and strong extortion;
The gracious *Numa* of great *Britanie*:
For till his dayes, the chiefe dominion
By strength was wielded without pollicie;
Therefore he first wore crowne of gold for dignitie.

xxxix

Donwallo dyde (for what may liue for ay?) xli

And left two sonnes, of pearelesse prowesse both;
That sacked *Rome* too dearely did assay,
The recompence of their periured oth,
And ransackt *Greece* well tryde, when they were wroth;
Besides subiected *Fraunce*, and *Germany*,
Which yet their prayses speake, all be they loth,
And inly tremble at the memory
Of *Brennus* and *Bellinus*, kings of Britany.

Next them did *Gurgunt*, great *Bellinus* sonne xlii

In rule succeede, and eke in fathers prayse;
He Easterland subdewd, and *Danmarke* wonne,
And of them both did foy and tribute raise,
The which was dew in his dead fathers dayes:
He also gaue to fugitiues of *Spayne*,
Whom he at sea found wandring from their wayes,
A seate in *Ireland* safely to remayne,
Which they should hold of him, as subiect to *Britayne*.

After him raigned *Guitheline* his hayre, xlii

The iustest man and trewest in his dayes,
Who had to wife Dame *Mertia* the fayre,
A woman worthy of immortall prayse,
Which for this Realme found many goodly layes,
And wholesome Statutes to her husband brought;
Her many deemd to haue beene of the *Fayes*,
As was *Aegerie*, that *Numa* tought;
Those yet of her be *Mertian* lawes both nam'd and thought.

Her sonne *Sisillus* after her did rayne, xliii

And then *Kimarus*, and then *Danius*;
Next whom *Morindus* did the crowne sustaine,
Who, had he not with wrath outrageous,
And cruell rancour dim'd his valorous
And mightie deeds, should matched haue the best:
As well in that same field victorious
Against the forreine *Morands* he exprest;
Yet liues his memorie, though carcas sleepe in rest.

Fiue sonnes he left begotten of one wife,
All which successiuely by turnes did raine;
First *Gorboman* a man of vertuous life;
Next *Archigald*, who for his proud disdaine,
Deposed was from Princedome soueraine,
And pitteous *Elidure* put in his sted;
Who shortly it to him restord againe,
Till by his death he it recouered;
But *Peridure* and *Vigent* him disthronized.

xlii

In wretched prison long he did remaine,
Till they outraigned had their vtmost date,
And then therein reseized was againe,
And ruled long with honorable state,
Till he surrendred Realme and life to fate.
Then all the sonnes of these fiue brethren raynd
By dew successe, and all their Nephewes late,
Euen thrise eleuen descents the crowne retaynd,
Till aged *Hely* by dew heritage it gaynd.

xlii

He had two sonnes, whose eldest called *Lud*
Left of his life most famous memory,
And endlesse moniments of his great good:
The ruin'd wals he did reædifye
Of *Troynouant*, gainst force of enemy,
And built that gate, which of his name is hight,
By which he lyes entombed solemnly.
He left two sonnes, too young to rule aright,
Androgeus and *Tenantius*, pictures of his might.

xlii

Whilst they were young, *Cassibalane* their Eme
Was by the people chosen in their sted,
Who on him tooke the royall Diademe,
And goodly well long time it gouerned,
Till the prowde *Romanes* him disquieted,
And warlike *Cæsar*, tempted with the name
Of this sweet Island, neuer conquered,
And enuying the Britons blazed fame,
(O hideous hunger of dominion) hither came.

xlii

Yet twise they were repulsed backe againe,
 And twise renforst, backe to their ships to fly,
 The whiles with bloud they all the shore did staine,
 And the gray *Ocean* into purple dy:
 Ne had they footing found at last perdie,
 Had not *Androgeus*, false to natiue soyle,
 And enuious of Vncles soueraintie,
 Betrayd his contrey vnto forreine spoyle:
 Nought else, but treason, from the first this land did foyle.

xlvi

So by him *Cæsar* got the victory,
 Through great bloudshed, and many a sad assay,
 In which him selfe was charged heauily
 Of hardy *Nennius*, whom he yet did slay,
 But lost his sword, yet to be seene this day.
 Thenceforth this land was tributarie made
 T'ambitious *Rome*, and did their rule obay,
 Till *Arthur* all that reckoning defrayd;
 Yet oft the Briton kings against them strongly swayd.

xlix

Next him *Tenantius* raignd, then *Kimbeline*,
 What time th'eternall Lord in fleshly slime
 Enwombed was, from wretched *Adams* line
 To purge away the guilt of sinfull crime:
 O ioyous memorie of happy time,
 That heavenly grace so plenteously displayd;
 (O too high ditty for my simple rime.)
 Soone after this the *Romanes* him warrayd;
 For that their tribute he refusd to let be payd.

l

Good *Claudius*, that next was Emperour,
 An army brought, and with him battell fought,
 In which the king was by a Treachetour
 Disguised slaine, ere any thereof thought:
 Yet ceased not the bloody fight for ought;
 For *Aruirage* his brothers place supplide,
 Both in his armes, and crowne, and by that draught
 Did driue the *Romanes* to the weaker side,
 That they to peace agreed. So all was pacifide.

li

Was neuer king more highly magnifide,
Nor dred of *Romanes*, then was *Aruiage*,
For which the Emperour to him allide
His daughter *Genuiss'* in marriage:
Yet shortly he renounst the vassalage
Of *Rome* againe, who hither hastily sent
Vespasian, that with great spoile and rage
Forwasted all, till *Genuissa* gent
Perswaded him to ceasse, and her Lord to relent.

lii

He dyde; and him succeeded *Marius*,
Who ioyd his dayes in great tranquillity,
Then *Coyll*, and after him good *Lucius*,
That first receiued Christianitie,
The sacred pledge of Christes Euangely:
Yet true it is, that long before that day
Hither came *Ioseph* of *Arimathy*,
Who brought with him the holy grayle, (they say)
And preacht the truth, but since it greatly did decay.

liii

This good king shortly without issew dide,
Whereof great trouble in the kingdome grew,
That did her selfe in sundry parts diuide,
And with her powre her owne selfe ouerthrew,
Whilest *Romanes* dayly did the weake subdew:
Which seeing stout *Bunduca*, vp arose,
And taking armes, the *Britons* to her drew;
With whom she marched streight against her foes,
And them vnwares besides the *Seuerne* did enclose.

liv

There she with them a cruell battell tride,
Not with so good successe, as she deseru'd;
By reason that the Captaines on her side,
Corrupted by *Paulinus*, from her sweru'd:
Yet such, as were through former flight preseru'd,
Gathering againe, her Host she did renew,
And with fresh courage on the victour seru'd:
But being all defeated, saue a few,
Rather then fly, or be captiu'd her selfe she slew.

lv

O famous moniment of womens prayse,
 Matchable either to *Semiramis*,
 Whom antique history so high doth raise,
 Or to *Hypsiphil'* or to *Thomiris*:
 Her Host two hundred thousand numbred is;
 Who whiles good fortune fauoured her might,
 Triumphed oft against her enimis;
 And yet though ouercome in haplesse fight,
 She triumphed on death, in enemies despight.

lvi

Her reliques *Fulgent* hauing gathered,
 Fought with *Seuerus*, and him ouerthrew;
 Yet in the chace was slaine of them, that fled:
 So made them victours, whom he did subdew.
 Then gan *Carausius* tirannize anew,
 And gainst the *Romanes* bent their proper powre,
 But him *Allectus* treacherously slew,
 And tooke on him the robe of Emperoure:
 Nath'lesse the same enioyed but short happy howre:

lvii

For *Asclepiodate* him ouercame,
 And left inglorious on the vanquisht playne,
 Without or robe, or rag, to hide his shame.
 Then afterwards he in his stead did rayne;
 But shortly was by *Coyll* in battell slaine:
 Who after long debate, since *Lucies* time,
 Was of the *Britons* first crownd Soueraine:
 Then gan this Realme renewe her passed prime:
 He of his name *Coylchester* built of stone and lime.

lviii

Which when the *Romanes* heard, they hither sent
Constantius, a man of mickle might,
 With whom king *Coyll* made an agreement,
 And to him gaue for wife his daughter bright,
 Faire *Helena*, the fairest liuing wight;
 Who in all godly thewes, and goodly prayse
 Did far excell, but was most famous hight
 For skill in Musicke of all in her dayes,
 Aswell in curious instruments, as cunning layes.

lix

Of whom he did great *Constantine* beget,
Who afterward was Emperour of *Rome*;
To which whiles absent he his mind did set,
Octavius here lept into his roome,
And it vsurped by vnrighteous doome:
But he his title iustifide by might,
Slaying *Traberne*, and hauing ouercome
The *Romane* legion in dreadfull fight:
So settled he his kingdome, and confirmd his right.

lx

But wanting issew male, his daughter deare,
He gaue in wedlocke to *Maximian*,
And him with her made of his kingdome heyre,
Who soone by meanes thereof the Empire wan,
Till mured by the friends of *Gratian*;
Then gan the Hunnes and Picts inuade this land,
During the raigne of *Maximinian*;
Who dying left none heire them to withstand,
But that they ouerran all parts with easie hand.

lxi

The weary *Britons*, whose war-hable youth
Was by *Maximian* lately led away,
With wretched miseries, and woefull ruth,
Were to those Pagans made an open pray,
And dayly spectacle of sad decay:
Whom *Romane* warres, which now foure hundred yeares,
And more had wasted, could no whit dismay;
Till by consent of Commons and of Peares,
They crownd the second *Constantine* with ioyous teares,

lxii

Who hauing oft in battell vanquished
Those spoilefull Picts, and swarming Easterlings,
Long time in peace his Realme established,
Yet oft annoyd with sundry bordragings
Of neighbour Scots, and forrein Scatterlings,
With which the world did in those dayes abound:
Which to outbarre, with painefull pyonings
From sea to sea he heapt a mightie mound,
Which from *Alcluid* to *Panwelt* did that border bound.

lxiii

Three sonnes he dying left, all vnder age;
 By meanes whereof, their vncke *Vortigere*
 Vsurpt the crowne, during their pupillage;
 Which th'Infants tutors gathering to feare,
 Them closely into *Armorick* did beare:
 For dread of whom, and for those Picts annoyes,
 He sent to *Germanie*, straunge aid to reare,
 From whence eftsoones arriued here three hoyes
 Of *Saxons*, whom he for his safetie imployes.

lxiv

Two brethren were their Capitains, which hight
Hengist and *Horsus*, well approu'd in warre,
 And both of them men of renownmed might;
 Who making vantage of their ciuill iarre,
 And of those forreiners, which came from farre,
 Grew great, and got large portions of land,
 That in the Realme ere long they stronger arre,
 Then they which sought at first their helping hand,
 And *Vortiger* enforst the kingdome to aband.

lxv

But by the helpe of *Vortimere* his sonne,
 He is againe vnto his rule restord,
 And *Hengist* seeming sad, for that was donne,
 Receiued is to grace and new accord,
 Through his faire daughters face, and flattring word;
 Soone after which, three hundred Lordes he slew
 Of British bloud, all sitting at his bord;
 Whose dolefull moniments who list to rew,
 Th'eternall markes of treason may at *Stonheng* vew.

lxvi

By this the sonnes of *Constantine*, which fled,
Ambrose and *Vther* did ripe yeares attaine,
 And here arriuing, strongly challenged
 The crowne, which *Vortiger* did long detain:
 Who flying from his guilt, by them was slaine,
 And *Hengist* eke soone brought to shamefull death.
 Thenceforth *Aurelius* peaceably did rayne,
 Till that through poyson stopped was his breath;
 So now entombd lyes at *Stoneheng* by the heath.

lxvii

After him *Vther*, which *Pendragon* hight,
Succeding There abruptly it did end,
Without full point, or other Cesure right,
As if the rest some wicked hand did rend,
Or th' Authour selfe could not at least attend
To finish it: that so vntimely breach
The Prince him selfe halfe seemeth to offend,
Yet secret pleasure did offence empeach,
And wonder of antiquitie long stopt his speach.

lxviii

At last quite ravisht with delight, to heare
The royall Ofspring of his native land,
Cryde out, Deare countrey, O how dearly deare
Ought thy remembraunce, and perpetuall band
Be to thy foster Childe, that from thy hand
Did commun breath and nouriture receaue?
How brutish is it not to vnderstand,
How much to her we owe, that all vs gaue,
That gaue vnto vs all, what euer good we haue.

lxix

But *Guyon* all this while his booke did read,
Ne yet has ended: for it was a great
And ample volume, that doth far exceed
My leasure, so long leaues here to repeat:
It told, how first *Prometheus* did create
A man, of many partes from beasts deriued,
And then stole fire from heauen, to animate
His worke, for which he was by *Ioue* depriued
Of life him selfe, and hart-strings of an *Ægle* riued.

lxx

That man so made, he called *Elfe*, to weet
Quick, the first authour of all Elfin kind:
Who wandring through the world with wearie feet,
Did in the gardins of *Adonis* find
A goodly creature, whom he deemd in mind
To be no earthly wight, but either Spright,
Or Angell, th' authour of all woman kind;
Therefore a *Fay* he her according hight,
Of whom all *Faeryes* spring, and fetch their lignage right.

lxxi

Of these a mightie people shortly grew,
 And puissaunt kings, which all the world warrayd,
 And to them selues all Nations did subdew:
 The first and eldest, which that scepter swayd,
 Was *Elfin*; him all *India* obeyd,
 And all that now *America* men call:
 Next him was noble *Elfinan*, who layd
Cleopolis foundation first of all:
 But *Elfiline* enclosd it with a golden wall.

lxxii

His sonne was *Elfinell*, who ouercame
 The wicked *Gobbelines* in bloudy field:
 But *Elfant* was of most renowmed fame,
 Who all of Christall did *Panthea* build:
 Then *Elfar*, who two brethren gyants kild,
 The one of which had two heads, th'other three:
 Then *Elfinor*, who was in Magick skild;
 He built by art vpon the glassy See
 A bridge of bras, whose sound heauens thunder seem'd to bee.

lxxiii

He left three sonnes, the which in order raynd,
 And all their Ofspring, in their dew descents,
 Euen seuen hundred Princes, which maintaynd
 With mightie deedes their sundry gouernments;
 That were too long their infinite contents
 Here to record, ne much materiall:
 Yet should they be most famous moniments,
 And braue ensample, both of martiall,
 And ciuill rule to kings and states imperiall.

lxxiv

After all these *Elficleos* did rayne,
 The wise *Elficleos* in great Maiestie,
 Who mightily that scepter did sustayne,
 And with rich spoiles and famous victorie,
 Did high aduaunce the crowne of *Faery*:
 He left two sonnes, of which faire *Elferon*
 The eldest brother did vntimely dy;
 Whose emptie place the mightie *Oberon*
 Doubly supplide, in spousall, and dominion.

lxxv

Great was his power and glorie ouer all,
Which him before, that sacred seate did fill,
That yet remains his wide memoriall:
He dying left the fairest *Tanaquill*,
Him to succede therein, by his last will:
Fairer and nobler liueth none this howre,
Ne like in grace, ne like in learned skill;
Therefore they *Glorian* call that glorious flowre,
Long mayst thou *Glorian* liue, in glory and great powre.

lxxvi

Beguild thus with delight of nouelties,
And naturall desire of countreys state,
So long they red in those antiquities,
That how the time was fled, they quite forgate,
Till gentle *Alma* seeing it so late,
Perforce their studies broke, and them besought
To thinke, how supper did them long awaite.
So halfe vnwilling from their bookes them brought,
And fairely feasted, as so noble knights she ought.

lxxvii

Cant. XI.

*The enimies of Temperaunce
besiege her dwelling place:
Prince Arthur them repelles, and fowle
Maleger doth deface.*

What warre so cruell, or what siege so sore,
As that, which strong affections do apply
Against the fort of reason euermore
To bring the soule into captiuitie:
Their force is fiercer through infirmitie
Of the fraile flesh, relenting to their rage,
And exercise most bitter tyranny
Vpon the parts, brought into their bondage:
No wretchednesse is like to sinfull vellenage.

i

But in a body, which doth freely yeeld
His partes to reasons rule obedient,
And letteth her that ought the scepter weeld,
All happy peace and goodly gouernment
Is settled there in sure establishment;
There *Alma* like a virgin Queene most bright,
Doth florish in all beautie excellent:
And to her guestes doth bounteous banquet dight,
Attempted goodly well for health and for delight.

ii

Early before the Morne with cremosin ray,
The windowes of bright heauen opened had,
Through which into the world the dawning day
Might looke, that maketh euery creature glad,
Vprose Sir *Guyon*, in bright armour clad,
And to his purposed iourney him prepar'd:
With him the Palmer eke in habit sad,
Him selfe addrest to that aduenture hard:
So to the riuers side they both together far'd.

iii

Where them awaited ready at the ford
The *Ferriman*, as *Alma* had behight,
With his well rigged boate: They go aboard,
And he eftsoones gan launch his barke forthright.
Ere long they rowed were quite out of sight,
And fast the land behind them fled away.
But let them pas, whiles wind and weather right
Do serue their turnes: here I a while must stay,
To see a cruell fight doen by the Prince this day.

iv

For all so soone, as *Guyon* thence was gon
Vpon his voyage with his trustie guide,
That wicked band of villeins fresh begon
That castle to assaile on euery side,
And lay strong siege about it far and wide.
So huge and infinite their numbers were,
That all the land they vnder them did hide;
So fowle and vgly, that exceeding feare
Their visages imprest, when they approched neare.

v

Them in twelue troupes their Captain did dispart
And round about in fittest steades did place,
Where each might best offend his proper part,
And his contrary obiect most deface,
As euery one seem'd meetest in that cace.
Seuen of the same against the Castle gate,
In strong entrenchments he did closely place,
Which with incessaunt force and endlesse hate,
They battred day and night, and entraunce did awate.

vi

The other fwe, fwe sundry wayes he set,
Against the fwe great Bulwarkes of that pile,
And vnto each a Bulwarke did arret,
T'assayle with open force or hidden guile,
In hope thereof to win victorious spoile.
They all that charge did feruently apply,
With greedie malice and importune toyle,
And planted there their huge artillery,
With which they dayly made most dreadfull battery.

vii

The first troupe was a monstrous rablement
 Of fowle misshapen wights, of which some were
 Headed like Owles, with beκες vncomely bent,
 Others like Dogs, others like Gryphons dreare,
 And some had wings, and some had clawes to teare,
 And euery one of them had Lynces eyes,
 And euery one did bow and arrowes beare:
 All those were lawlesse lustes, corrupt enuies,
 And couetous aspectes, all cruell enimies.

viii

Those same against the bulwarke of the *Sight*
 Did lay strong siege, and battailous assault,
 Ne once did yield it respite day nor night,
 But soone as *Titan* gan his head exault,
 And soone againe as he his light with hault,
 Their wicked engins they against it bent:
 That is each thing, by which the eyes may fault,
 But two then all more huge and violent,
 Beautie, and money, they that Bulwarke sorely rent.

ix

The second Bulwarke was the *Hearing* sence,
 Gainst which the second troupe dessignment makes;
 Deformed creatures, in straunge difference,
 Some hauing heads like Harts, some like to Snakes,
 Some like wild Bores late rouzd out of the brakes;
 Slaunderous reproches, and fowle infamies,
 Leasings, backbyttings, and vaine-glorious crakes,
 Bad counsels, prayses, and false flatteries.
 All those against that fort did bend their batteries.

x

Likewise that same third Fort, that is the *Smell*
 Of that third troupe was cruelly assayd:
 Whose hideous shapes were like to feends of hell,
 Some like to hounds, some like to Apes, dismayd,
 Some like to Puttockes, all in plumes arayd:
 All shap't according their conditions,
 For by those vgly formes weren pourtrayd,
 Foolish delights and fond abusions,
 Which do that sence besiege with light illusions.

xi

And that fourth band, which cruell battry bent,
Against the fourth Bulwarke, that is the *Tast*,
Was as the rest, a grysie rablement,
Some mouth'd like greedy Oystiges, some fast
Like loathly Toades, some fashioned in the wast
Like swine; for so deformd is luxury,
Surfeat, misdiet, and vnthrifitie wast,
Vaine feasts, and idle superfluity:
All those this sences Fort assayle incessantly.

xii

But the fift troupe most horrible of hew,
And fierce of force, was dreadfull to report:
For some like Snailles, some did like spyders shew,
And some like vgly Vrchins thicke and short:
Cruelly they assayled that fift Fort,
Armed with darts of sensuall delight,
With stings of carnall lust, and strong effort
Of feeling pleasures, with which day and night
Against that same fift bulwarke they continued fight.

xiii

Thus these twelue troupes with dreadfull puissance
Against that Castle restlesse siege did lay,
And euermore their hideous Ordinance
Vpon the Bulwarkes cruelly did play,
That now it gan to threaten neare decay:
And euermore their wicked Capitaine
Prouoked them the breaches to assay,
Sometimes with threats, sometimes with hope of gaine,
Which by the ransack of that peece they should attaine.

xiv

On th'other side, th'assieged Castles ward
Their stedfast stonds did mightily maintaine,
And many bold repulse, and many hard
Atchieuement wrought with perill and with paine,
That goodly frame from ruine to sustaine:
And those two brethren Giants did defend
The walles so stoutly with their sturdie maine,
That neuer entrance any durst pretend,
But they to direfull death their groning ghosts did send.

xv

The noble virgin, Ladie of the place,
 Was much dismayed with that dreadfull sight:
 For neuer was she in so euill cace,
 Till that the Prince seeing her wofull plight,
 Gan her recomfort from so sad affright,
 Offring his seruice, and his dearest life
 For her defence, against that Carle to fight,
 Which was their chiefe and th'author of that strife:
 She him remerci'd as the Patrone of her life.

xvi

Eftsoones himselfe in glitterand armes he dight,
 And his well proued weapons to him hent;
 So taking courteous conge he behight,
 Those gates to be vnbar'd, and forth he went.
 Faire mote he thee, the prowest and most gent,
 That euer brandished bright steele on hye:
 Whom soone as that vnruly rablement,
 With his gay Squire issuing did espy,
 They reard a most outrageous dreadfull yelling cry.

xvii

And therewith all attonce at him let fly
 Their fluttering arrowes, thicke as flakes of snow,
 And round about him flocke impetuously,
 Like a great water flood, that tombling low
 From the high mountaines, threats to ouerflow
 With suddein fury all the fertile plaine,
 And the sad husbandmans long hope doth throw
 A downe the streame, and all his vowes make vaine,
 Nor bounds nor banks his headlong ruine may sustaine.

xviii

Vpon his shield their heaped hayle he bore,
 And with his sword disperst the raskall flockes,
 Which fled a sunder, and him fell before,
 As withered leaues drop from their dried stockes,
 When the wroth Western wind does reauē their locks;
 And vnder neath him his courageous steed,
 The fierce *Spumador* trode them downe like docks,
 The fierce *Spumador* borne of heauenly seed:
 Such as *Laomedon* of *Phœbus* race did breed.

xix

Which suddeine horroure and confused cry,
When as their Captaine heard, in haste he yode,
The cause to weet, and fault to remedy;
Vpon a Tygre swift and fierce he rode,
That as the winde ran vnderneath his lode,
Whiles his long legs nigh raught vnto the ground;
Full large he was of limbe, and shoulders brode,
But of such subtile substance and vnsound,
That like a ghost he seem'd, whose graue-clothes were vnbound.

xx

And in his hand a bended bow was seene,
And many arrowes vnder his right side,
All deadly daungerous, all cruell keene,
Headed with flint, and feathers bloudie dide,
Such as the *Indians* in their quiuers hide;
Those could he well direct and streight as line,
And bid them strike the marke, which he had eyde,
Ne was their salue, ne was their medicine,
That mote recure their wounds: so inly they did tine.

xxi

As pale and wan as ashes was his looke,
His bodie leane and meagre as a rake,
And skin all withered like a dried rooke,
Thereto as cold and drery as a Snake,
That seem'd to tremble euermore, and quake:
All in a canuas thin he was bedight,
And girded with a belt of twisted brake,
Vpon his head he wore an Helmet light,
Made of a dead mans skull, that seem'd a ghastly sight.

xxii

Maleger was his name, and after him,
There follow'd fast at hand two wicked Hags,
With hoarie lockes all loose, and visage grim;
Their feet vnshod, their bodies wrapt in rags,
And both as swift on foot, as chased Stags;
And yet the one her other legge had lame,
Which with a staffe, all full of litle snags
She did support, and *Impotence* her name:
But th'other was *Impatience*, arm'd with raging flame.

xxiii

Soone as the Carle from farre the Prince espyde,
 Glistring in armes and warlike ornament,
 His Beast he felly prickt on either syde,
 And his mischieuous bow full readie bent,
 With which at him a cruell shaft he sent:
 But he was warie, and it warded well
 Vpon his shield, that it no further went,
 But to the ground the idle quarrell fell:
 Then he another and another did expell.

xxiv

Which to preuent, the Prince his mortall speare
 Soone to him raught, and fierce at him did ride,
 To be auenged of that shot whyleare:
 But he was not so hardie to abide
 That bitter stownd, but turning quicke aside
 His light-foot beast, fled fast away for feare:
 Whom to pursue, the Infant after hide,
 So fast as his good Courser could him beare,
 But labour lost it was, to weene approach him neare.

xxv

For as the winged wind his Tigre fled,
 That vew of eye could scarce him ouertake,
 Ne scarce his feet on ground were seene to tread;
 Through hils and dales he speedie way did make,
 Ne hedge ne ditch his readie passage brake,
 And in his flight the villein turn'd his face,
 (As wonts the *Tartar* by the *Caspian* lake,
 When as the *Russian* him in fight does chace)
 Vnto his Tygres taile, and shot at him apace.

xxvi

Apace he shot, and yet he fled apace,
 Still as the greedy knight nigh to him drew,
 And oftentimes he would relent his pace,
 That him his foe more fiercely should pursew:
 Who when his vncouth manner he did vew,
 He gan auize to follow him no more,
 But keepe his standing, and his shaftes eschew,
 Vntill he quite had spent his perlous store,
 And then assayle him fresh, ere he could shift for more.

xxvii

But that lame Hag, still as abroad he strew
His wicked arrowes, gathered them againe,
And to him brought, fresh battell to renew:
Which he espying, cast her to restraine
From yielding succour to that cursed Swaine,
And her attaching, thought her hands to tye;
But soone as him dismounted on the plaine,
That other Hag did farre away espy
Binding her sister, she to him ran hastily.

xxviii

And catching hold of him, as downe he lent,
Him backward ouerthrew, and downe him stayd
With their rude hands and griesly graplement,
Till that the villein comming to their ayd,
Vpon him fell, and lode vpon him layd;
Full litle wanted, but he had him slaine,
And of the battell balefull end had made,
Had not his gentle Squire beheld his paine,
And commen to his reskew, ere his bitter bane.

xxix

So greatest and most glorious thing on ground
May often need the helpe of weaker hand;
So feeble is mans state, and life vnsound,
That in assurance it may neuer stand,
Till it dissolued be from earthly band.
Proofe be thou Prince, the prowest man aliue,
And noblest borne of all in *Britayne* land;
Yet thee fierce Fortune did so nearely driue,
That had not grace thee blest, thou shouldest not suruiue.

xxx

The Squire arriuing, fiercely in his armes
Snatcht first the one, and then the other Iade,
His chieftest lets and authors of his harmes,
And them perforce withheld with threatned blade,
Least that his Lord they should behind inuade;
The whiles the Prince prickt with reprochfull shame,
As one awakt out of long slombring shade,
Reuiuing thought of glorie and of fame,
Vnited all his powres to purge himselfe from blame.

xxxi

Like as a fire, the which in hollow caue
 Hath long bene vnderkept, and downe supprest,
 With murmurous disdaine doth inly raue,
 And grudge, in so streight prison to be prest,
 At last breakes forth with furious vnrest,
 And striues to mount vnto his natiue seat;
 All that did earst it hinder and molest,
 It now deuoures with flames and scorching heat,
 And carries into smoake with rage and horror great.

xxxii

So mightily the *Briton* Prince him rouzd
 Out of his hold, and broke his caitiue bands,
 And as a Beare whom angry cures haue touzd,
 Hauing off-shakt them, and escapt their hands,
 Becomes more fell, and all that him withstands
 Treads downe and ouerthrowes. Now had the Carle
 Alighted from his Tigre, and his hands
 Discharged of his bow and deadly quar'le,
 To seize vpon his foe flat lying on the marle.

xxxiii

Which now him turnd to disauantage deare;
 For neither can he fly, nor other harme,
 But trust vnto his strength and manhood meare,
 Sith now he is farre from his monstrous swarme,
 And of his weapons did himselfe disarme.
 The knight yet wrothfull for his late disgrace,
 Fiercely aduaunst his valorous right arme,
 And him so sore smote with his yron mace,
 That groueling to the ground he fell, and fild his place.

xxxiv

Well weened he, that field was then his owne,
 And all his labour brought to happie end,
 When suddein vp the villein ouerthrowne,
 Out of his swowne arose, fresh to contend,
 And gan himselfe to second battell bend,
 As hurt he had not bene. Thereby there lay
 An huge great stone, which stood vpon one end,
 And had not bene remoued many a day;
 Some land-marke seem'd to be, or signe of sundry way.

xxxv

The same he snatcht, and with exceeding sway
Threw at his foe, who was right well aware
To shunne the engin of his meant decay;
It booted not to thinke that throw to beare,
But ground he gaue, and lightly leapt areare:
Eft fierce returning, as a Faulcon faire
That once hath failed of her souse full neare,
Remounts againe into the open aire,
And vnto better fortune doth her selfe prepaire.

xxxvi

So braue returning, with his brandisht blade,
He to the Carle himselfe againe addrest,
And strooke at him so sternely, that he made
An open passage through his riuen brest,
That halfe the steele behind his back did rest;
Which drawing backe, he looked euermore
When the hart bloud should gush out of his chest,
Or his dead corse should fall vpon the flore;
But his dead corse vpon the flore fell nathemore.

xxxvii

Ne drop of bloud appeared shed to bee,
All were the wounde so wide and wonderous,
That through his carkasse one might plainely see:
Halfe in a maze with horror hideous,
And halfe in rage, to be deluded thus,
Againe through both the sides he strooke him quight,
That made his spright to grone full piteous:
Yet nathemore forth fled his groning spright,
But freshly as at first, prepard himselfe to fight.

xxxviii

Thereat he smitten was with great affright,
And trembling terror did his hart apall,
Ne wist he, what to thinke of that same sight,
Ne what to say, ne what to doe at all;
He doubted, least it were some magicall
Illusion, that did beguile his sense,
Or wandring ghost, that wanted funerall,
Or aerie spirit vnder false pretence,
Or hellish feend raysd vp through diuelish science.

xxxix

His wonder farre exceeded reasons reach, xl
That he began to doubt his dazeled sight,
And oft of error did himselfe appeach:
Flesh without bloud, a person without spright,
Wounds without hurt, a bodie without might,
That could doe harme, yet could not harmed bee,
That could not die, yet seem'd a mortall wight,
That was most strong in most infirmittee;
Like did he neuer heare, like did he neuer see.

A while he stood in this astonishment, xli
Yet would he not for all his great dismay
Giue ouer to effect his first intent,
And th'vtmost meanes of victorie assay,
Or th'vtmost issew of his owne decay.
His owne good sword *Mordure*, that neuer fayld
At need, till now, he lightly threw away,
And his bright shield, that nought him now auayld,
And with his naked hands him forcibly assayld.

Twixt his two mightie armes him vp he snatcht, xlii
And crusht his carkasse so against his brest,
That the disdainfull soule he thence dispatcht,
And th'idle breath all vtterly exprest:
Tho when he felt him dead, a downe he kest
The lumpish corse vnto the senselesse grownd;
Adowne he kest it with so puissant wrest,
That backe againe it did aloft rebownd,
And gaue against his mother earth a gronefull sownd.

As when *Ioues* harnesse-bearing Bird from hie xliii
Stoupes at a flying heron with proud disdaine,
The stone-dead quarrey fals so forcible,
That it rebounds against the lowly plaine,
A second fall redoubling backe againe.
Then thought the Prince all perill sure was past,
And that he victor onely did remaine;
No sooner thought, then that the Carle as fast
Gan heap huge strokes on him, as ere he downe was cast.

Nigh his wits end then woxe th'amazed knight,
And thought his labour lost and trauell vaine,
Against this lifelesse shadow so to fight:
Yet life he saw, and felt his mightie maine,
That whiles he marueild still, did still him paine:
For thy he gan some other wayes aduize,
How to take life from that dead-liuing swaine,
Whom still he marked freshly to arize
From th'earth, and from her wombe new spirits to reprice.

xliv

He then remembred well, that had bene sayd,
How th'Earth his mother was, and first him bore;
She eke so often, as his life decayd,
Did life with vsury to him restore,
And raysd him vp much stronger then before,
So soone as he vnto her wombe did fall;
Therefore to ground he would him cast no more,
Ne him commit to graue terrestriall,
But beare him farre from hope of succour vsuall.

xlv

Tho vp he caught him twixt his puissant hands,
And hauing scruzd out of his carrion corse
The lothfull life, now loosd from sinfull bands,
Vpon his shoulders carried him perforce
Aboue three furlongs, taking his full course,
Vntill he came vnto a standing lake;
Him thereinto he threw without remorse,
Ne stird, till hope of life did him forsake;
So end of that Carles dayes, and his owne paines did make.

xlvi

Which when those wicked Hags from farre did spy,
Like two mad dogs they ran about the lands,
And th'one of them with dreadfull yelling cry,
Throwing away her broken chaines and bands,
And hauing quencht her burning fier brands,
Hedlong her selfe did cast into that lake;
But *Impotence* with her owne wilfull hands,
One of *Malegers* cursed darts did take,
So riu'd her trembling hart, and wicked end did make.

xlvii

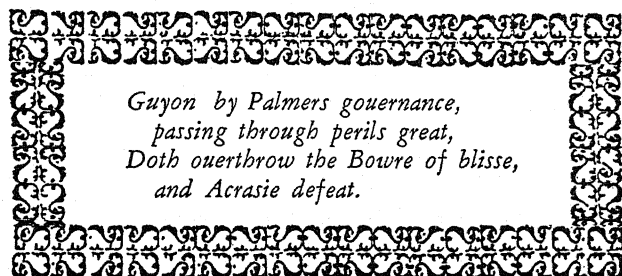
Thus now alone he conquerour remaines; xlviii

Tho comming to his Squire, that kept his steed,
Thought to haue mounted, but his feeble vaines
Him faild thereto, and serued not his need,
Through losse of bloud, which from his wounds did bleed,
That he began to faint, and life decay:
But his good Squire him helping vp with speed,
With stedfast hand vpon his horse did stay,
And led him to the Castle by the beaten way.

Where many Groomes and Squiers readie were, xlix

To take him from his steed full tenderly,
And eke the fairest *Alma* met him there
With balme and wine and costly spicery,
To comfort him in his infirmity;
Eftsoones she causd him vp to be conuayd,
And of his armes despoyled easily,
In sumptuous bed she made him to be layd,
And all the while his wounds were dressing, by him stayd.

Cant. XII.



Now gins this goodly frame of Temperance
Fairely to rise, and her adorned hed
To pricke of highest praise forth to aduance,
Formerly grounded, and fast setteled
On firme foundation of true bountihed;
And this braue knight, that for that vertue fights,
Now comes to point of that same perilous sted,
Where Pleasure dwelles in sensuall delights,
Mongst thousand dangers, and ten thousand magick mightes.

i

Two dayes now in that sea he sayled has,
Ne euer land beheld, ne liuing wight,
Ne ought saue perill, still as he did pas:
Tho when appeared the third *Morrow* bright,
Vpon the waues to spred her trembling light,
An hideous roaring farre away they heard,
That all their senses filled with affright,
And streight they saw the raging surges reard
Vp to the skyes, that them of drowning made affeard.

ii

Said then the Boteman, Palmer stere aright,
And keepe an euen course; for yonder way
We needes must passe (God do vs well acquight,)
That is the *Gulfe of Greedinesse*, they say,
That deepe engorgeth all this worldes pray:
Which hauing swallowd vp excessiuely,
He soone in vomit vp againe doth lay,
And belcheth forth his superfluity,
That all the seas for feare do seeme away to fly.

iii

On th'other side an hideous Rocke is pight,
Of mightie *Magnes* stone, whose craggie clift
Depending from on high, dreadfull to sight,
Ouer the waues his rugged armes doth lift,
And threatneth downe to throw his ragged rift
On who so commeth nigh; yet nigh it drawes
All passengers, that none from it can shift:
For whiles they fly that Gulfes deuouring iawes,
They on this rock are rent, and sunck in helplesse wawes.

iv

Forward they passe, and strongly he them rowes,
Vntill they nigh vnto that Gulfe arriue,
Where streame more violent and greedy growes:
Then he with all his puissance doth striue
To strike his oares, and mightily doth driue
The hollow vessell through the threatfull waue,
Which gaping wide, to swallow them aliue,
In th'huge abysses of his engulphing graue,
Doth rore at them in vaine, and with great terror raue.

v

They passing by, that griesly mouth did see,
Sucking the seas into his entralles deepe,
That seem'd more horrible then hell to bee,
Or that darke dreadfull hole of *Tartare* steepe,
Through which the damned ghosts doen often creepe
Backe to the world, bad liuers to torment:
But nought that falles into this direfull deepe,
Ne that approacheth nigh the wide descent,
May backe returne, but is condemned to be drent.

vi

On th'other side, they saw that perilous Rocke,
Threatning it selfe on them to ruinate,
On whose sharpe clifts the ribs of vessels broke,
And shiuered ships, which had bene wrecked late,
Yet stuck, with carkasses exanimate
Of such, as hauing all their substance spent
In wanton ioyes, and lustes intemperate,
Did afterwards make shipwracke violent,
Both of their life, and fame for euer fowly blent.

vii

For thy, this hight *The Rocke of vile Reproch*,
 A daungerous and detestable place,
 To which nor fish nor fowle did once approch,
 But yelling Meawes, with Seagulles hoarse and bace,
 And Cormoyrants, with birds of rauenous race,
 Which still sate waiting on that wastfull clift,
 For spoyle of wretches, whose vnhappie cace,
 After lost credite and consumed thrift,
 At last them driuen hath to this despairefull drift.

viii

The Palmer seeing them in safetie past,
 Thus said; Behold th'ensamples in our sights,
 Of lustfull luxurie and thriftlesse wast:
 What now is left of miserable wights,
 Which spent their looser daies in lewd delights,
 But shame and sad reproch, here to be red,
 By these rent reliques, speaking their ill plights?
 Let all that liue, hereby be counselled,
 To shunne *Rocke of Reproch*, and it as death to dred.

ix

So forth they rowed, and that *Ferryman*
 With his stiffe oares did brush the sea so strong,
 That the hoare waters from his frigot ran,
 And the light bubbles daunced all along,
 Whiles the salt brine out of the billowes sprong.
 At last farre off they many Islands spy,
 On euery side floting the floods emong:
 Then said the knight, Loe I the land descry,
 Therefore old Syre thy course do thereunto apply.

x

That may not be, said then the *Ferryman*
 Least we vnweeting hap to be fordonne:
 For those same Islands, seeming now and than,
 Are not firme lande, nor any certein wonne,
 But stragglng plots, which to and fro do ronne
 In the wide waters: therefore are they hight
 The *wandring Islands*. Therefore doe them shonne;
 For they haue oft drawne many a wandring wight
 Into most deadly daunger and distressed plight.

xi

Yet well they seeme to him, that farre doth vew,
Both faire and fruitfull, and the ground dispred
With grassie greene of delectable hew,
And the tall trees with leaues apparelled,
Are deckt with blossomes dyde in white and red,
That mote the passengers thereto allure;
But whosoeuer once hath fastened
His foot thereon, may neuer it recure,
But wandreth euer more vncertein and vnsure.

xii

As th'Isle of *Delos* whylome men report
Amid th'*Aegæan* sea long time did stray,
Ne made for shipping any certaine port,
Till that *Latona* traueiling that way,
Flying from *Iuno*s wrath and hard assay,
Of her faire twins was there deliuered,
Which afterwards did rule the night and day;
Thenceforth it firmly was established,
And for *Apolloes* honor highly herried.

xiii

They to him hearken, as beseemeth meete,
And passe on forward: so their way does ly,
That one of those same Islands, which doe fleet
In the wide sea, they needes must passen by,
Which seemd so sweet and pleasant to the eye,
That it would tempt a man to touchen there:
Vpon the banck they sitting did espy
A daintie damzell, dressing of her heare,
By whom a litle skippet floting did appeare.

xiv

She them espying, loud to them can call,
Bidding them nigher draw vnto the shore;
For she had cause to busie them withall;
And therewith loudly laught: But nathemore
Would they once turne, but kept on as afore:
Which when she saw, she left her lockes vndight,
And running to her boat withouten ore,
From the departing land it launched light,
And after them did driue with all her power and might.

xv

Whom ouertaking, she in merry sort
Them gan to bord, and purpose diuersly,
Now faining dalliance and wanton sport,
Now throwing forth lewd words immodestly;
Till that the Palmer gan full bitterly
Her to rebuke, for being loose and light:
Which not abiding, but more scornefully
Scoffing at him, that did her iustly wite,
She turnd her bote about, and from them rowed quite.

xvi

That was the wanton *Phœdria*, which late
Did ferry him ouer the *Idle lake*:
Whom nought regarding, they kept on their gate,
And all her vaine allurements did forsake,
When them the wary Boateman thus bespake;
Here now behoueth vs well to auyse,
And of our safetie good heede to take;
For here before a perlous passage lyes,
Where many Mermayds haunt, making false melodies.

xvii

But by the way, there is a great Quicksand,
And a whirlepoole of hidden ieopardy,
Therefore, Sir Palmer, keepe an euen hand;
For twixt them both the narrow way doth ly.
Scarse had he said, when hard at hand they spy
That quicksand nigh with water couered;
But by the checked waue they did descry
It plaine, and by the sea discoloured:
It called was the quicksand of *Vnthriftighed*.

xviii

They passing by, a goodly Ship did see,
Laden from far with precious merchandize,
And brauely furnished, as ship might bee,
Which through great disauenture, or mesprize,
Her selfe had runne into that hazardize;
Whose mariners and merchants with much toyle,
Labour'd in vaine, to haue recur'd their prize,
And the rich wares to saue from pitteous spoyle,
But neither toyle nor trauell might her backe recoyle.

xix

On th'other side they see that perilous Poole,
That called was the *Whirlepoole of decay*,
In which full many had with haplesse doole
Beene suncke, of whom no memorie did stay:
Whose circled waters rapt with whirling sway,
Like to a restlesse wheele, still running round,
Did couet, as they passed by that way,
To draw their boate within the vtmost bound
Of his wide *Labyrinth*, and then to haue them dround.

xx

But th'heedfull Boateman strongly forth did stretch
His brawnie armes, and all his body straine,
That th'vtmost sandy breach they shortly fetch,
Whiles the dred daunger does behind remaine.
Suddeine they see from midst of all the Maine,
The surging waters like a mountaine rise,
And the great sea pufte vp with proud disdaine,
To swell aboue the measure of his guise,
As threatning to deuoure all, that his powre despise.

xxi

The waues come rolling, and the billowes rore
Outragiously, as they enraged were,
Or wrathfull *Neptune* did them driue before
His whirling charet, for exceeding feare:
For not one puffe of wind there did appeare,
That all the three thereat woxe much afrayd,
Vnweeting, what such horroure straunge did reare.
Eftsoones they saw an hideous hoast arrayd,
Of huge Sea monsters, such as liuing sence dismayd.

xxii

Most vgly shapes, and horrible aspects,
Such as Dame Nature selfe mote feare to see,
Or shame, that euer should so fowle defects
From her most cunning hand escaped bee;
All dreadfull pourtraicts of deformitee:
Spring-headed *Hydraes*, and sea-shouldring Whales,
Great whirlpooles, which all fishes make to flee,
Bright *Scolopendraes*, arm'd with siluer scales,
Mighty *Monoceros*, with immeasured tayles.

xxiii

The dreadfull Fish, that hath deseru'd the name
Of Death, and like him lookes in dreadfull hew,
The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game
The flying ships with swiftnesse to pursew,
The horrible Sea-satyre, that doth shew
His fearefull face in time of greatest storme,
Huge *Ziffius*, whom Mariners eschew
No lesse, then rockes, (as trauellers informe,)
And greedy *Rosmarines* with visages deforme.

xxiv

All these, and thousand thousands many more,
And more deformed Monsters thousand fold,
With dreadfull noise, and hollow rombling rore,
Came rushing in the fomy waues enrold,
Which seem'd to fly for feare, them to behold:
Ne wonder, if these did the knight appall;
For all that here on earth we dreadfull hold,
Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall,
Compared to the creatures in the seas entrall.

xxv

Feare nought, (then said the Palmer well auiz'd;) xxvi
For these same Monsters are not these in deed,
But are into these fearefull shapes disguiz'd
By that same wicked witch, to worke vs dreed,
And draw from on this iourney to proceede.
Tho lifting vp his vertuous staffe on hye,
He smote the sea, which calmed was with speed,
And all that dreadfull Armie fast gan flye
Into great *Tethys* bosome, where they hidden lye.

Quit from that daunger, forth their course they kept, xxvii
And as they went, they heard a ruefull cry
Of one, that wayld and pittifully wept,
That through the sea the resounding plaints did fly:
At last they in an Island did espy
A seemely Maiden, sitting by the shore,
That with great sorrow and sad agony,
Seemed some great misfortune to deplore,
And lowd to them for succour called euermore.

Which *Guyon* hearing, streight his Palmer bad,
 To stere the boate towards that dolefull Mayd,
 That he might know, and ease her sorrow sad:
 Who him auizing better, to him sayd;
 Faire Sir, be not displeasd, if disobayd:
 For ill it were to hearken to her cry;
 For she is inly nothing ill apayd,
 But onely womanish fine forgery,
 Your stubborne hart t'affect with fraile infirmity.

xxviii

To which when she your courage hath inclind
 Through foolish pittie, then her guilefull bayt
 She will embosome deeper in your mind,
 And for your ruine at the last awayt.
 The knight was ruled, and the Boateman strayt
 Held on his course with stayed stedfastnesse,
 Ne euer shruncke, ne euer sought to bayt
 His tyred armes for toylesome wearinesse,
 But with his oares did sweepe the watry wilderness.

xxix

And now they nigh approched to the sted,
 Where as those Mermayds dwelt: it was a still
 And calmy bay, on th'one side sheltered
 With the brode shadow of an hoarie hill,
 On th'other side an high rocke toured still,
 That twixt them both a pleasaunt port they made,
 And did like an halfe Theatre fulfill:
 There those fiue sisters had continuall trade,
 And vsd to bath themselues in that deceitfull shade.

xxx

They were faire Ladies, till they fondly striu'd
 With th'*Heliconian* maides for maistry;
 Of whom they ouer-comen, were depriu'd
 Of their proud beautie, and th'one moyity
 Transform'd to fish, for their bold surquedry,
 But th'vpper halfe their hew retained still,
 And their sweet skill in wonted melody;
 Which euer after they abusd to ill,
 T'allure weake trauellers, whom gotten they did kill.

xxxi

So now to *Guyon*, as he passed by,
Their pleasaunt tunes they sweetly thus applide;
O thou faire sonne of gentle Faery,
That art in mighty armes most magnifide
Aboue all knights, that euer battell tride,
O turne thy rudder hither-ward a while:
Here may thy storme-bet vessell safely ride;
This is the Port of rest from troublous toyle,
The worlds sweet In, from paine and wearisome turmoyle.

xxxii

With that the rolling sea resounding soft,
In his big base them fitly answered,
And on the rocke the waues breaking aloft,
A solemne Meane vnto them measured,
The whiles sweet *Zephrus* lowd whisteled
His treble, a straunge kinde of harmony;
Which *Guyons* senses softly tickeled,
That he the boateman bad row easily,
And let him heare some part of their rare melody.

xxxiii

But him the Palmer from that vanity,
With temperate aduice discourselled,
That they it past, and shortly gan descry
The land, to which their course they leueled;
When suddeinly a grosse fog ouer spred
With his dull vapour all that desert has,
And heauens chearefull face enueloped,
That all things one, and one as nothing was,
And this great Vniuerse seemd one confused mas.

xxxiv

Thereat they greatly were dismayd, ne wist
How to direct their way in darkenesse wide,
But feard to wander in that wastfull mist,
For tombling into mischief vnespide.
Worse is the daunger hidden, then descride.
Suddeinly an innumerable flight
Of harmefull fowles about them fluttering, cride,
And with their wicked wings them oft did smight,
And sore annoyed, groping in that griesly night.

xxxv

Euen all the nation of vnfortunate

xxxvi

And fatall birds about them flocked were,
Such as by nature men abhorre and hate,
The ill-faste Owle, deaths dreadfull messengere,
The hoars Night-rauen, trump of dolefull dreere,
The lether-winged Bat, dayes enemy,
The ruefull Strich, still waiting on the bere,
The Whistler shrill, that who so heares, doth dy,
The hellish Harpies, prophets of sad destiny.

All those, and all that else does horreur breed,
About them flew, and fild their sayles with feare:
Yet stayd they not, but forward did proceed,
Whiles th'one did row, and th'other stifly steare;
Till that at last the weather gan to cleare,
And the faire land it selfe did plainly show.
Said then the Palmer, Lo where does appeare
The sacred soile, where all our perils grow;
Therefore, Sir knight, your ready armes about you throw.

xxxvii

He hearkned, and his armes about him tooke,
The whiles the nimble boate so well her sped,
That with her crooked keele the land she strooke,
Then forth the noble *Guyon* sallied,
And his sage Palmer, that him gouerned;
But th'other by his boate behind did stay.
They marched fairly forth, of nought ydred,
Both firmly armd for euey hard assay,
With constancy and care, gainst daunger and dismay.

xxxviii

Ere long they heard an hideous bellowing
Of many beasts, that roard outrageously,
As if that hungers point, or *Venus* sting
Had them enraged with fell surquedry;
Yet nought they feard, but past on hardily,
Vntill they came in vew of those wild beasts:
Who all attonce, gaping full greedily,
And rearing fiercely their vpstarting crests,
Ran towards, to deuoure those vnexpected guests.

xxxix

But soone as they approcht with deadly threat,
The Palmer ouer them his staffe vpheld,
His mighty staffe, that could all charmes defeat:
Eftsoones their stubborne courages were queld,
And high aduaunced crests downe meekely feld,
In stead of fraying, they them selues did feare,
And trembled, as them passing they beheld:
Such wondrous powre did in that staffe appeare,
All monsters to subdew to him, that did it beare.

xli

Of that same wood it fram'd was cunningly,
Of which *Caduceus* whilome was made,
Caduceus the rod of *Mercury*,
With which he wonts the *Stygian* realmes inuade,
Through ghastly horror, and eternall shade;
Th'infernall feends with it he can asswage,
And *Orcus* tame, whom nothing can perswade,
And rule the *Furies*, when they most do rage:
Such vertue in his staffe had eke this Palmer sage.

xli

Thence passing forth, they shortly do arriue,
Whereas the Bowre of *Blisse* was situate;
A place pickt out by choice of best aliue,
That natures worke by art can imitate:
In which what euer in this worldly state
Is sweet, and pleasing vnto liuing sense,
Or that may dayntiest fantasie aggrate,
Was poured forth with plentifull dispence,
And made there to abound with lauish affluence.

xlii

Goodly it was enclosed round about,
Aswell their entred guestes to keepe within,
As those vnruely beasts to hold without;
Yet was the fence thereof but weake and thin;
Nought feard their force, that fortilage to win,
But wisdomes powre, and temperaunces might,
By which the mightiest things efforced bin:
And eke the gate was wrought of substaunce light,
Rather for pleasure, then for battery or fight.

xliii

Yt framed was of precious yuory, xlv
 That seemd a worke of admirable wit;
 And therein all the famous history
 Of *Iason* and *Medæa* was ywrit;
 Her mighty charmes, her furious louing fit,
 His goodly conquest of the golden fleece,
 His falsed faith, and loue too lightly flit,
 The wondred *Argo*, which in venturous peece
 First through the *Euxine* seas bore all the flowr of *Greece*.

Ye might haue seene the frothy billowes fry xlv
 Vnder the ship, as thorough them she went,
 That seemd the waues were into yuory,
 Or yuory into the waues were sent;
 And other where the snowy substaunce sprent
 With vermell, like the boyes bloud therein shed,
 A piteous spectacle did represent,
 And otherwhiles with gold besprinkeled;
 Yt seemd th'enchanted flame, which did *Creüsa* wed.

All this, and more might in that goodly gate xlvi
 Be red; that euer open stood to all,
 Which thither came: but in the Porch there sate
 A comely personage of stature tall,
 And semblaunce pleasing, more then naturall,
 That trauellers to him seemd to entize;
 His looser garment to the ground did fall,
 And flew about his heeles in wanton wize,
 Not fit for speedy pace, or manly exercize.

They in that place him *Genius* did call: xlvii
 Not that celestiall powre, to whom the care
 Of life, and generation of all
 That liues, pertaines in charge particulare,
 Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,
 And straunge phantomes doth let vs oft forsee,
 And oft of secret ill bids vs beware:
 That is our Selfe, whom though we do not see,
 Yet each doth in him selfe it well perceiue to bee.

Therefore a God him sage Antiquity
 Did wisely make, and good *Agdistes* call:
 But this same was to that quite contrary,
 The foe of life, that good enuyes to all,
 That secretly doth vs procure to fall,
 Through guilefull semblaunts, which he makes vs see.
 He of this Gardin had the gouernall,
 And Pleasures porter was deuizd to bee,
 Holding a staffe in hand for more formalitee.

xlvi

With diuerse flowres he daintily was deckt,
 And strowed round about, and by his side
 A mighty Mazer bowle of wine was set,
 As if it had to him bene sacrifice;
 Wherewith all new-come guests he gratifide:
 So did he eke Sir *Guyon* passing by:
 But he his idle curtesie defide,
 And ouerthrew his bowle disdainfully;
 And broke his staffe, with which he charmed semblants sly.

xlix

Thus being entred, they behold around
 A large and spacious plaine, on euery side
 Strowed with pleasauns, whose faire grassy ground
 Mantled with greene, and goodly beautifide
 With all the ornaments of *Floraes* pride,
 Wherewith her mother Art, as halfe in scorne
 Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride
 Did decke her, and too lauishly adorne,
 When forth from virgin bowre she comes in th'early morne.

l

Thereto the Heauens alwayes Iouiall,
 Lookt on them louely, still in stedfast state,
 Ne suffred storme nor frost on them to fall,
 Their tender buds or leaues to violate,
 Nor scorching heat, nor cold intemperate
 T'afflict the creatures, which therein did dwell,
 But the milde aire with season moderate
 Gently attemptred, and disposd so well,
 That still it breathed forth sweet spirit and holesome smell.

li

More sweet and holesome, then the pleasaunt hill
 Of *Rhodope*, on which the Nimphe, that bore
 A gyaunt babe, her selfe for griefe did kill;
 Or the Thessalian *Tempe*, where of yore
 Faire *Daphne Phœbus* hart with loue did gore;
 Or *Ida*, where the Gods lou'd to repaire,
 When euer they their heauenly bowres forlore;
 Or sweet *Parnasse*, the haunt of Muses faire;
 Or *Eden* selfe, if ought with *Eden* mote compaire.

lii

Much wondred *Guyon* at the faire aspect
 Of that sweet place, yet suffred no delight
 To sincke into his sence, nor mind affect,
 But passed forth, and lookt still forward right,
 Bridling his will, and maistering his might:
 Till that he came vnto another gate,
 No gate, but like one, being goodly dight
 With boughes and braunches, which did broad dilate
 Their clasping armes, in wanton wreathings intricate.

liii

So fashioned a Porch with rare deuice,
 Archt ouer head with an embracing vine,
 Whose bounces hanging downe, seemed to entice
 All passers by, to tast their lushious wine,
 And did themselues into their hands incline,
 As freely offering to be gathered:
 Some deepe empurpled as the *Hyacine*,
 Some as the Rubine, laughing sweetly red,
 Some like faire Emeraudes, not yet well ripened.

liv

And them amongst, some were of burnisht gold,
 So made by art, to beautifie the rest,
 Which did themselues emongst the leaues enfold,
 As lurking from the vew of couetous guest,
 That the weake bowes, with so rich load opprest,
 Did bow adowne, as ouer-burdened.
 Vnder that Porch a comely dame did rest,
 Clad in faire weedes, but fowle disordered,
 And garments loose, that seemd vnmeet for womanhed.

lv

In her left hand a Cup of gold she held,
And with her right the riper fruit did reach,
Whose sappy liquor, that with fulnesse sweld,
Into her cup she scruzd, with daintie breach
Of her fine fingers, without fowle empeach,
That so faire wine-presse made the wine more sweet:
Thereof she vsd to giue to drinke to each,
Whom passing by she happened to meet:
It was her guise, all Straungers goodly so to greet.

lvi

So she to *Guyon* offred it to tast;
Who taking it out of her tender hond,
The cup to ground did violently cast,
That all in peeces it was broken fond,
And with the liquor stained all the lond:
Whereat *Excesse* exceedingly was wroth,
Yet no'te the same amend, ne yet withstond,
But suffered him to passe, all were she loth;
Who nought regarding her displeasure forward goth.

lvii

There the most daintie Paradise on ground,
It selfe doth offer to his sober eye,
In which all pleasures plenteously abound,
And none does others happinesse enuye:
The painted flowres, the trees vpshooting hye,
The dales for shade, the hilles for breathing space,
The trembling groues, the Christall running by;
And that, which all faire workes doth most aggrace,
The art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place.

lviii

One would haue thought, (so cunningly, the rude,
And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,)
That nature had for wantonnesse ensude
Art, and that Art at nature did repine;
So striuing each th'other to vndermine,
Each did the others worke more beautifie;
So diff'ring both in willes, agreed in fine:
So all agreed through sweete diuersitie,
This Gardin to adorne with all varietie.

lix

And in the midst of all, a fountaine stood,
Of richest substaunce, that on earth might bee,
So pure and shiny, that the siluer flood
Through euery channell running one might see;
Most goodly it with curious imageree
Was ouer-wrought, and shapes of naked boyes,
Of which some seemd with liuely iollitee,
To fly about, playing their wanton toyes,
Whilest others did them selues embay in liquid ioyes.

lx

And ouer all, of purest gold was spred,
A trayle of yuie in his natiue hew:
For the rich mettall was so coloured,
That wight, who did not well auis'd it vew,
Would surely deeme it to be yuie trew:
Low his lasciuious armes adown did creepe,
That themselues dipping in the siluer dew,
Their fleecy flowres they tenderly did steepe,
Which drops of Christall seemd for wantones to weepe.

lxi

Infinitt streames continually did well
Out of this fountaine, sweet and faire to see,
The which into an ample lauer fell,
And shortly grew to so great quantitie,
That like a little lake it seemd to bee;
Whose depth exceeded not three cubits hight,
That through the waues one might the bottom see,
All pau'd beneath with Iaspar shining bright,
That seemd the fountaine in that sea did sayle vpright.

lxii

And all the margent round about was set,
With shady Laurell trees, thence to defend
The sunny beames, which on the billowes bet,
And those which therein bathed, mote offend.
As *Guyon* hapned by the same to wend,
Two naked Damzelles he therein espyde,
Which therein bathing, seemed to contend,
And wrestle wantonly, ne car'd to hyde,
Their dainty parts from vew of any, which them eyde.

lxiii

Sometimes the one would lift the other quight
Aboue the waters, and then downe againe
Her plong, as ouer maistered by might,
Where both awhile would couered remaine,
And each the other from to rise restraine;
The whiles their snowy limbes, as through a vele,
So through the Christall waues appeared plaine:
Then suddeinly both would themselues vnhele,
And th'amarous sweet spoiles to greedy eyes reuele.

lxiv

As that faire Starre, the messenger of morne,
His deawy face out of the sea doth reare:
Or as the *Cyprian* goddess, newly borne
Of th'Oceans fruitfull froth, did first appeare:
Such seemed they, and so their yellow heare
Christalline humour dropped downe apace.
Whom such when *Guyon* saw, he drew him neare,
And somewhat gan relent his earnest pace,
His stubborne brest gan secret pleasaunce to embrace.

lxv

The wanton Maidens him espying, stood
Gazing a while at his vnwonted guise;
Then th'one her selfe low ducked in the flood,
Abasht, that her a straunger did a vise:
But th'other rather higher did arise,
And her two lilly paps aloft displayd,
And all, that might his melting hart entise
To her delights, she vnto him bewrayd:
The rest hid vnderneath, him more desirous made.

lxvi

With that, the other likewise vp arose,
And her faire lockes, which formerly were bownd
Vp in one knot, she low adowne did lose:
Which flowing long and thick, her cloth'd arownd,
And th'yuorie in golden mantle gownd:
So that faire spectacle from him was reft,
Yet that, which reft it, no lesse faire was fownd:
So hid in lockes and waues from lookers theft,
Nought but her louely face she for his looking left.

lxvii

lxviii

Withall she laughed, and she blusht withall,
 That blushing to her laughter gaue more grace,
 And laughter to her blushing, as did fall:
 Now when they spide the knight to slacke his pace,
 Them to behold, and in his sparkling face
 The secret signes of kindled lust appeare,
 Their wanton meriments they did encrease,
 And to him beckned, to approach more neare,
 And shewd him many sights, that courage cold could reare.

lxix

On which when gazing him the Palmer saw,
 He much rebukt those wandring eyes of his,
 And counseld well, him forward thence did draw.
 Now are they come nigh to the *Bowre of blis*
 Of her fond fauorites so nam'd amis:
 When thus the Palmer; Now Sir, well auise;
 For here the end of all our trauell is:
 Here wonnes *Acrasia*, whom we must surprise,
 Else she will slip away, and all our drift despise.

lxx

Eftsoones they heard a most melodious sound,
 Of all that mote delight a daintie eare,
 Such as attonce might not on liuing ground,
 Saue in this Paradise, be heard elsewhere:
 Right hard it was, for wight, which did it heare,
 To read, what manner musicke that mote bee:
 For all that pleasing is to liuing eare,
 Was there consorted in one harmonie,
 Birdes, voyces, instruments, windes, waters, all agree.

lxxi

The ioyous birdes shrouded in chearefull shade,
 Their notes vnto the voyce attempred sweet;
 Th'Angelicall soft trembling voyces made
 To th'instruments diuine response meet:
 The siluer sounding instruments did meet
 With the base murmure of the waters fall:
 The waters fall with difference discreet,
 Now soft, now loud, vnto the wind did call:
 The gentle warbling wind low answered to all.

There, whence that Musick seemed heard to bee,
Was the faire Witch her selfe now solacing,
With a new Louer, whom through sorcerie
And witchcraft, she from farre did thither bring:
There she had him now layd a slombering,
In secret shade, after long wanton ioyes:
Whilst round about them pleasauntly did sing
Many faire Ladies, and lasciuious boyes,
That euer mixt their song with light licentious toyes.

lxxii

And all that while, right ouer him she hong,
With her false eyes fast fixed in his sight,
As seeking medicine, whence she was stong,
Or greedily depasturing delight:
And oft inclining downe with kisses light,
For feare of waking him, his lips bedewd,
And through his humid eyes did sucke his spright,
Quite molten into lust and pleasure lewd;
Wherewith she sighed soft, as if his case she rewd.

lxxiii

The whiles some one did chaunt this louely lay;
Ah see, who so faire thing doest faine to see,
In springing flowre the image of thy day;
Ah see the Virgin Rose, how sweetly shee
Doth first peepe forth with bashfull modestee,
That fairer seemes, the lesse ye see her may;
Lo see soone after, how more bold and free
Her bared bosome she doth broad display;
Loe see soone after, how she fades, and falles away.

lxxiv

So passeth, in the passing of a day,
Of mortall life the leafe, the bud, the flowre,
Ne more doth flourish after first decay,
That earst was sought to decke both bed and bowre,
Of many a Ladie, and many a Paramowre:
Gather therefore the Rose, whilst yet is prime,
For soone comes age, that will her pride deflowre:
Gather the Rose of loue, whilst yet is time,
Whilst louing thou mayst loued be with equall crime.

lxxv

He ceast, and then gan all the quire of birdes
Their diuerse notes t'attune vnto his lay,
As in approuance of his pleasing words.
The constant paire heard all, that he did say,
Yet swarued not, but kept their forward way,
Through many couert groues, and thickets close,
In which they creeping did at last display
That wanton Ladie, with her louer lose,
Whose sleepeie head she in her lap did soft dispose.

lxxvi

Vpon a bed of Roses she was layd,
As faint through heat, or dight to pleasant sin,
And was arayd, or rather disarayd,
All in a vele of silke and siluer thin,
That hid no whit her alablaster skin,
But rather shewd more white, if more might bee:
More subtile web *Arachne* can not spin,
Nor the fine nets, which oft we wouen see
Of scorched deaw, do not in th'aire more lightly flee.

lxxvii

Her snowy brest was bare to readie spoyle
Of hungry eies, which n'ote therewith be fild,
And yet through languour of her late sweet toyle,
Few drops, more cleare then Nectar, forth distild,
That like pure Orient perles adowne it trild,
And her faire eyes sweet smyling in delight,
Moystened their fierie beames, with which she thrild
Fraile harts, yet quenched not; like starry light
Which sparckling on the silent waues, does seeme more bright.

lxxviii

The young man sleeping by her, seemd to bee
Some goodly swayne of honorable place,
That certes it great pittie was to see
Him his nobilitie so foule deface;
A sweet regard, and amiable grace,
Mixed with manly sternnesse did appeare
Yet sleeping, in his well proportiond face,
And on his tender lips the downy heare
Did now but freshly spring, and silken blossomes beare.

lxxix

His warlike armes, the idle instruments

lxxx

Of sleeping praise, were hong vpon a tree,
And his braue shield, full of old moniments,
Was fowly ra'st, that none the signes might see;
Ne for them, ne for honour cared hee,
Ne ought, that did to his aduauncement tend,
But in lewd loues, and wastfull luxuree,
His dayes, his goods, his bodie he did spend:
O horrible enchantment, that him so did blend.

The noble Elfe, and carefull Palmer drew

lxxxi

So nigh them, minding nought, but lustfull game,
That suddein forth they on them rusht, and threw
A subtile net, which onely for the same
The skilfull Palmer formally did frame.
So held them vnder fast, the whiles the rest
Fled all away for feare of fowler shame.

The faire Enchauntresse, so vnwares opprest,
Tryde all her arts, and all her sleights, thence out to wrest.

And eke her louer stroue: but all in vaine;

lxxxii

For that same net so cunningly was wound,
That neither guile, nor force might it distraine.
They tooke them both, and both them strongly bound
In captiue bandes, which there they readie found:
But her in chaines of adamant he tyde;
For nothing else might keepe her safe and sound;
But *Verdant* (so he hight) he soone vntyde,
And counsell sage in steed thereof to him applyde.

But all those pleasant bowres and Pallace braue,

lxxxiii

Guyon broke downe, with rigour pittillesse;
Ne ought their goodly workmanship might saue
Them from the tempest of his wrathfulnesse,
But that their blisse he turn'd to balefulnesse:
Their groues he feld, their gardins did deface,
Their arbers spoyle, their Cabinets suppresses,
Their banket houses burne, their buildings race,
And of the fairest late, now made the fowlest place.

Then led they her away, and eke that knight lxxxiv

They with them led, both sorrowfull and sad:

The way they came, the same retourn'd they right,

Till they arriued, where they lately had

Charm'd those wild-beasts, that rag'd with furie mad.

Which now awaking, fierce at them gan fly,

As in their mistresse reskew, whom they lad;

But them the Palmer soone did pacify.

Then *Guyon* askt, what meant those beastes, which there did ly.

Said he, These seeming beasts are men indeed, lxxxv

Whom this Enchauntresse hath transformed thus,

Whylome her louers, which her lusts did feed,

Now turned into figures hideous,

According to their mindes like monstrous.

Sad end (quoth he) of life intemperate,

And mournfull meed of ioyes delicious:

But Palmer, if it mote thee so aggrate,

Let them returned be vnto their former state.

Streight way he with his vertuous staffe them strooke, lxxxvi

And streight of beasts they comely men became;

Yet being men they did vnmanly looke,

And stared ghastly, some for inward shame,

And some for wrath, to see their captiue Dame:

But one aboue the rest in speciall,

That had an hog beene late, hight *Grille* by name,

Repined greatly, and did him miscall,

That had from hoggish forme him brought to naturall.

Said *Guyon*, See the mind of beastly man, lxxxvii

That hath so soone forgot the excellence

Of his creation, when he life began,

That now he chooseth, with vile difference,

To be a beast, and lacke intelligence.

To whom the Palmer thus, The donghill kind

Delights in filth and foule incontinence:

Let *Grill* be *Grill*, and haue his hoggish mind,

But let vs hence depart, whilst wether serues and wind.

COMMENTARY

Guide references are to stanza and line.

In this volume we have not normalized the capitalization of early editors.

Notes not otherwise assigned are by the Editor. Editorial comment upon notes is either included in square brackets or designated EDITOR.

In quotations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the translations of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, and of Butcher and Lang have been followed.

Editions, books, and periodicals frequently cited will be referred to under the following abbreviations:

EDITORS AND COMMENTATORS

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| HUGHES. | Works of Spenser, ed. John Hughes. 1715. |
| JORTIN. | Remarks on Spenser's Poems [by John Jortin]. 1734. |
| WARTON. | Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, by Thomas Warton.
2nd ed., 1762. [1st ed., 1754.] |
| UPTON. | Spenser's Faerie Queene, ed. John Upton. 1758. |
| CHURCH. | The Faerie Queene, ed. Ralph Church. 1758. |
| TODD. | Works of Spenser, ed. H. J. Todd. 1805. |
| COLLIER. | Works of Spenser, ed. J. P. Collier. 1862. |
| KITCHIN. | Faery Queene, Book II, ed. G. W. Kitchin. 1910. [1st ed.,
1887.] |
| WALTHER. | Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene, by Marie Walther.
c. 1895. |
| SAWTELLE. | Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology, by A. E. Sawtelle. 1896. |
| HEISE. | Die Gleichnisse in Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene und ihre
Vorbilder, by Wilhelm Heise. 1902. |
| SCHOENEICH. | Der litterarische Einfluss Spensers auf Marlowe. Georg Schoen-
eich. 1907. |
| HARPER. | Sources of British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene,
by Carrie A. Harper. 1910. |
| WINSTANLEY. | Faerie Queene, Book II, ed. Lilian Winstanley. 1914. |
| CORY. | Spenser: A Critical Study, by H. E. Cory. 1917. |
| FOWLER. | Spenser and the Courts of Love, by E. B. Fowler. 1921. |
| CARPENTER. | Reference Guide to Spenser, by F. I. Carpenter. 1923. |
| LOTSPEICH. | Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser, by Henry
G. Lotspeich. 1932. |

For references to authors not in this list, consult the Bibliography.

PERIODICALS

Abbreviation	Title
<i>Engl. St.</i>	Englische Studien
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>NQ</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>PQ</i>	Philological Quarterly
<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>SP</i>	Studies in Philology

Poems

<i>Aen.</i>	Aeneid
<i>F. Q.</i>	Faerie Queene
<i>Ger. Lib.</i>	Gerusalemme Liberata
<i>Il.</i>	Iliad
<i>Inf.</i>	Inferno
<i>Met.</i>	Metamorphoses
<i>Od.</i>	Odyssey
<i>Orl. Fur.</i>	Orlando Furioso
<i>Orl. Inn.</i>	Orlando Innamorato
<i>P. I.</i>	Purple Island
<i>P. L.</i>	Paradise Lost
<i>P. R.</i>	Paradise Regained
<i>Par.</i>	Paradiso
<i>Purg.</i>	Purgatorio
<i>Rin.</i>	Rinaldo
<i>Sh. Cal.</i>	Shepherd's Calendar
<i>Theb.</i>	Thebais

GENERAL

UPTON. The connection of this book with the former is visible, not only from the whole thread of the story, but from lesser instances. See 1. 12. 36, where the false prophet is bound, and yet escapes, and is now gone forth to trouble Fairy land, whose destruction will not be accomplished till the throne of the Fairy queen is established in righteousness, and in all moral virtues. "He [Archimago] must be loosed a little season—He shall be loosed out of prison." Compare Revel. 19. 20; 20. 3 with 1. 12. 36, and 2. 1. 1. The false prophet and deceiver had almost by his lies work'd the destruction of Sir Guyon and the red-crosse knight, 2. 1. 8. The Christian knight was well warned, and well armed against his subtleties. Our moral knight is now his chief object; who is sent upon a high adventure by the Fairy queen, to bring captive to her court an inchantress named Acrasia, in whom is imaged sensual pleasure or intemperance. The various adventures which he meets with by the way are such as show the virtues and happy effects of temperance, or the vices and ill consequences of intemperance. The opening with the adventure of the bloody-handed babe unites the beginning and end, and is conceived with great art. . . .

Shall I guard the reader against one piece of poor curiosity? not enviously to pry into kitchens, outhouses, sinks, &c. while he is viewing a palace: not to look for moles and freckles, while he is viewing a Medicean Venus. I will venture to say, if he finds some things too easy, he will find other things too hard. "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars," Prov. 9. 1. This allegorical house is built with some spoils from the Pythagorean and Socratic writers.—Whilst the Prince is extirpating the foes of Alma, Sir Guyon sets forward on his quest, and attacks the inchantress in her own Island. And here our poet has introduced, keeping in view his general allegory, all those specious miracles, which Homer, mingling truth with fable, had given a poetical sanction to long before; as of Scylla and Charybdis, the songs of the Syrens, floating Islands, men by enchantments and sensuality turned into beasts, &c. which marvellous kind of stories Romance writers seldom forget. Circe, Alcina, Armida, are all rifled to dress up Acrasia. The characters in this book are the sage Palmer, the sober Guyon, the magnificent Prince Arthur, all well opposed to the cunning Archimago, and furious Sarazins. Braggadochio and Trompart are a kind of comic characters. Medina, Alma, Belpheobe, are quite opposite to Medina's sisters, as likewise to Phaedria and Acrasia.

I am thoroughly persuaded myself, that Spenser has many historical allusions, and in this light I often consider his poem, as well as in that moral allegory, which is more obvious.

KITCHIN (pp. viii-xi). There are also, on the other hand, special characteristics and points of difference between the two Books, arising from the different themes treated in them. The Second Book stands quite alone in English literature for its melodious diction and beautiful descriptions of a false Fairyland; while the First Book is full of fighting and grim pictures, some of them revolting rather than terrible. The Dragon, laid low over acres of land, horrible even in death, fills the mind with painful images: on the other hand, Acrasia, fair and

frail, carried away in bonds, not tormented nor slain, her slaves released, and restored to human form; her bower broken down, her garden defaced, may be sad, but is not horrible. Again, the First Book is naturally far fuller of historical allusions to the time in which it was written than the Second: for the latter dealt simply with the development of each man's moral nature, while the former treated of the great religious and political questions which were agitating the world. For the same reason the allegorical character of the First Book is more strongly marked than that of the Second, though we have the general similitude of the struggle against temptation, and the detailed and interpolated allegories of the House of Moderation and of the Castle of the Soul.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 191-2). The first two books of the *Faery Queen* are, without doubt, the most systematic and careful of the six we now have. Each is devoted to the quest of a single knight, and each is rounded out to complete unity. In the second book, however, we can detect signs of a change. The plot of the first is rigidly concentrated; in the second—though the book can hardly be said to have a real plot, being made up of a string of unprogressive episodes—Braggadocchio and Belpheobe, and the chronicle of British kings, and the combat of Arthur with Maleger mar the narrative unity, if they do not absolutely destroy it. Spenser seems to be reaching out towards a somewhat freer, more varied narrative plan.

His stricter allegorical method seems also to be giving him trouble. The career of the Red Cross Knight in its progressive vicissitudes, from the Den of Error, through the House of Pride, the Dungeon of Orgoglio, the Cave of Despair, the House of Holiness, to the final combat with the Dragon of Evil and the triumphant marriage with Una, is, on the whole, set forth with rare imaginative power. In the career of Guyon the allegory begins to lose life. The House of Golden Meane is tolerable, but Medina herself is so pale and bloodless that Spenser seems to have hardly dared make her Guyon's avowed mistress; their mutual troth is suggested only in the faintest manner (2. 2. 30. 5; 2. 7. 50); and in the House of Temperance with its cut and dried allegory of the human body, the house of the soul, is perilously close to a "reductio ad absurdum." Spenser, one would think, must have felt that if his characters and scenes were to continue to be the embodiment of merely abstract qualities and conditions, or the transmogrification of things material, there would be danger of his poem becoming completely ossified. His imagination could not continue indefinitely to give life to abstractions.

E. DE SELINCOURT (*Oxford Spenser*, one vol. ed., p. xlv). The story of Book II is shaped by Spenser's idea of the psychological development of the human character striving after moral control. Sir Guyon, seeing in the fates of Amavia and Mordaunt the dangers of intemperance, learns in the Castle of Medina that the secret of virtue is moderation. What his intellect grasped is soon put to proof in his own emotional experience. His first serious encounter is with Furor, and he has next to deal with the embroilments of Atin. He manfully overcomes these violent passions of anger and malignity, only to be seduced for a while by idle pleasures. But Spenser clearly regards his defection with sympathetic tolerance; and Sir Guyon suffers no great hurt from his short passage with irresponsible Mirth upon the lake of Idleness. He returns to his more strenuous

journey, and visiting the cave of Mammon, is called upon to grapple with the passion of Avarice. He escapes, but so strong are the evil temptations of the world that he falls into a deadly swoon, and is despoiled of his armour by the sons of Acrates. Prince Arthur comes to his rescue and together they enter the House of Alma. Here Guyon receives a fuller teaching than the merely intellectual guidance of Medina. For Alma is the human soul in perfect command over the body. The final canto depicts Guyon's resistance of the supreme temptations of the sensuous life. Those who blame Spenser for lavishing the resources of his art upon this canto, and filling it with magic beauty, have never been at the heart of the experience that it shadows. It is from the ravishing loveliness of all that surrounds and leads to the Bower of Acrasia that she herself draws her almost irresistible power. When Guyon has bound Acrasia and destroyed the Bower of Bliss, he has achieved his last and hardest victory, and is sealed as the true knight of Temperance.

PROEM

ii-iii. LOIS WHITNEY (MP 19.143). Spenser might well defend on this ground the wonders that he tells, for many of them are drawn from the relations of the voyagers themselves. Incidentally these lines fix the date of the Prologue as not earlier than 1584, for that was the date of the first voyage to Virginia by Amadas and Barlowe. [See Appendices, "Celtic Influences" and "The Date of Composition."]

ii. 8. KITCHIN. Yanez Pinçon first discovered the mouth of the river, A. D. 1500: but a Spaniard, Francesco d'Orillana, was the first who sailed down any part of it, in 1540. He reported that there was a community of female warriors on its banks; and the river was named after them. The scattered accounts of the Amazons were collected by Sir W. Raleigh, and are to be found in his *History of the World*, "Life of Alexander the Great."

9. KITCHIN. When Sir W. Raleigh returned from his expedition in 1584 with a glowing report of the country discovered in North America, and laid the new lands at the feet of the "Virgin Queen," she was pleased to accept them, and to give them the name of Virginia. In 1589, after much outlay in unsuccessful attempts at colonisation, Sir Walter handed over his rights to a London company, reserving to himself a royalty of one-fifth of all precious metals found there. The colony then prospered; and it is interesting to note that while the Dedication to the first edition of the *Faery Queene* (A. D. 1590) styles Elizabeth "Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland," that of the second edition (1596) adds the words "and of Virginia," showing that the colony had risen to high credit in the interval. [The early attempts at colonization were, of course, unsuccessful. It was not until 1607 that a plantation was finally established.]

iii. 4-5. UPTON. Spenser, who is a great imitator of Ariosto, seems to have had him here in view; compare *Orl. Fur.* 7. 1:

[Chi va lontan da la sua patria, vede
Cose da quel che già credea, lontane;
Che narrandole poi, non se gli crede,

E stimato bugiardo ne rimane:
 Che 'l sciocco vulgo non gli vuol dar fede,
 Se non le vede e tocca chiare e piane.
 Per questo io so che l'inesperienza
 Farà al mio canto dar poca credenza.]

iv. B. E. C. DAVIS (*Edmund Spenser*, pp. 75-6). For all its fantastic foundation *The Faerie Queene* is no elegy upon faded glory but the eulogy of a patriot addressing a united people, the nearest approach to a national epic in the cycle of English poetry. Viewed in the aura of Elizabethan achievement the insubstantial pageant of Faeryland became a solid reality within the reach of every man true to himself and to his country [st. 4 quoted]. The vision of Camden's *Britannia*, of Drayton's *Polyolbion* enjoying a new age of chivalry and illumined by a galaxy of Arthurian Knights—here is fine matter for heroic poetry. The world is yet unreformed, monsters of vice are rampant, virtue has still to fight desperately for the restoration of "antique use." But Gloriana reigns, Arthur has come out of Faerie, heroes stand ready to serve the cause of the right. The author of the *View* and of *Mother Hubberds Tale* was shrewd enough to see through the characters whom he selected as living originals for his images of virtue. He must have recognised in Elizabeth a woman of small mind and inordinate vanity, in Leicester an unscrupulous intriguer, in Grey a thick-skinned soldier, in Raleigh a capricious adventurer. But with all due allowance for the flattery of a courtly maker the fact remains that somehow he believed in the Elizabethan régime as transformed by his poetic view of the world. The apostrophe of Prince Arthur on learning of his "famous auncestries" breathes a spirit of true patriotism devoid of sentimentality.

5. UPTON. Compare 2. 10. 75-6 and 3. 3. 4 . . . [line 5 quoted]. . . . The metaphor seems to be taken from what Zeno tells Socrates in Plato's *Parmenides*, that like the Spartan hounds he could trace the game, and pursue what was told him. . . . The same kind of expression we have in 1. 1. 11. . . . The same allusion is likewise in Sophocles, where Minerva tells Ulysses, that he has seen him "by track hunting" for Ajax, *κυνηγετοῦντα*, and she promises her favourable interposition in this hunting [*Ajax* 37] (*τῇ σὺ πρόθυμος κυνήϊα*) i. e. to the finding Ajax and his designs out. Compare Lucretius, 1. 403.

v. 1. KITCHIN. The style of this high compliment is a kind of parody on things divine: it is the veil on Moses' face transferred to the glory and majesty of the Queen.

CANTO I

i. UPTON. Let any reader consider this stanza with which our poet opens his second book; and particularly let him remember the hint given in 1. 12. 41:

How he (St. George, the red-crosse knight) had sworne
 Unto his Faery queene backe to retourne.

He will then perceive the connection of these books; and that this poem cannot have an end, until all the knights have finished all their adventures; and until all return to the court of the Fairy queen, together with prince Arthur (the Briton prince) who is properly the hero of the poem; and whose chief adventure, viz.

of his seeking and at length finding the Fairy queen, is what connects the poem, and makes it a whole.—Consider likewise, the common enemy is now loosed from his hands: Archimago, the adversary, the accuser, the deceiver, is now gone out again to deceive.—He is loosed out of prison. This is not said by chance, merely to lengthen out, or after a botching manner to tack his poem together, but it is scriptural, and his allegory required it to be so. "And he laid hold on him—(viz. on the old deceiver, the cunning architect of cancred guyle) and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more until the thousand years be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season," Rev. 20. 2, 3. "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan (Archimago) shall be loosed out of his prison. And shall go out to deceive the nations, which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle," ver. 7, 8. Gog and Magog, are the Sarazins, Sansfoy, Sansjoy, Sansloy, &c. who are gathered together to battle against the saints.

1. UPTON. "That architect of guyle"; so Cicero, *Pro A. Cluent.* [60], "Architectum sceleris." Homer's epithet of Discord is, *κακομήχανος*, *Il.* 9. 257. Nor unlike is that of Seneca, in *Tro.* 749:

O machinator fraudis, O scelerum artifex.

And thus Milton, 4. 121, calls the old Archimago "Artificer of fraud."

TODD. Gregory Nazianzen, it may be observed, denominates, in his Tragedy of *Christus Patiens*, the old Dragon . . . "fraudis artifex"; whence perhaps Spenser's "architect of guyle," applied to the same deceiver.

v. 8-9. UPTON. The Greeks express this with one word, *κατάφρακτος*, "Cataphractus, loricated: Cataphracti equites dicuntur qui et ipsi ferro muniti sunt et equos similiter munitos habent" (Servius on *Aen.* 2. 770). A more particular description the reader may see at his leisure, in Claudian, in *Rufin.* 2. 357, and in Heliodorus 9. 431. In the same manner prince Arthur is armed (1. 7. 29), and Arthegall (3. 2. 24).

vi. UPTON. Let us contemplate the portraiture of temperance, or Sir Guyon; who has his name from "to guide." . . . With allusion to his name, the red-crosse knight thus addresses him, St. 29:

For sith I know your goodly governaunce,
Great cause, I weene, you guided.

WINSTANLEY (2nd., ed., p. lxxii). The name Guyon . . . is plainly the Guyan (Guienne) of the Elizabethan Chronicles (Fabyan, etc.). [See Appendix, "The Historical Allegory."]

7-9. UPTON. King Oberon was king of the Fairies, and father of Tanaquil, the fairy queen. See 2. 10. 75-6. Sir Huon I take to represent Sir Hugh de Paganis founder of the knights templars, who were instituted to defend the christians, and fight against the Sarazins: they wore a red-cross on their breast. 'Tis Spenser's manner to anticipate his stories, and to give the names of persons, whom he intends to introduce in some other canto or book. This is no unpleasant manner of first

perplexing the reader, and then resolving his doubt. But Sir Huon, we hear no more of in these Cantos now remaining: I am persuaded Spenser intended not to leave us altogether in the dark concerning him, no more than concerning king Oberon, whom he mentions hereafter.

8. WARTON (2. 138). There is a romance, called "Sir Huon of Bordeaux," mentioned among other old histories of the same kind, in Laneham's *Letter*, concerning queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenelworth-castle. It is entitled, *The famous Exploits of Syr Hugh of Bordeaux*, and was translated from the French by John Bouchier, Lord Berners, in the reign of Henry VIII. This book passed through three editions. William Copland printed another translation by this nobleman, *Arthur of Brytan. The history of the most noble and valyant knight, Arthur of Lytell Brytayne, translated out of the french, &c.*

TODD. Now, as Mr. Upton thinks that Spenser intended "not to leave us in the dark" concerning this Sir Huon; (whom he erroneously supposes to be Sir Hugh de Paganis;) and as neither Mr. Upton nor Mr. Warton have thrown further light upon the passage before us, I must inform the reader that, from the original romance of *Huon de Bordeaux*, the poet's meaning may be ascertained. King Oberon appears to have been particularly attached to Huon de Bordeaux. After having become acquainted with him, as he wished, the Faery king proceeds to show him every attention, viz. "Des grandes merueilles que le Roy Oberon racompta à Huon de Bordeaux, et des choses qu' il fist": And afterwards, "Des beaux dons que le Roy Oberon fit à Huon." The Faery king succours him in many dangers, and finally presents to him his kingdom of Faery: "Comment Oberon donna à Huon son Royaume de Faerie.—Mais pour ce que ie vous aime loyaument," says the king to Huon, "ie vous mettray la couronne dessus votre chef, & serez Roy & seigneur de mon Royaume," &c. The poet therefore alludes to the hero's exercise of the kingly power in creating Knights.

HENRY MORLEY (*English Writers* 9, p. 336) cites the story of Sir Huon and Rezia, who were the lovers pure enough to bear every trial. They were aided by Oberon.

9. KITCHIN. King of Faery-land. In 10. 75, Henry VIII of England is introduced under this name.

vii. 2. UPTON. This Palmer, in the allegorical and moral allusion, means prudence: in the historical (as I think) Whitgift, who was tutor to the Earl of Essex, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. See Whitgift's character in Wotton's life of the Earl of Essex.

In 2. 8. 7 the angel calls him, "reverend Sire": and bids him "take care of his Pupil." These expressions are artfully brought in by the poet, that those who look deeper than the dead letter, may not be misled in their interpretation of his historical allusions. However the moral of the fable is, that prudence should accompany temperance. "Prudentia est rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque scientia" (Cic. *Off.* 1. 43). Prudence is a kind of intellectual virtue and a proper directress of temperance, a moral virtue. [See Appendix, "The Historical Allegory."]

WINSTANLEY. Representing the reason which, in the truly temperate man, holds the passions in check; Guyon has to move slowly to keep step with him, because one of the chief qualities of temperance is its deliberateness.

8. UPTON cites Plato, *Charmides* [159]: ["Temperance was doing things orderly and quietly, such things for examples as walking in the streets, and talking, or anything else of that nature"]; and Cic. *Off.* 1. 34: "Status, incessus, sessio, accubatio, vultus, oculi, manuum motus, teneant illud decorum. cavendum est autem, ne aut tarditatibus utamur in gressu mollioribus, ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur, aut in festinationibus suscipiamus nimias celeritates; quae cum fiunt, anhelitus moventur, vultus mutantur, ora torquentur: ex quibus magna significatio fit non adesse constantiam."

viii. KITCHIN cites *Aen.* 1. 661 and 12. 397.

ix. 8. TODD. Mr. Upton is facetious on the phrase "in place," and says that the poet uses it "more for rhyme than reason." But the poet follows the authority, so often adopted, of romance. Thus, in *Bevis of Hampton*:

I shall goe now and make a writ,
Through some clarke wise of wit,
That no man shall haue grace
While those letters be in place:

That is, while those letters exist.

x. 4-5. UPTON. I believe the words here are got out of their order; for "sheene" should be joined to "virgin," i. e. bright, beautiful, &c. and "cleene" to "corps," i. e. pure.

[Upton cites in his Addenda Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseide* 2. 824: "Antigone the shene"; and *Knights Tale* 972 and 1068.]

TODD. Mr. Upton . . . would not have said so, if he had read the romance of *Bevis of Hampton*, to the marvels and phraseology of which Spenser was partial. The patriarch thus cautions Sir Bevis [1967-1971]:

And forbad him on his life,
That he should neuer take any to wife,
But were she a Maiden cleane:
Yea, said Bevis, so I meane.

Bevis afterwards mentions this injunction, and repeats the phrase of "Maiden cleane."

6. SCHOENEICH (p. 100). Cf. Marlowe's *Edward II* 3. 2. 128: "By earth, the common mother of us all."

8. E. C. HART (Arden ed. of Shakespeare's *1 Henry VI*, p. xli) cites Shakespeare's phrase, "tears virginal," in *1 Henry VI* 5. 2. 52.

xii. WINSTANLEY. Guyon's gravity gives place when there is really cause for anger. Aristotle counts it as a serious defect if a man is not angry when he ought to be.

9. CHURCH. See 1. 2. 24. 9. So Shakespear, *Hamlet* [3. 2]: "Why let the stricken Deer go weep."

xv-xx. See Appendix, "The Influence of Trissino."

xxii. UPTON. Duessa, having been stript naked (see 1. 8. 46.) as foretold in the Revel. 17. 16. and flying to the wilderness to hide her shame, is brought back again to Fairy land, and new decked out by Archimago.

2. TODD. He repeats this phrase in his *Virgil's Gnat*, st. 47, [lines 369-370].

xxiii. 4. UPTON. Virgil, *Georg.* 3. 5, calls Busiris irrenowned, "illaudatus." By this negation of all praise, shewing he deserves all disgrace.

xxvi-xxvii. WARTON (2. 18). In these stanzas Sir Guyon suddenly abases his spear, and begs pardon of the red-crosse knight, for having attacked him; as if he had just now discovered him to be the red-crosse knight: whereas he knew him to be so, st. 19, and after that resolves to fight with him.

xxvi. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 199). One might refer to *Orl. Fur.* 36. 37-8.

xxviii. 8. UPTON. "decus et tutamen," Virgil, *Aen.* 5. 262. In their tilts and tourneys in queen Elizabeth's reign, their impresses and devices were often in honour of their virgin queen. One of her courtiers (his name I cannot find; the history I have from Cambden's *Remains*, p. 355.) made on his shield a half of the Zodiacke, with Virgo rising, adding, "Jam redit et virgo." If the Earl of Essex is hinted at in the historical allegory, how properly is his shield thus decked and armed, for what courtier after Leicester was ever in so great favour?

xxxi. 1. TODD. This familiar phrase is the language of romance. See before, 1. 12. 8. 7. Thus in *Bevis of Hampton*:

And when they were thus fighting,
There was earnest and no gaming.

Again: "With swords bright" &c.

While they handled both the same,
There was earnest and no game.

Chaucer also has the phrase. [The Concordance quotes nine instances in Chaucer.]

xxxiii. 6. KITCHIN. Pageants were favourite pastimes at the Queen's court. Virtues and vices were therein personified. So in 36. 3, we have: "To see sad pageaunts of mens miseries."

EDITOR. Cf. E. K. Chambers, *Eliz. Stage* 1. 106-148, and Ivan Schulze, *SP* 30. 148-159. Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* is the great storehouse of Elizabethan Pageantry.

xxxv ff. See Appendices, "The Historical Allegory," "Burton on Spenser," "Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory."

xxxvi ff. A. G. VAN KRANENDONK (*English Studies* 14. 209-219) uses lines from these stanzas in support of his thesis that "some parts of [Shakespeare's] *Midsummer Night's Dream* are written 'à la manière de Spenser.' At any rate the cumulative effect of the various parallels seems to me strong enough to conclude a certain connection between the Pyramus and Thisbe passages and the first Book of *The Faerie Queene*."

Tasso, Canto 3. 40:

Gli aprì tre volte, e i dolci rai del cielo
Cercò fruire.

xlv. 1. KITCHIN. So Homer, *Il.* 10. 91, speaks of sleep sitting on the eyes.

xlvi. 3. UPTON. Cf. *Aen.* 4. 690:

Ter sese attollens, cubitoque annixa levavit,
Ter revoluta toro est.

li. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 7. 221) points out that the enchantress in Trissino's *L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti* is called Acratia and is spelled in the index "Acrazia." See Appendix, "Italian Romances."

2. KITCHIN. The Aristotelian *ἀκρασία*, that condition of man in which the due government of the appetites, or the combination of the elements of human nature, is neglected. She [Acrasia] is the self-indulgent opposite of self-ruling Temperance. Spenser's Temperance is manly, not cloistered or retiring; the condition of the full-grown man, who has met his trials and fought them down, supported and guided by his monitor, "the Palmer," who may be either "Conscience," or "God's Word," or "Reason," or "Sobriety." Spenser here introduces the central figure of Evil, antagonist to Guyon, the central figure of Good. Her features are copied from the Homeric Circe.

lii. 2. TODD. See Jer. 51. 7: "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad." See also Revelation 14. 8; 17. 4.

KITCHIN adds *Od.* 10. 234-6.

6. UPTON. "Flesh" is used here in the scriptural sense. See Rom. 8, Matt. 26. 41: "The flesh is weak." Rom. 6. 19: "I speak after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh." The same kind of expression he has below, 57. 3. See also 1. 9. 47 and 1. 10. 1.

8. TODD. Knights and Ladies, disguised in palmers weeds, are often to be found in romance and old English poetry. Thus, in *Bevis of Hampton*, Saverre tells his Son Terry, whom he is about to send into the "Sarasins Land," in search of Bevis [1271-2]:

Palmers weed thou shalt weare,
So maist thou better of him heare.

Afterwards, Bevis himself, meeting with a palmer, thus addresses him [2056-2060]:

Palmer, he said, doe me some fauour;
Giue thou me thy weed,
For my cloathing, and for my steed.

So, in the *Hist. of K. Leir*, 1605:

. . . we will go disguise in palmers weeds,
That no man shall mistrust us what we are.

Milton has beautifully described the Evening, "like a sad votarist in palmers weeds," *Comus* 189. Drayton tells us what these weeds were; for he describes the "palmer poore in homely russet clad," *Polyolb.* 12, p. 198, ed. 1622.

liii. 5. CHURCH. Juno; who, under the appellation Lucina, presided as a Tutelar Goddess upon such occasions.

6. SAWTELLE (p. 80). This was the name given to both Juno and Diana as the goddesses who preside at childbirth. See *Fast.* 2. 449 ff., where the name as applied to Diana is derived from "lucus," a grove, or (more probably) from "lux," "lucis," meaning light; for she it is who brings children to the light. See also *Fast.* 3. 255.

7. WARTON (2. 139). The pregnant heroines of romance are often delivered in solitary forests, without assistance; and the child, thus born, generally proves a knight of most extraordinary puissance.

liv. 5. TODD. From this moral painting Milton transferred a feature or two to the beguiled and besotted travellers in *Comus*; who, having drunk the enchanter's potion, lost the human shape, yet "not once perceived their foul disfigurement." Let the young and thoughtless turn often to these just and impressive descriptions of our two noblest poets; to these strains of higher mood; and they will dash, with indignation, the poisoned chalice of Intemperance to the ground.

lv. 4-6. UPTON. Nausicles drinking to Calasiris in a glass of pure water, uses the following expression; "I drink to you the nymphs that are pure and unlinked with Bacchus" (*Heliodorus* 5, p. 234).

TODD gives the following curious explanation from Boyd: "Probably, by the mortal sentence being executed when Bacchus with the Nymph does link may be meant one very common effect of intemperance, viz. dropsical complaints."

C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 276-7). Cf. Natale Conti, *Mythologiae* (10):

De Baccho. The ancients had reference to physical phenomena when they said that Bacchus was nursed by the Nymphs. For the nymphs symbolize matter in natural phenomena; they receive and preserve the imprint of form. And Dionysus is the generative virtue of the sun, which has the male function in the operation of nature. It is for this reason that the phallus was consecrated to him.

De Nymphis. Nothing is wholly useful. Thus the greater part of food is not appropriated to the uses of the body, nor is all the substance of water fit for the creation of living beings; for some goes to make the body of the fetus and some to nourish it, as is seen especially in the egg. Those female principles or waters in which generation arises were called nymphs, wherefore the nymphs are spoken of as fruitful, and are said to nourish men and animals, and to be the tutelary deities of shepherds.

If Bacchus symbolizes the male, and the nymphs the female function, the linking of the two must stand for that act by excessive indulgence in which the incontinent give themselves death. That Spenser interpreted Bacchus as Conti did is clearly shown by the introduction of "A trayle of yvie in his native hew," whose "lascivious armes adown did creepe" in an episode of obvious meaning in which, furthermore, the wanton damsels are the "false Sirene" of *Gerusalemme*

Liberata 15. 57; doubtless suggested, in their turn, by the inhabitants of Vergil's "Nympharum domus" in the *Aeneid* 1. 167. It may be asked how such an interpretation squares with Mordant's having been rescued from Acrasia; but here again Conti makes the matter clear. Acrasia was obviously suggested by Circe, or at least could not fail to recall that personage to the poet's mind. Now Conti's Circe is no mere seducer. As will presently appear, she is the generative principle in nature. She has "over-sexed" Mordant, who consequently destroys himself despite the efforts of his wife to save him. Amavia (who must love in order to live, and therefore loves to excess) dies of grief over the loss of her husband; for as Guyon explains, in terms of Aristotelian ethics, "The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weake through smart." It has been suggested that Spenser borrowed the peculiar expression about Bacchus and the "Nymphe" from the fifth booke of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, and probably enough he did; but if he had also taken over the symbolism of the passage in question it would have been to tell us that wine and water is a deadly poison,—a statement which only an inspired prohibitionist could have been capable of, and one, furthermore, totally irrelevant so far as Acrasia is concerned.

lviii. 1. UPTON. "Square," spelt "squire" for the sake of the rhyme. As workmen examine their work by a square, so philosophers have certain rules, by which they compare actions. Horace frequently alludes to the square and rule of action. Thus, *Sat.* 1. 3. 78; 1. 3. 118; 1. 1. 106; and *Epist.* 1. 18. 9.

lix. 9. WINSTANLEY. In the House of Holinesse (1. 10. 42. 9) one of the seven Bedemen cares for the burial of the dead. Spenser had in this matter a Greek intensity of feeling:

Ah, dearest God, me graunt, I dead be not defould.

EDITOR. Cf. Shakespeare's epitaph, said to have been written by himself:

Good frend for Iesvs sake forbear,
To digg the dvst enclosed heare:
Blest be ye man y^t spares thes stones,
And cvrst be he y^t moves my bones.

lx. 3. UPTON. And "embrave" it . . . after a seeming and becoming manner with cypress; according to the custom of antiquity [*Aen.* 3. 64]:

Stant manibus arae,
Caeruleis moestae vittis, atraque cupresso.

The ceremonies likewise, which follow, have a cast of antiquity.

KITCHIN. So Sidney, in his *Arcadia*, speaks of "cypress branches, wherewith in old times they were wont to dress graves."

6. TODD. An allusion to the solemn Requiems, formerly sung at burials; and to the wish, so often found on monumental Inscriptions, "Requiescat in pace." See *The Ruines of Time*, st. 8. And Shakspeare, describing Ophelia's maimed rites [*Hamlet* 5. 1. 259-261]:

We should profane the service of the dead,
To sing a requiem, and such rest to her
As to peace-parted souls.

lxi. 2. UPTON. This seems an allusion to the custom of cutting off a lock of hair of dying persons, which was looked on as a kind of offering to the infernal deities. Juno orders Iris to perform this office to Dido, Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 694. And in the *Alcestis* of Euripides, ver. 74, Death says he is come to perform this office to Alcestis. There was likewise another ceremony, which was for the friends and relations of the deceased to cut off their own hair, and to scatter it upon the dead corse. "Nec traxit caesas per tua membra comas," *Consol. ad Liv.*, ver. 98.

E. C. HART (Arden ed. of Shakespeare's *1 Henry VI*, p. xli) points out Shakespeare's phrase, "as all you know" in *1 Henry VI* 2. 2. 26 and *2 Henry IV* 3. 1. 35, in which "all" refers to two people expressly, as it does here.

6-8. EDITOR. Southey uses these lines at the beginning of the first book of his *Thalaba the Destroyer*.

CANTO II

ANON. (*Edinburgh Review* 161. 149). In the second canto the destructive passion is anger: two knights strive in fratricidal fury aggravated by the arts of their two lady-loves. These sirens allegorise the "Two Extremes," and are contrasted with a third sister, Medina, or the "Golden Mean," who endeavours to bring the warring knights to concord. It is not from war that she dissuades them, but from unworthy war. According to Spenser's philosophy, man's condition is by necessity "militant here on earth"; but the wars like the loves of men should have in them little in common with those of the inferior kinds; it was thus that Sidney wrote of "that sweet enemy, France." Rancour in the form of slander and detraction is yet more severely judged than the most relentless war. It is the first offence punished in the temple of justice.

WINSTANLEY. Guyon attempts to cleanse the hands of the babe but cannot, for they remain, notwithstanding all his efforts, stained with blood. Spenser probably means this as a piece of Puritan symbolism—to typify the sin of the flesh which is inherent and cannot be removed by any earthly means.

CORY (p. 111). Here the poetry flags markedly and the characters become puppets moving stiffly as though on wires. But, like the canto on the House of Holiness, this episode is of great value as a direct and very personal revelation of the poet's general ethical doctrines.

ii. UPTON. This whole Stanza is very pathetic, and introduced with great propriety, after the elliptical manner of the following in Virgil, *Aen.* 5. 869-871:

Multa gemens, casuque animum concussus amici;
O nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
Nudus in ignota, Palinure, jacebis arena.

[And in *Aen.* 9. 634-5]:

. . . et cava tempora ferro
Trajicit: I, verbis virtutem illude superbis.

This sudden transition of the poet to the speaker, without any notice or preparation, shows a kind of earnestness and passion; as the rhetorician Longinus observes in

his treatise of the Sublime, Sec. 27, who cites, as a beautiful instance, Homer, *Il.* 15. 348. . . . Cf. *Ruines of Time* 7 and Shakespeare, *K. Lear* 4. [6. 183-4].

2. WARTON. Allusion to the phoenix, but inaccurately.

iii. 4. UPTON. Must we read "guiltlesse"? or rather interpret it, "innocently, unknowingly guilty"; guilty by parental crimes. See 1. 40-41.

TODD. Mr. Boyd, the learned and elegant translator of Dante, appears to favour the opinion, which Mr. Upton has given, of "guilty by parental crimes".

iv. TODD. Compare Macbeth's remark, after he has murdered the king [1. 2. 61-2]:

Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No . . .

And Lady Macbeth's speech [5. 1. 38, 47]: "Out, damn'd spot!—What, will these hands ne'er be clean?"

[See UPTON's remarks in the Appendix, "The Historical Allegory."]

v. 6. KITCHIN. Medicinal waters attracted much attention at the time. Spenser himself alludes to them in 1. 11. 29, 30.

vii. 2. KITCHIN. The well or fountain is probably made feminine by Spenser, because fountains are always tenanted by nymphs; the A. S. "wyl" is masc., "wylle" fem.; the same word in Germ., "quelle," is always fem.

7. TODD. The ingenious editor of Jonson's *Sad Shepherd* [Waldron?] conjectures, that it should be "ray"; which, he acutely remarks, the preceding line countenances. [See "Critical Notes on the Text."]

viii. JORTIN. Somewhat like the story of Arethusa in Ovid, *Met.* 5. 618 ff.:

Fessa labore fugae, Fer opem, deprendimur, inquam
Armigeræ, Dictynna, tuæ . . .
Mota dea est.

SAWTELLE (p. 49) cites also the metamorphosis of Daphne to a laurel (*Met.* 1. 548).

5-9. UPTON. The request of Diana to her father was, Callimachus, *In Dianam*, ver. 6: ["Grant me to keep eternal virginity, O Father."] The request of Daphne [Ovid, *Met.* 1. 486-7]:

Da mihi perpetua, genitor charissime, dixit,
Virginitate frui.

ix. TODD. The poet perhaps had in mind the Legend of St. Wenefrede, to the circumstances of whose Well this part of his story bears some little resemblance. See the *Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede*, Lond. 1713. And more particularly Drayton's description, in his *Polyolbion*, of this fair Virgin:

Whose waters to this day as perfect are and cleere,
As her delightfull eyes in their full beauties were;
A Virgin while she liu'd: chaste Winifred: who chose,

Before her mayden gem she forcibly would lose,
To haue her harmlesse life by the leud rapter spilt. . . .

x. AUBREY DEVERE ("Characteristics of Spenser's Poetry," p. 289). Here is a memorable symbol of the passion that can never sleep, and the vengeance bequeathed from age to age. Spenser had not lived in vain among the survivors of the Desmond clan. The beauty of this tale is even greater than its terror. It is a flower that wears blood-drops for its ornament, yet is a flower still. But greatest of all is its significance. The same lesson is taught by the bleeding spray which Red Crosse breaks from one of the two trees into which two lovers had been changed. They stand side by side, summer after summer, but their branches can never meet.

7. See UPTON's remarks in Appendix, "The Historical Allegory."

xi. A. H. GILBERT (*PMLA* 34.232) notes this as a transition in the manner of Ariosto.

2. KITCHIN. This does not agree with the statement in the Letter to Sir W. Raleigh. Spenser there says: "The second day there came in a Palmer bearing an Infant with bloody hands"; that is, before the beginning of Sir Guyon's adventure.

xiii ff. KITCHIN. This is an allegory of the Aristotelian doctrine of the Mean. "Virtue, a mean between the extremes of excess and defect." The three sisters are named and described in stanzas 35-38. Spenser seems also to work in the Platonic theory of morals. For the "too little" sister also shews a tendency towards anger, and the "too much" one towards intemperate living. It is worthy of remark that whereas Spenser set out with declaring that he would display "the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised; the which is the purpose of these first twelve books," we soon find that he wanders very far from the Aristotelian series. The first book portrays Holiness, the second Temperance. But the first is really the triumph of Faith and Truth, and is far more intellectual and spiritual than moral; while the second covers almost the whole ground of the Aristotelian moral virtues. [See Appendix, "The Virtue of Temperance."]

E. DOWDEN (*Transcripts and Studies*, p. 287). The duller portions of Spenser's poem are those in which he works with most self-consciousness, piecing together definite meanings to definite symbols; where his love of beauty slumbers and his spirit of ingenuity awakes; where his ideas do not play any part and gather themselves together and deploy themselves abroad, like the shifting and shredding of clouds blown by soft upper airs, but are rather cut out with hard edges by some process of mechanism. When in the "Legende of Temperance" the poet allegorizes Aristotle's doctrine that virtue is a mean betwixt the extremes of excess and of defect, our distaste for Elissa and Perissa would surely content the moralist, were it not that our feeling towards their virtuous sister is hardly less unfriendly. From the "Castle of Alma" we should not be ill-pleased if the master-cook, Concoction, and the kitchen-clerk, Digestion, were themselves ignobly conveyed away (if allegory would permit such a departure) by that nether gate, the Port Esquiline.

H. J. C. GRIERSON (*Cross Currents in English Literature of the 17th Century*, p. 61). And when we come upon tedious episodes like the House of Medina and her sisters Perissa and Elissa, or the dreadful allegory of the human body which Phineas Fletcher was to elaborate still further, we feel that Clarion has been snared in the dusty web of the didactic, and can only rejoice when he escapes again to his favourite theme of love, or to expatiate in picturesque and musical irrelevancies.

xiii. 2. UPTON. The three different mothers, I interpret from Plato (*Repub.*, Lib. 4, p. 439, edit. Steph.; & *Repub.* 9, p. 580.) to be those three parts, which he appropriates to the soul, Λογιστικὴ, from whom was born Medina: And Επιθυμητικὴ, and Θυμητικὴ from whom were born the other two wayward and forward sisters. Who is the one syre that acts upon these three powers of the Soul? Is it not Mind?

xiv ff. See Appendix, "Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory."

xvii. 2. UPTON. "Sir Hudibras." The name likewise of a British king. See 10. 25.

KITCHIN. "Sir Huddibras." I. e. rashness, the Greek θυμὸς, or ὁρμή, its development. There is also in him the element of morose joylessness, which makes one think that Spenser intended to shadow forth the Puritans, who were already a strong party. It will be remembered that Samuel Butler gives this name to the hero of his burlesque on Puritanism.

xix ff. KITCHIN. These stanzas express the general opposition of extremes; answering to Aristotle's dictum that the extremes are opposed to one another and to the mean. We are now engaged with the general principles of morals, not with any of its special applications. [See Appendices, "Virtue of Temperance," "Burton on Spenser."]

xxi. 5. TODD. Milton, in a passage of unrivalled sublimity, equips Michael and Satan with similar shields [*P. L.* 6. 305-7]:

two broad suns their shields
Blaz'd opposite, while Expectation stood
In horror!

xxii. 6. JORTIN. The propriety of the phrase "Lybic Ocean" will not be perceiv'd by every reader. By it he means the Syrtes, of which see the description in Lucan 9. 303:

Syrtes, vel primam mundo Natura figuram
Cum daret, in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit.

UPTON. "On the Lybick ocean," i. e. on those mounds of sands in the Libyc deserts, whose wide and extended plains may be imagined an ocean; and these desert plains are elegantly named by Plutarch, in the life of Crassus, πελάγιόν τι χεῦμα. As Spenser calls these deserts and sands an ocean, so Milton calls chaos a main, *P. L.* 10. 257:

To found a path,
Over this main from hell to that new world.

. . . But still a question occurs, why does Spenser suppose a bear and tyger to meet on the Libyc plains? There is a proverb which says that "Africa brings always something new": which saying seems to have arisen from various sorts of wild creatures, being forced to meet, that they might drink at some one stream in these desert plains, and there copulating, and thence producing monsters: Spenser too very justly supposes them fighting. [Pliny, Book 7, quoted.] . . .

CHURCH. The Syrtes are two large Quicksands on the Coast of Africa; the Greater one is near 400 miles in compass, the Lesser one almost half as much. Elsewhere (3. 9. 41. 6) speaking of Aeneas his wandrings at sea, he calls that part of the Mediterranean which is on the Coast of Africa "the Lybick sandes."

KITCHIN. "On lybicke ocean." I. e. on the deserts of Africa, which are spread out in hillocks, like an ocean. Not on the "syrtes," as some would have it. . . . Spenser had in mind Virg. *Georg.* 2. 105:

Quem si scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem
Discere quam multae Zephyro turbentur arenae.

xxiv. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 199). Somewhat similar to *Orl. Fur.* 21. 53.

CORY (p. 112). But he is serious none the less and is inspired to celebrate Guyon with one of the most stately similes and daring stanzas in the whole poem. The wonderful meter, with its persistent introduction of a conflicting trochee in the middle of the lines, is full of the restless and confused swagger of the open sea.

ANNE TRENEER (*The Sea in English Literature*, p. 202). The little skippet in which Phaedria wantoned (6. 5) had no winged canvas yet it cut the water

More swift than swallow sheres the liquid skie.

But such dainty vessels have not the monopoly. Others appear solid and seaworthy, and in battle passionately alive. The two "warlike Brigandines" in the simile (4. 2. 16) hurtle together like two of Malory's heroes, not like two prim ships in a sampler. They put us in mind of Fuller's quaint saying that Men of War are wild ships and Merchantmen tame ships. Spenser has a way of mingling acute observation and strange lore. Sansloy and Sir Huddibras, uniting to resist the interference of Guyon, are like a bear and tiger abandoning their mutual strife to assail the traveller (stanza 22). This is bookish enough. But Guyon is no tired traveller, and with a swift change of focus his fight with the two opposed champions is shown as the triumphant progress of a tall ship meeting two contrary billows [lines 7-9 quoted]. Perhaps she did not "ride on both their backs" in point of actual sailing, but we feel the merry lift as she goes up, and are suddenly out of books and on the sea, with clean foam and a breeze that never blew on the "Lybicke Ocean."

xxvi. WINSTANLEY. Spenser means, of course, the love which is mere sensuality and animalism—the Aphrodite Pandemos.

7. KITCHIN. So Terence, *Eunuch*. [59-61]:

In amore haec omnia insunt vitia, iniuriae,
Bellum, pax rursum.

Cf. also Hor. *Sat.* 2. 3. 267.

xxix. 2-4. KITCHIN. The Erinnyes were the Furies of Greek and Latin mythology. They were originally only personifications of the curses pronounced on a guilty criminal. These spirits of cursing sojourn in Erebus, until some curse duly pronounced on an offender calls them up to earth. They then pursue the guilty wretch with unrelenting steps, and bring down the curse upon his head. Their later name was "the Eumenides" ("the well-disposed ones"); so called by the trembling flattery of the Greeks.

SAWTELLE (p. 53). The adjective "fell" is well applied to Erinnyes, originally the personification of persecuting anger. A plurality of such personifications were known as the Erinnyes, Eumenides, Furiae, or Dirae. With earlier writers their number is not limited, but later writers say they are three in number (*Aen.* 12. 845 ff.).

In the passage before us, Spenser represents Erinnyes as the personification of discord rather than as an unrelenting curse, the classical conception (*Il.* 9. 571; *Met.* 1. 241).

C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 271). The Erinnyes are conceived of not as ministers of retribution but as spirits of discord or furious anger. Now Servius might conceivably have suggested the idea by his gloss of "Erinyes impatientia animi hoc loco" to *Aeneid* 2. 337; but how much more impressive is the following in the third book of Boccaccio's work (*Genealogia deorum*):

When events prove contrary to our desires, it follows that we become unreasonable, so that of necessity there arises in us a perturbation of mind which, like a mental darkness, persists, and persisting grows, and finally gives rise to unreasonable and furious behavior. This is why the Furies are said to be the daughters of Acheron and Night. They are also known as dogs or bitches by the inhabitants of the infernal regions; for men of base estate, when they are disturbed in their minds, not being able to restrain their fury, fill the air with their cries, like barking dogs.

At the close of the passage from which I have quoted the above, Boccaccio also interprets the Furies as the discord of the elements.

LOTSPEICH (p. 57). In the same character, Erinnyes lights the bridal torches for the Danaids, *V. G.* 394, translating *Culex* 246.

xxxiv. 7-8. WARTON (2. 120). He seems to have had his eye on that verse in the Psalms (39. 12): "Like as it were a moth fretting a garment." [EDITOR. This reading is from the Prayer Book. The Authorized Version has (verse 11 instead of 12) "to consume away like a moth." There seems to be no authority in the Hebrew for the Prayer Book reading; see *A Commentary on the Psalms*, J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale (London, 1879), 2. 15.]

xxxv-xxxviii. UPTON. 'Tis very apparent to me that this whole episode is taken from Aristotle; where he considers some of the virtues reduced to practice and habit, and places them between two extremes. Virtue thus placed in the middle,

ἐν μεσότητι ὄνσα, is Medina. . . . Her name is plain. Μεσότης δὲ δύο κακιῶν, τῆς μὲν, καθ' Ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δὲ κατ' Ἐλλειψιν. Again he says, ἡ μὲν Ὑπερβολὴ ἀμαρτάνεται καὶ ἡ Ἐλλειψις ψέγεται, τὸ δὲ Μέσον ἐπαινῆται. Here we have the three sisters, τὸ Μέσον, ἡ Μεσότης will be allowed to be "Medina": but how shall we make Ὑπερβολὴ to be "Perissa" and Ἐλλειψις to be "Elissa"? we will take the most easy word first, viz. Ἐλλειψις, which the Italians (and Spenser Italianises many of his words) would call "Elisse"; so that we have found Spenser's Elissa. She is deficient and wanting in all good manners. . . . "Hyperbole" Spenser thought would sound very odd for a fair lady's name, but "Perissa" sounds well and would become the mouth of an Italian poet. And is not Περισσένειν the same as ὑπερβάλλειν? And Περισσός, "qui ultra id quod esse debet, modum excedens?" And is not this the character of Perissa? . . . Let me ask now the candid reader, whether I have not fairly made out from Aristotle these three fair ladies, and plainly showed from whence Spenser took the very names, as well as characters?

xxxv. 1-2. KITCHIN. "Elissa." The personification of Moral Deficiency, the Aristotelian ἔλλειψις. Spenser probably derives the name from ἐλάσσων, "too little." It is curious that it should have also been so like one of the names of the Virgin Queen, the great but parsimonious Eliza.

"Did deeme Such entertainment base." The churlishness of the Puritanic feeling which found fault with moderate feasting, &c. The Puritans revenged themselves on Spenser by forbidding the faithful to look into the *Faery Queene*.

xxxvi. 4. E. W. NAYLOR (*The Poets and Music*, pp. 139-140). Here is the explanation of the word "Mood." The "rule of right" as to the relation of the time values in mediaeval music is given clearly enough by Marchetus of Padua, in his *Lucidarium*, of date 1274. The usual names of notes are given: Maxima, Longa, Brevis, Semi-brevis, Minima.

"Mood," or "Mode," might be greater or less. In "greater Mode" the Maxima equals 3 Longs, the Long equals 3 Breves, the Breve equals 3 Semibreves, and the Semibreve equals 3 Minims. But in the "lesser Mode," Maxima equals only 2 Longs, Long equals 3 Breves, but Breve only 2 Semibreves.

The "lesser Mode" might, further, be "imperfect," in which case the Long also was reduced to 2 Breves.

"Time" was a second division of this matter, referring only to the relations of Breves, Semibreves, and Minims. Lastly, there was "Prolation," referring only to Semibreves and Minims.

(Note.—An example may be useful—most hymn tunes in *Ancient and Modern* are in: Mode, Minor; Time, Imperfect; Prolation, the less. Those in "triple" time are of the "greater Prolation.")

xxxvii. 6. TODD. "like a malecontent." This expression may probably be an allusion to the persons known by the name of "Malecontent"; a character, frequently mentioned in publications during the reigns of Elisabeth and James I. See Barnabie Rich's *Faults, and nothing but Faults*, 4to. 1606, p. 7:

Here comes now the Malecontent, a singular fellow, and very formall in all his demeanours; one that can reprove the world but with a word, the follies of the people with a shrug; and, sparing of his speech, giueth his answer with signs and

dumb shews, pasing his steps with sad and sowre countenance, as if hee would haue it saide; Lo, yonder goes the melancholy Gentleman; see there Vertue and Wisdome despised; this is the man, that dooth carry a whole commonwealth in his head; that can manage the affaires of a state, and fitter to be of a princes priuy house counsaile, than the best actor that euer playd Grauels part at the Theatre.

[Cf. Jaques in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.]

xxxviii. 5, 7. KITCHIN. Excess is forward, or too bold, Defect froward, or wayward and dissatisfied. UPTON says that the two knights, Sansloy and Huddibras, are the forward pair, the two ladies the froward pair. But this is an obvious mistake. The pairs are the two sets of knights and dames—Elissa with Huddibras, Perissa with Sansloy.

xxxix. 3. JORTIN. Homer, *Il.* 1. 469: ["And when they had put away from them the desire of meat and drink"]; Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 184: "Postquam exempta fames, & amor compressus edendi."

4. KITCHIN. This calling on the guest to relate his adventures is modelled on Dido and Aeneas, Virg., *Aen.* 1. [753-6], and 2. 1-5.

9. UPTON. Cf. *Aen.* 2. 2: "Inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto." Which Douglass translates, "his sege riall." Virgil could say, with great propriety as alluding to the Roman customs in his epic poem, "lofty siege": for the high raised couches were looked on as stately and honourable, *Aen.* 6. 603:

Lucent genialibus altis
Aurea fulcra toris.

Our Fairy poet thinks himself confined to no particular customs, times, or fables; but borrows from all, or from any, as may best suit his fiction or allegory.

M. Y. HUGHES (*Virgil and Spenser*, pp. 330-1). The words which Guyon sounded are an account of that annual banquet held by Gloriana which is the point of radiation for all the adventures in *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser seems to have made use of Virgil's structural device with Virgil's structural intention. Like Virgil, he plunged in *medias res* in his First Book, but in that book he invented no situation which permitted him to explain the beginning of his action. In the Second Book he made use of Virgil's device of a narrative at a banquet to explain his fable and stressed the debt to Virgil by actually echoing his language. The significance of this is hard to assess. Spenser seems to have been fumbling toward classical unity of plot, but it is not quite certain that he was doing so. He gave an adequate account of the origin of Guyon's quest at a point in his action which corresponds closely with the point in the *Aeneid* at which Aeneas begins his story. Guyon has no story to tell—nothing but a literary device to explain—but the intended analogy with Virgil is all the more marked for that reason.

xl. 5. UPTON. That "Fairy land" here means England in the historical allusion, I believe will not be doubted.

xl. 4. UPTON. In the historical allusion, order of the Garter.

6. UPTON. Consult our poet's letter to Sir W. R.

WINSTANLEY. This is imitated from Arthur's feast which he used to hold in Caerleon upon Usk.

KITCHIN. "The day which first doth lead the yeare around" will mean, not the 1st of January, but March 25; spring-time, not mid-winter, according to the reckoning of that time. Edward III, before he established the order of the Garter, endeavoured to create an annual festival of the Knights of the Round Table, who were to be gathered out of all nations to his court. It is probably to this that Spenser here primarily alludes, rather than to the Order of the Garter, which Edward III established in its stead, when he found that, through the jealousy and antagonism of Philip of Valois, his first and grander plan could not be carried out.

EDITOR. It may be an allusion to Coronation [Accession] Day, November 17, the beginning of the year for the reign of Elizabeth. This day was celebrated annually by jousts and tournaments. Cf. Peele's *Polyhymnia*, and E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage* 1. 18.

xliv. 1-4. LOWELL (*North Am. Rev.* 120. 379-380). Warton [1. 158] objects to Spenser's stanza, that its "constraint led him into many absurdities." Of these he instances three, of which I shall notice only one, since the two others (which suppose him at a loss for words and rhymes) will hardly seem valid to any one who knows the poet. It is that it "obliged him to dilate the thing to be expressed, however unimportant, with trifling and tedious circumlocutions, namely, *Faery Queen* 2. 2. 44 [passage quoted]. That is, It is three months since I left her palace." But Dr. Warton should have remembered (what he too often forgets in his own verses) that, in spite of Dr. Johnson's dictum, poetry is not prose, and that verse only loses its advantage over the latter by invading its province. Verse itself is an absurdity except as an expression of some higher movement of the mind, or as an expedient to lift other minds to the same ideal level. It is the cothurnus which gives language an heroic stature. I have said that one leading characteristic of Spenser's style was its spaciousness, that he habitually dilates rather than compresses. But his way of measuring time was perfectly natural at a time when everybody did not carry a dial in his poke as now. He is the last of the poets who went (without difficulty) by the great clock of the firmament. Dante, the miser of words, who goes by the same timepiece, is full of these roundabout ways of telling us the hour. It had nothing to do with Spenser's stanza, and I for one should be sorry to lose these stately revolutions of the *superne ruote*. Time itself becomes more noble when so measured; we never knew before of how precious a commodity we had the wasting. Who would prefer the plain time of day to this?

Now when Aldebaran was mounted high
Above the starry Cassiopeia's chair;

or this?

By this the northern wagoner had set
His seven-fold team behind the steadfast star
That was in ocean's waves yet never wet,
But firm is fixt and sendeth light from far
To all that in the wide deep wandering are;

or this?

At last the golden oriental gate
Of greatest heaven gan to open fair,
And Phoebus, fresh as bridegroom to his mate,
Came dancing forth, shaking his dewy hair
And hurls his glistening beams through dewy air.

The generous indefiniteness, which treats an hour more or less as of no account, is in keeping with that sense of endless leisures which it is one chief merit of the poem to suggest. But Spenser's dilation extends to thoughts as well as to phrases and images. He does not love the concise. Yet his dilation is not mere distension, but the expansion of natural growth in the rich soil of his own mind, wherein the merest stick of a verse puts forth leaves and blossoms.

xliv. 8. J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 99). *Amavia* . . . might well be etymologized from the Latin perfect tense, "amavi."

xlvi. JORTIN. In Homer, *Od.* [13. 1-2], when Ulysses had related his travels, the Poet adds: ["So spake he, and dead silence fell on all, and they were spell-bound throughout the shadowy halls."]

1-2. UPTON. Meaning that the sun was almost beginning to rise, and that Orion was setting.—Orion flying from the snake, alludes to his figure and position on the sphere or globe.

CHURCH. The Constellation of Orion sets when that of the Scorpion rises.

SAWTELLE (pp. 93-4). This poetical description of the setting of Orion rests upon the myth concerning his death. All authorities agree as to his life: it was that of a hunter devoted to the same pursuit that Diana loved; but there is not the same agreement as regards his death. Hyginus (*Fab.* 195) says simply that he was killed by Diana because of an attempt to violate her. Ovid (*Fast.* 5. 537) relates that, after Orion had boasted that there was no wild beast which he was unable to conquer, the earth sent forth a scorpion, which attempted to seize upon Latona. Orion, opposing it, was killed, and Latona added him to the number of the stars. According to Homer (*Od.* 5. 121) Aurora incurred the anger of Diana by her love for Orion, and in vengeance Diana pierced him with her arrows. Apollodorus (1. 4. 5) says that he was killed by the darts of Diana, either for challenging her to a game of discus, or for violating Opis. It will be seen that with no one of these accounts does Spenser exactly agree. He says:—

Upon a dreadful scorpion he did ride,
The same which by Dianaes doom unjust
Slew great Orion. (7. 7. 39)

For such an account of his death we must turn to Lucan, 9. 836. See also Serv., *Aen.* 1. 539.

Hyginus (*Poet. Astron.* 2. Scorpius) says that the scorpion in the heavens is the one which the earth produced in defiance of Orion's boast, and that Jupiter admitted it to the number of the stars that it might ever serve as a warning to men

LOTSPEICH (p. 94). Cf. Ciris 535 and Natalis Comes 8. 22, "Cum vero Orion oppositum habeat scorpionem, videtur semper illum fugere ex eodem hemisphaerio."

Arg. 1. SOUTHEY (*Commonplace Book* 4. 311). Braggadochio is to be found in *Gyron le Courtoys*, and I think also in Peele's *Old Wives Tale*; but certes in *Gyron*.

i. 1. UPTON. Spenser is generally very classical in his expressions, and here particularly. . . . So again in 5.10.16. . . . "Purple" with the poets, means beautiful in general, or any bright resplendent colour. "Purpurei olores," Hor. 4, *Ode* 1, ver. 10. "Purple swans," i.e. of a brilliant whiteness. But Spenser literally follows Virgil, 6. 640:

9. UPTON. It will be highly proper for the reader to have a complete idea of the arms of these Fairy knights.—I shall here consider their shields; which were made of hides, doubled into many folds and strengthened with plates of iron: hence Spenser's epithet, "seven-folded." So the shield of Ajax was "seven-folded," *σάκος ἑπταβόειον* (Hom. *Il.* 7. 220). And Ovid characterizes Ajax by "the master of the seven-folded shield," "*Clypei dominus septemplexis.*" He says below (5. 6. 2-3):

Which he imitated from Virgil, 12. 923. [Upton discusses at length the references to shields in the *Faerie Queene*: 4. 3. 34; 1. 5. 6; 2. 2. 21; 5. 6. 28; 3. 4. 14; 2. 4. 38; and 5. 5. 3. He adds notes from Herodotus, Homer, Milton, and others.]

TODD. An idea of the many-folded shields, which were formerly in use, may be gathered from a curious writer on the subject. "Our Saxon ancestors," says he, "used shields of skin, among whom for that the artificer put sheep-fells to that purpose, the great Athelstan, king of England, utterly forbad by a lawe such deceit, as in the printed booke of Saxon lawes is extant to bee seene. With this vsage of agglewing or fastning hard tanned hides for defense, agrees their etymologie, who derive 'scutum,' the Latin of a shield, from the Greeke word ΣΚΥΤΟΣ, a 'skinne'":—And presently after the writer describes the many-folded shield of the Duke of Lancaster, hung up in old St. Paul's cathedral: "It is very convex

toward the bearer, whether by warping through age, or as made of purpose. It hath in dimension more then three quarters of a yeard of length, and aboue half a yeard in breadth. Next to the body is a canuas glew'd to a boord; vpon that thin boord are broad thin axicles, slices, or plates of horne, naild fast; and againe ouer them twenty and sixe thicke peeces of the like, all meeting or centring about a round plate of the same in the nauell of the sheild; and ouer all is a leather clozed fast to them with glew or other holding stuffe, vppon which his armories were painted, &c." Bolton's *Elements of Armories*, 4to. 1610, pp. 66-70.

ii. See UPTON's note in the Appendix, "The Historical Allegory."

iii. UPTON. The whole proverb is, "patience perforce is a medicine for a mad dog." See 3. 10. 3. 1.

CHURCH. Mr. Ray places this amongst the Scottish Proverbs, p. 302: "Patience perforce, is a medicine for a mad Dog," p. 145. Which seems to be explain'd by the more usual Proverb, "No Remedy but Patience," p. 207.

TODD. It must be observed, the words "is a medicine &c." are the gloss or interpretation of the proverb-collector. The proverb is simply "Patience Perforce." See "Adagia Scotica, or, a collection of Scotch Proverbs, &c. 1668." 12mo. p. 43. And thus indeed it had been employed by Shakspeare in *Romeo and Juliet*:

Patience perforce, with wilful choler meeting,
Makes my flesh tremble in their difference.

So, in Sir David Lyndesay's *Complaint*:

That time I nicht mak na defence,
But tuke perforce in patience.

G. L. APPERSON (*English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*). "Patience perforce." 1575: Gascoigne, *Patience Perforce* (title of poem). 1590: Spenser, *F. Q.* 3. 10. 3 [quoted]. 1659: Howell, 2 (9), "Patience perforce is medicine for a mad horse." 1694: Motteux, *Rabelais*, bk. 5, ch. 1., "Patience per force is a remedy for a mad-dog." 1702: Penn, *Fruits of Solitude*, Pt. 2. No. 188, "According to the proverb, *Patience per force*, and *thank you for nothing*." 1837: Southey, *Lett. to Mrs. Hughes*, 7 Dec., "'Patience perforce' was what I heard of every day in Portugal." 1847: Halliwell, *Dict.*, s. v. "Perforce," "*Patience perforce*, a phrase when some evil must be endured which cannot by any means be remedied."

iv ff. UPTON (1. xxxi). Methinks when I see Braggadochio and his buffoon servant Trompart repulsed by Belpheobe, I cannot help thinking them proper types of the Duke of Anjou and of Simier.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 178-180, 199). Having seen how Spenser could borrow a plot, let us see how he might take hints for a character. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of his talents for this kind of work may be found in Braggadochio, who is commonly supposed to be a satirical portrait of the Duke of Alençon.

In constructing this character Spenser determined on two main traits, inordinate boasting, and cowardice. Having chosen these he turned to his *Furioso* for suggestions.

Now there are several braggarts in the *Furioso*, but the most prominent, setting aside Marfisa, who is a woman, are Rodomonte and Mandricardo. Rodomonte is much the more celebrated of the two, as one may judge by our well-known word, "rodomontade." It would seem at first sight, therefore, that Spenser would probably take him for model. But Rodomonte is something more than a braggart; there is in him a touch of the king. He is a figure of heroic size and impressiveness, hot-headed and extravagant, to be sure, but capable at times of self-repression, even of wise counsel, and towards the close of the poem his fierceness settles into a sinister melancholy which makes him an almost sympathetic character. Mandricardo, on the other hand, though equally fearless, is merely extravagant and savage. There is no impressiveness in his truculence. His inordinate boasting is very commonly ridiculous, and leaves a mark on our memories which that of Rodomonte does not. Spenser, therefore, chose Mandricardo. As for the coward, there was no room for choice. Martano has the field to himself, and Spenser took him without question.

That Spenser had these two characters in mind when he sketched his portrait of Alençon, alias Braggadochio, may be proved by the incidents which mark the scare-crow's career. On his very first appearance he promises Archimago to go in quest of the Red Cross Knight and Guyon and kill them, and when the enchanter, perceiving him to be without a sword, suggests that on such a perilous adventure he will have need of one, he says (st. 17):

Once did I swear,
When with one sword seven knightes I brought to end,
Thenceforth in battaile never sword to beare,
But it were that which noblest knight on earth doth weare.

This is the vow of Mandricardo never to carry sword till he should win Orlando's famous Durindana (*Orl. Fur.* 14. 43). Orlando is chief of the paladins; the "noblest knight on earth" is his British peer, King Arthur. Mandricardo's vow is serious; Braggadochio's of course a mere lie, for he is a coward, which Mandricardo certainly is not.

The passages which tell of the stealing of Arthur's sword (3. 18; 6. 47; 8. 19-22; 9. 2) may be compared with that which tells of the appropriation of Durindana by Mandricardo (*Orl. Fur.* 24. 58-9). Mandricardo does not win the sword in fight: he comes upon it at the time of Orlando's madness, and calmly takes possession of it, under pretext that Orlando is feigning madness to escape him. The act is virtual theft. Braggadochio, the coward, is not capable of even stealing Morddure; Archimago has to undertake that, and succeeds. The good sword does not come into Braggadochio's possession; but that is a mere variation of detail. [Dodge notes similar parallels in *Orlando Furioso* for Braggadochio's adventures in *F. Q.* 4 and 5.]

The stealing of Guyon's horse may have been suggested by several episodes in the *Furioso*: 22. 12 ff.; 23. 33 ff.; 33. 92 ff.; perhaps 1. 72 ff.

CORY (pp. 112-3). The theory that Braggadochio, as boon comrade of the crafty old dotard Trompart, is Spenser's bold satire of Alençon, who, with the aid of Simier, sought the hand of Elizabeth to the apparent delight of the coquettish queen and the horror of Leicester's party and most of England, is

probably sound. If the reader considers this daring beyond possibility he must keep in mind the cumulative evidence of Spenser's audacity as I marshal it throughout my book. And the reader should note that this allegory is so cunningly devised in Spenser's Parthian manner that while it would irresistibly carry its undermeaning to many Elizabethan readers, it does not betray the poet red-handed. You know what he means but you cannot prove it. Any student of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature knows how constantly the poets of that era played with fire in this manner and how frequently they were persecuted for their temerity. No one of them quite paralleled Spenser in fierce vituperation; no one of them was more Parthian. And if the reader finds it hard to believe in the sincerity of the poet who wrote the dedication to the queen and who yet wrote satires with such a mortal aim, then the reader should remember John Stubbs who, when his right hand was cut off for his fierce pamphlet against the French marriage, removed his hat with his left and cried "God save the Queen!" the moment before he fainted in anguish. It is very probable that Spenser wrote or sketched this episode at the very time when the doubt and the excitement ran high, though it was not published until it had become past history. But Spenser did publish or boldly circulate his satire, "Mother Hubbard's Tale," on the same subject, an act that, as we shall see, brought him into some sinister complications. [See Appendix, "The Historical Allegory."]

Although some of the characteristics of Braggadochio, such as his boasting that he prefers to fight without a sword, remind one of Mandricardo, I think it is misleading to call Spenser's coward, as Professor Dodge does, a combination of Martano and Mandricardo. For Mandricardo was a Tartar in fact and in colloquial metaphor whom Spenser would have taken very seriously as a hero. Pyrochles seems to me to be a copy of Mandricardo.

W. H. SCHOFIELD (*Chivalry in English Literature*, pp. 165-7). There is much in this character that reminds one of Malory's King Mark. He too was false, mendacious, mean, a "self-loved personage" with a flowing tongue, a contemptible coward, who ran away from opponents with whom he feared to joust, one of whom all the world spoke shame — so unchivalric that he was finally dismissed from court in disgrace, stamped infamous yet the subject of jest.

When we see Braggadochio described as a peacock, a scarecrow, and consider his servant Trompart, a faithful and wily-witted knave, who upholds the boaster's idle humour with flattery, and "blows the bellows of his swelling vanity," a materialistic creature fond of gold, who declares, whenever asked, that he followed "a great adventurer, whose warlike name is far renowned through many bold emprise," yet was fully aware of his master's folly — Don Quixote and Sancho Panza come to mind.

Braggadochio, however, unlike brave Don Quixote, cannot be regarded as a burlesque of knightly excess, for the poet insists that he was merely a peasant counterfeit. Even if Spenser had so desired, he had not humour enough to write a good burlesque. In truth, there is ground to suspect that he took *Sir Thopas* seriously. In his *State of Ireland*, the poet gravely discussed Sir Thopas' apparel and armour "when he went to fight against the giant," and compared it with that of Irish horsemen. The horsemanship of the Irish was one of the few attributes of that people which he praised, and to judge by the following passage *à propos* of Braggadochio, his praise was not lightly given. [Quotes 2. 4. 1.] . . . "Proper

to gentle blood!" There were many other things besides skill to ride which Spenser felt that a gentleman should possess, and these he made plain, not only by indicating their absence in the vulgar, but also by applauding their presence in the noble seed.

vii. 6. UPTON. This was a term of ignominy among the Jews. 1 Sam. 24. 14: "After whom is the king of Israel come out? After whom dost thou pursue? After a dead dog? After a flea?" 2 Sam. 9. 8: "And he bowed himself and said, what is thy servant, that thou should'st look upon such a dead dog, as I am?" 2 Sam. 16. 9: "Why should this dead dog curse my lord the king?" Achilles thus speaks to the dying Hector, *Il.* 22. 345: ["Entreat me not, dog."] Terent. *Eun.*, Act 4: ". . . Ain' vero, canis?"

x. 1. JAKOB SCHOEMBS (*Ariosto Orlando Furioso in der englischen Litteratur des Zeitalters der Elisabeth*, p. 59 n). Der Name dieses zweifelhaften Helden ist eine glückliche Neubildung Spensers. Das *New English Dictionary* bemerkt darüber: "Braggadocchio. A name formed from Brag after the analogy of Italian augmentations in —occhio, —occio, given by Spenser to his personification of Brag, Vainglory. 1590 Spenser *F. Q.* 2. 3." Das Wort wurde bald in der englischen Litteratur einheimisch und das oben erwähnte Dictionary belegt dies durch mehrere Stellen, wovon die älteste: "1594 Nashe, *Unfort. Trav.* 15: These . . . goose-quill Braggadoches were mere cowards and crauens," Das Wort findet sich indessen schon in Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation* aus dem Jahre 1593, und Harvey bildet offenbar nach seinem Muster das Wort Pappadocio, das ich übrigens in keinem Wörterbuche bis jetzt verzeichnet finde. "So then of Pappadocio; whom nevertheless I esteeme a hundred times learned, and a thousand times honest, then this other Braggadocio; that hath more learning, then honestie and more money then learning, although he truly intitle himselfe, Pierce Penniles, and be elsewhere stiled the Gentleman Raggamuffin." (*Works*, ed. Grosart, 2. 223 *et passim.*)

Ferner finden wir das Wort in: "A Whippe For Worldlings Or The Centre Of Content" (p. 8) von Stephan Taylor. Das Gedicht wird von Hazlitt in *Handbook* p. 604 auf Malones Autorität hin in das Jahr 1586 gesetzt, so dass also das Wort Braggadocchio, das in der Form "Braggadocho" in Taylors Gedicht vorkommt, schon vor Veröffentlichung der *Faery Queene* bekannt geworden sein müsste. Doch ist jene Angabe der Jahreszahl 1586 in Zweifel zu ziehen. Es ist kein Exemplar bekannt, das eine Jahreszahl trüge. In den *Regist. of the Comp. of Stat.* (Arber) findet sich kein Eintrag aus jener Zeit inbezug auf Taylor. Ausserdem heisst es (p. 9) in dem Gedichte:

One by long suite, and some small feeling by
Unto the favour'd of his Majestie . . .
Procur'd an office, etc.,

was doch nicht wohl während der Zeit Elisabeths (her Majestie) geschrieben worden sein kann. Vergl. auch Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes*, 1882, p. 716.

xi. 3. JORTIN. This is Braggadocchio, who had just before stolen a horse and a spear. The poet here dresses him in armour, though he leaves us at a loss to guess how he came by it, and though afterwards he represents him as unarm'd. The same sort of observation might be made on several places of this Poem.

CHURCH. With respect to this particular of the armour, it should seem that the proper time to have clear'd up that circumstance would have been (5. 3. 37) where Braggadochio is detected by Sir Guyon, and disarm'd. I don't remember that he is any where represented as unarm'd. However, as the Poem is imperfect, and had not the Author's finishing hand, Candour requires that all favourable allowances should be made for any little slips of the Memory.

xii. 7. TODD. The expression hard "assay" or "assays" is common in Spenser, and has been adopted by Milton in *Comus*, ver. 972. Chaucer uses it, *Rom. R.* 4350: "But Love is so hard assaie."

9. UPTON. Ferreau swore that he would wear no helmet, but that which Orlando wore, Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 12. 30-1. Mandricardo, who was only armed with a speare, swore that he would wield no sword but Orlando's, *Orl. Fur.* [14]. 43; 23. 78.

xvi. 1-3. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 440-1:

Sed te victa situ verique effoeta senectus
... Curis nequiquam exercet.

Claudian, *Bell. Get.* 521:

mentis inops fraudataque sensibus aetas.

Ovid, *Met.* 6. 37-8:

Mentis inops, longaue venis confecta senecta,
Et nimium vixisse diu nocet.

xvii. See note by DODGE on stanza 4 above.

7. TODD notes a resemblance to Falstaff the blustering knight of Shakespeare and his taking "all their seven points." He cites also Captain Swag in Barnabie Rich's *Faults*, and *Nothing but Faults*.

xviii. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Cf. Mandricardo appropriating Orlando's sword, *Orl. Fur.* 24. 58-9.

xix. 3-9. WINSTANLEY. This sudden disappearance is suggested probably by the disappearance of Aeneas in Homer.

xx ff. C. G. OSGOOD (*MLN* 46. 506). Some have said in their haste that Spenser cannot portray character. Among many other instances they overlook Satyrane and Braggadochio. Braggadochio is not a mere personification of cowardice, but subtly embodies certain subtle observations of both Plato and Aristotle. Plato observes (*Protag.* 360) that both the coward and the foolhardy person are ignorant; and Aristotle (*Eth.* 3. 10), that "the foolhardy person may be regarded as an impostor, and as one who affects a courage that he does not possess. . . . It follows that most foolhardy people are cowards at heart; for although they exhibit a foolhardy spirit where they safely can, they refuse to face real terrors. . . . The Coward is a despondent sort of person, as being afraid of everything." Just such is Braggadochio, a craven, but truculent impostor, who struts, bluffs, and swaggers, who is frightened at the mysteries of the "wild, unknown wood," and

of Archimago's strange disappearance, at the vanishing of false Florimell, at everything he cannot explain;

with dremiment
So daunted was in his despeyring mood,
That like a lifeless corse immoveable he stood.

So far is he from a mere formula that Spenser makes him also a thief, and a libertine, at least in intention, though restrained by fear. But he is laughed to scorn as a churl, and finally proved in all respects a counterfeit (5. 3. 32-40). In one phase or another he exhibits very humanly all of Spenser's particular moral antipathies.

xx. D. SAURAT (*Les Idées Philosophiques de Spenser*, p. 17). La foret, que nous avons vue accueillante, devient farouche [stanza quoted]. Les personnages apportent ici leur peur avec eux, mais la notation est juste. La mer a naturellement aussi ses dangers (cf. 2. 2. 24; 4. 1. 42, etc.). Mais deux éléments surtout troublent le poète: le changement rapide des choses de la nature; et enfin, dans sa fécondité même, la production incessante de monstres et d'êtres mauvais.

4. TODD. Adopted from the Book of Job, in which the panick of the disobedient is thus finely described: "The sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them," Lev. 26. 36. By the subsequent expression, "whistling wind," the poet seems to have had in view also that most impressive account of the fears, with which the guilty Egyptians were affected, at every thing which stirred; whether terrible in itself, or fancied so by them; "whether it were a whistling wind, or a melodious noise of birds," &c., Wisdom of Sol. 17. 18.

xxi ff. HUGHES (1. lxviii-lxxix). That shining Description of Belpheobe, as a Huntress, like Venus in Virgil [*Aen.* 1. 314-329] appearing to her Son Aeneas, is design'd as a Complement on Queen Elizabeth, and is therefore wrought up with the most finish'd Beauty. Her Speech in praise of that true Glory, which is only attain'd by Labour and Study, is not only extremely proper to the Subject of this Book, but admirable, if we consider it as the Sense of that Princess, and as a short Character of so active and glorious a Reign . . . [quotes 40. 8-41]. . . . Such Passages as these kindle in the Mind a generous Emulation, and are an Honour to the Art of Poetry, which ought always to recommend worthy Sentiments.

HAZLITT (*Lectures on the English Poets*, p. 38) includes the "description of Belpheobe" in his list of "the finest things in Spenser."

AUBREY DEVERE (*Characteristics of Spenser's Poetry*, p. 290). The poet's picture, like Guido's Aurora, has the freshness of the morning about it: youth and gladness breathe in every line, beam in every gesture, and wave with every movement of that raiment made, in this rich description, almost as beauteous as the slender limbs and buoyant form it embraces, yet laughingly reveals. It is plain that so long as this youthful Dian may but race with those winds which add a richer glow to her cheek and more vivid splendour to her eye, so long as she may but chase the hart and hind through the dewy forest laws, so long must all love-ties be for her without a meaning. Dryden has imitated this passage, after his fashion, in his *Cymon and Iphigenia*, missing the poetry and purity of the whole, and thus imparting a touch of coarseness not felt in the original to what he retains—just as,

in his version of Chaucer's poems, he omits each finer touch, and makes them vulgar. A sculptor might perhaps remark that the line

Upon her eyelids many graces sate

would be more in place if a Venus were described rather than this handmaid of the "quivered Queen" who, like Apollo, is ever represented in Greek art with lifted lids and eyes wide open. Dian is a luminary, like her brother, and her eye flings its glances far.

E. DOWDEN (*Transcripts and Studies*, pp. 321-2). Belpheobe's passion is that of virginal joy, and pride, and freedom. She thinks of love for no man and from none, whether to give or to take; it is enough to have victorious play among the woodland beasts, and, Dian-like, to rest in the company of her maidens. In happy hour we first see her, for as she starts suddenly to view from among the green boughs, following hard upon the prelude of her ringing horn, we have almost grown ashamed of manhood in company of the despicable braggart and his squire. She is clad in hunter's weed, and moves a goddess; her face is clear as the sky, not with such luminous pallor as that of Una, but with the flush of health and gallant exercise; a breeze and breath of life, "able to heal the sick and to revive the dead," play around her as they might around some flourishing tree; her eyes beam like two living lamps "under the shadow of her even brows"; her ivory forehead is a broad table for Love to engrave his triumphs on; her lips are incarnadined with the quickened blood; her words make silver music in the air. Una had worn the veil and mourning stole. Belpheobe is clad in white, but her short camis is of silk, starred with gold and with golden fringe; the buskins of her goodly legs are rich with curious anticks and fastened with a jewel. She leads no lamb in a line, but is a pursuer of soft woodland creatures and a queller of the fiercer beasts in her victorious play. In her hand is a boar spear, and at her back are the bow and quiver. A golden baldrick is on her breast, letting its virginal beauty be divined; the golden hair shed about her shoulders is lightly blown by the breeze, and it shows the lovelier for fresh leaves and blossoms borne away from the forest trees in the speed of her flight. Spenser's imagination pours forth its treasures to enrich with all pure splendours this ideal of glad virginity. Not love, but honour is her aim, and this she seeks where true honour may be found, amid the toils and dangers of a strenuous life.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 184-5, 200). The description of Belpheobe . . . might be compared for method to that of Alcina (*Orl. Fur.* 7. 11 ff.), though it is more pompously ornamental. . . . Spenser's more ornate method of description reminds one rather of Tasso.

WINSTANLEY (p. xxxv). Spenser has, as usual, amplified this description [of Venus in Virgil] at great length by adding a much more elaborate picture of Belpheobe's beauty and by giving a long and detailed description of her rich attire. [Cf. notes on 32. 6-33. 4.]

E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, p. 103). Take his celebrated portrait of Belpheobe, the divine huntress, as she is seen in the forest by Braggadochio and Trompart. It is a picture on the grandest scale, with an extraordinary profusion of colours and details, filling ten stanzas—one for her face, one for her eyes, one for her

forehead and mouth, one for her looks and smiles, one for her tunic, one for her buskins, one for her legs, one for her spear, bow and baldrick, one for her hair, and so on. There is scarcely a detail in all those stanzas that could not be expressed by a painter or sculptor, that does not remind us of the portraits or statues of Diana. Even that beautiful stanza which conveys most vividly of all the sense of life and motion is one that art could well reproduce [quotes st. 30].

H. H. BLANCHARD (SP 22. 205). The elaborate description of Belphebe has been considered as largely an imitation from Ariosto's Alcina. It is found, however, to contain also many elements which parallel the description of Clarice in the *Rinaldo*.

Both Belphebe and Clarice appear in the forest as huntresses in pursuit of a hind. . . . It will be noted that the [parallel] parts from Spenser all come in the passage 2. 3. 21-32; those from Tasso, with two exceptions, from the passage in *Rinaldo* 1. 53-7.

[He cites particularly *Rinaldo* 1. 53. 1-4; 54. 1-2:]

Vien . . . sopra un cavallo assisa,
Che veloce sen va come saetta,
Di novo abito adorna in strana guisa
Una disposta e vaga giovinetta. . . .
Mira il leggiadro altero portamento
Rinaldo. . . .

xxi. UPTON. This ludicrous image of a coward is perhaps taken from the character of the coward Dametas in his favourite Sydney, *Arcadia* [10th ed.], p. 70, who creeps into a bush to hide his head from danger.

FRIEDRICH BRIE (*Sidneys Arcadia*, pp. 145-6) comments on Sidney's use of strong character contrast to illustrate virtues and vices. Referring to the attack of the lion and the bear (*Arcadia*, Book I, Chap. 19, ed. Feuillerat, p. 123), he writes: "Wenn hier die Freunde mit grösster Tapferkeit sich dem Löwen und dem Bären entgegenstellen, während der feige Dametas sich in einen Busch wirft, so haben wir hier die Tugend der Tapferkeit in derselben Weise mit dem Laster der Feigheit kontrastiert, wie Spenser das im zweiten Buche der Feenkönigin tut in den Gestalten des selbstbeherrschten und tapferen Guyon und des eitlen und grosssprecherischen Braggadocchio, der sich beim Herannahen Belpheobes ganz ähnlich wie Dametas in einen Busch verkriecht, nur dass Spenser, wie immer, die Allegorie stärker hervorhebt als Sidney."

xxii. 3. UPTON. "Without blame," ἀμύμων, one of Homer's epithets. He seems to have his eye on Solomon's songs, whilst he is characterizing his royal mistress. Would he have us too interpret mystically, as Divines interpret? "Thou art all fair, there is no spot in thee," 4. 7. . . . Divines, as I said above, interpret these songs, as Spenser would have us interpret his poem, namely, as "a continued allegory"; but there are many expressions in them δυσνόητα. The subject of this book relates to Temperance: Love is of all passions the most liable to abuse; our poet therefore would have us spiritualize our love, and contemplate the beauty of his royal mistress, as beauty in the abstract: for whatever is beautiful, true, harmonious, proportionable, &c. contemplated with the temperate eye of reason, must

more than please even for its own sake: "quia decet, quia rectum, quia honestum; etsi nullum esti consecuturum emolumentum."

5-6. UPTON. Solomon's Song 2.1: "I am the rose of Sharon and the lillie of the valleys"; and 5.10: "My beloved is white and ruddy." Cf. Ovid, *Am.*, Lib. 2. Eleg. 5 [line 37]: "Quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae." Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 7.11:

Spargeasi per la guancia delicata
Misto color di rose, e di ligustri.

HEISE (p. 119) adds *Aen.* 12.68-9; *Rin.* 1.55; *Ger. Lib.* 12.69; *Orl. Inn.* 1.8.11; *Orl. Fur.* 10.96; and *Rin.* 4.45.

K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58.352). Cf. Fletcher, *P.I.* 10.35:

A bed of lilies flower upon her cheek,
And in the midst was set a circling rose.

7-9. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP.* 22.205-206) cites *Rinaldo* 1.55.5-6:

onde discende
Grazia, che può far lieta ogn' alma trista. . . .

7. UPTON. Milton has the same expression, *P.L.* 2.245. . . . Virgil, *Aen.* 1.403: "Ambrosiae odorem spiravere."

TODD. But the circumstance, which Spenser adds, of these ambrosial odours being able to revive the dead, strongly resembles a passage in Camoëns, where the breath of Jove is described as shedding such exquisite fragrance as might inspire the dead with life, *Lus.* 1.22:

Do rosto respirava hum ar divino,
Que divino tornara hum corpo humano.

xxiii.1-5. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP.* 22.206). The description of her eyes shows a Platonic influence in Spenser and Tasso which is lacking in Ariosto. *Rinaldo* 1.57.1-4:

La vaga e cara imago, in cui risplende
Della beltà del Ciel raggio amoroso,
Dolcemente per gli occhi al cor gli scende
Con grata forza, ed impeto nascoso. . . .

8. KITCHIN. So in Milton's *Comus* 444, Diana

Set at nought
The frivolous bolt of Cupid.

This stanza is probably intended as an answer to the attacks on the Queen's character and conduct which were very rife at this time.

xxiv. WARTON (2.46). Thus in *Sonnet* 81:

But fairest she, when so she doth display
The gate with pearles, and rubies richly dight,
Thro' which her words so wise do make their way.

Ariosto gives us pearls and corall for the lips and teeth (*Orl. Fur.* 12. 94):

Che da i coralli, e da le pretiose
Perle uscir fanno i dolci accenti mozzi.

Harrington: "The corall and perle by nature wrought."

This is common in the Italian poets.

1-4. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 206). Tasso mentions "la fronte d'avorio" in stanza 55. 5, but the rest of this passage may well be an imitation of a description of the countenance of the Queen of Media found elsewhere in the *Rinaldo* (1. 9. 15):

Sembrava a lei ch' Amor quivi locato
Tutte le sue vittrici insegne avesse,
E quale in carro suol di palme ornato
Trionfator altier, lieto sedesse. . . .

K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58. 352). Cf. Fletcher, *P. I.* 10. 31:

Upon her forehead Love his trophies fits,
A thousand spoils in silver arch displaying.

6-9. E. KOEPEL (*Anglia* 11. 348) notes a parallel in Tasso's *Rime* (1582, second part, p. 47):

Quella Angelica voce, che si frange
Fra bianche perle, e bei rubini ardenti,
Si ch' arrestar le stelle a' suoi concetti
Puote, e 'l Sol quando ratto esce di Gange.

Cf. also second part, p. 82, and first part, p. 12.

K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58. 353). Cf. Fletcher, *P. I.* 10. 36:

Her rubie lips lock up from gazing sight
A troop of pearls, which march in goodly row:
But when she deignes those precious bones undight,
Soon heav'nly notes from those divisions flow
And with rare musick charm the ravisht eares.

7. UPTON. Solomon's Song 4. 11: "Thy lips, O spouse, drop as the honey combe: honey and milk are under thy tongue."

8-9. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 206) cites *Rinaldo* 1. 55. 7: "E le perle e i rubin, fiamme d'amore. . . ."

xxv. 1-2. WARTON (2. 46-8). In *Sonnet* 40:

When on each eye-lid sweetly doe appeare
An hundred graces as in shade to sit.

And in a verse of his *Pageants* preserved by E. K. (*Sh. Cal.*, June, Gloss):

[Many Graces. Though there be indeed but three Graces or Charites (as afore is sayd) or at the vtmost but foure, yet in respect of many gyftes of bounty, there may be sayde more. And so Musaeus sayth, that in Heroes either eye there satt a hundred Graces. And by authoritye, thys same Poete in hys Pageaunts sayth]:

An hundred graces on her eye-lids sate.

Which he drew from a modern greek poem ascribed to Musaeus. [Warton quotes the Greek.]

The following passage from Sir T. More's English Works, Rastall, London, 1557, may perhaps give the reader some idea of the nature of our poet's *Pageants*:

Mayster Thomas More in hys youth devysed in hys fathers house in London, a goodly hanging of fyne paynted clothe, with nyne pageauntes, and verses over every of those pageauntes: which verses expressed and declared, what the ymages in thos pageauntes represented: and also in those pageauntes were paynted, the thynges that the verses over them dyd (in effecte) declare.

In the "Hymne of heavenly Love" we find a thousand graces (ver. 63):

Sometimes upon her forehead they behold
A thousand graces masking in delight.

But the thought of the graces sitting under the shade of her eyebrows, is more exactly like what Tasso says of Cupid (*Aminta* 2. 1): . . . "Sotto al ombra de la palpepre."

xxvi ff. J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 158-9). If all in a minute and at some distance the scared Trompart could take in such details as these, he might well qualify for a society reporter. It is a perspective analogous to that of the Chinese—and Pre-Raphaelite—painter who veils in a leaf yards distant from the spectator. If with Turner objects are "dreamily indistinct," it is because they are so in fact to him really or imaginatively observing them under the given conditions.

In all else, assuredly, any comparison between Spenser and Turner as "painters" is fantastic. Turner's painting is called by Ruskin "the loveliest ever yet done by man in imagery of the physical world." One might perhaps dispute the superlative, but not the direction of the praise. Turner's strength was intimacy with visible nature. Spenser's eye for visible nature was so little focussed that "for vegetation he has only the adjectives 'green,' 'pallid-green,' and 'pallid,' for the ocean no realistic hues, for mountains none except 'green'" (A. E. Pratt, *On the Use of Color in the Romantic Poets*, Chicago, 1898).

xxvi-xxvii. UPTON. This picture is the same as that of Diana, as represented in statues or coins, or poetical descriptions. Consult Spanhiem in his notes on Callimachus, pp. 134, 135: *καὶ ἐς γόνυ μέχρι χιτῶνα Ζώννυσθαι λεγνῶτόν* (Call. *In Dian.*, ver. 2). I am apt to think our poet had likewise in view the Amazonian dress of Pyrocles in his learned friend's *Arcadia* [10th ed.], p. 42:

Upon her body she wore a doublet of skye-colour satin, covered with plates of gold, and as it were nailed with precious stones, that in it she might seem armed; the nether part of her garment was full of stuff, and cut after such a fashion, that though the length of it reached to the ankles, yet in her going one might sometimes discern the small of her leg, which with the foot was dressed in a short pair of crimson velvet buskins, in some places open (as the ancient manner was) to shew the fairness of the skin.

xxvi. 1-2. K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58. 353). Cf. Fletcher, *P. I.* 10. 39:

Thus, and much fairer, fair Parthenia
Glist'ring in arms, her self presents to sight.

9. UPTON. This is the first instance in our poet of leaving his verse imperfect and broken; other instances of these hemistiques or half verses, the reader will find in 2. 8. 55; 3. 4. 39. So again, 3. 6. 26. 4. . . . But this verse is thus left only in the old quarto but filled up in the other editions. . . . There is but one more instance in this large work, viz. 3. 9. 37.

xxvii. H. H. BLANCHARD (SP 22. 207). There is a suggestion of this description of Belpheobe's buskins in a passage elsewhere in the *Rinaldo* (5. 13):

I ben formati piè, le gambe snelle
Sino al ginocchio ricoprendo ornava
Di cuojo azzurro, e quel con aurei nodi
Era dipoi legato in mille modi.

xxviii. 1. UPTON. Sol. Song 5. 15: "His legs are as pillars set upon sockets of fine gold."

TODD. The allusion also is to the same book, when the poet says of his bride, in his elegant *Epithalamion*, "Her snowie neck like to a marble towre, &c." The descriptions of beauty, here and in the *Epithalamion*, are very similar.

WINSTANLEY. Spenser is here led away, somewhat fantastically, to elaborate the simile for its own sake. Milton's use of the simile is more masterly than Spenser's; he rarely employs one that does not convey exactly what he intends.

xxix. 7-9. UPTON. Sol. Song. 7. 7: "Thy breasts are like to clusters of grapes. . . ."

But I don't think (though the reader is to think for himself) that Spenser followed literally, though he might allegorically, this mystical song; he as a poet, takes and leaves and alters as he thinks proper: so that by "young fruit in May," etc., he may intend not clusters of grapes, but unripe apples: and this expression Ariosto uses describing Alcina's beauties, 7. 14. [Upton cites also Tasso's *Aminta*, Act 1, last scene; Sidney's *Arcadia* (10th ed.), p. 51; Aristonnet, *Epist.* 3. 1 and 7. 2; Aristoph., *Eccles.*, ver. 898, and *Lysistrat.*, ver. 155; and Theocrit., *Id.* 27. 49.]

K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58. 353). Cf. Fletcher, *P. I.* 10. 37:

Her daintie breasts, like to an Aprill rose
From green-silk fillets yet not all unbound,
Began their little rising heads disclose,
And fairly spread their silver circlets round.

xxx. J. B. FLETCHER (SP 14. 162). To visualize Belpheobe with her "yellow lockes, crisped like golden wyre," waved by the wind "like a penon wide dispred," we should look at Botticelli's Venus new-risen from the sea.

1-6. H. H. BLANCHARD (SP 22. 207) cites *Rinaldo* 1. 54. 3-4:

E vede il crin parte ondeggiar al vento,
Parte in belli aurei nodi avvolto e stretto. . . .

1. KITCHIN. "Her haire as gold-wyre was seene."—*Bevis of Hampton*. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 318:

Lydgate, *Troy Book* 4. 4321-4336:

And Pyrrhus . . .
Towarde this queene faste gan him rape,
To be avenged whatsoever fall. . . .
And Pirrhus sworde was so sharpe whet,
That sodaynly of her arme he smet. . . .
So that this queene fel down dead anon.

Caxton, in the wars of Troy (translated from Dares) has a whole chapter, "How the queene Panthasile cam from Amazonne with a thousand maydens to the socoure of Troye. And how she bare her vaylantly, and slewe many Grekis, and after was she slayne by Pyrrhus the sone of Achilles."

SAWTELLE. In *Aen.* 1. 491 ff., we have a graphic picture of Penthesilea at the head of her troops of Amazons. Servius, commenting upon this passage, says that she was killed by Achilles, and this was the commonly accepted account of her death.

xxxii. 6-xxxiii. 4. See J. HUGHES's note on 21 ff. above.

M. Y. HUGHES (*PMLA* 44. 696-7). Belpheobe's sudden advent in the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene*, canto third, is frankly patterned upon Venus' appearance to Aeneas in the First Book of the *Aeneid*. The situations have nothing in common but that very fact may have been Spenser's motive for making his imitation of Virgil unmistakable. Belpheobe's surprise of the ridiculous Braggadochio and Trompart was a sarcastic allegory, and the contrast between them and their Virgilian counterparts, Aeneas and Achates, may have been intended to lend edge to the satire. It may seem absurd to compare Trompart, who is traditionally identified with the mischief-making valet of Elizabeth's unpopular suitor, the Duc d'Alencon, to Aeneas. The replies of Aeneas and of Trompart, however, have too much in common for accident. *Aen.* 1. 314-328:

Cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva
Virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma,
Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.
Namque humeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum
Venatrix, dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
Nuda genu, nodoque sinus collecta fluentis.
Ac prior, Heus, inquit, iuvenes, monstrate, mearum
Vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum,
Succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,
Aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.
Sic Venus; et Veneris contra sic filius orsus:
Nulla tuam audita mihi neque visa sororum.
O—quam te memorem, virgo? Namque haud tibi vultus
Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; O, dea, certe.

xxxii. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 207). Both [Belpheobe and Clarice] are in pursuit of a hind. It will be noted that in each case the animal is wounded in the right side, *Rinaldo* 1. 53. 5-8:

Dal cui dardo ferita, e poscia uccisa
 Fu la fugace e timida cervetta
 Dal dardo, ch' ella di lanciar maestra
 Tutto le fisse entro la spalla destra.

xxxiii. 2-4. WARTON (2. 140-1). Drawn from Aeneas's address to his mother; and in the same manner again, 3. 5. 35: "Angell, or goddesse, do I call thee right."

Milton has finely applied this manner of address, originally taken from Ulysses's address to Nausicaa, *Od.* 6, in *Comus* [265-270]:

. . . Hail foreign wonder!
 Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,
 Unless the goddess that in rural shrine
 Dwellst here with Pan and Sylvan; by blest song
 Forbidding every bleak unkindly fog
 To touch the prosperous growth of this tall wood.

xxxiv. 9. E. C. HART (Arden ed. of Shakespeare's 2 *Henry VI*, p. xxvii). Cf. Shakespeare's 2 *Henry VI* 2. 4. 127: "to death and deadly night."

xxxvi. HEISE (p. 109) cites *Rin.* 9. 75.

xxxix. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 207-8). Cf. *Rinaldo* 1. 56.

7. TODD. This is a favourite phrase in our old poetry. Thus Gascoigne has, "swimmes in blisse," *Poems*, edit. 1587. p. 14. And Crashaw, "He shall swim in riper joyes," *Del. of the Muses*, p. 11. Milton also has "swim in mirth," and "swim in joy," *P. L.* 9. 1009; 11. 625. The expression is similar in the next stanza, "bathes in blis"; an expression no less frequent among the ancient English bards, and of which Chaucer perhaps is the father, *Wife of Bathes T.* 6835. "His herte bathed in a bath of blisse." [Cf. OSGOOD's note on 4. 41. 5.]

xl-xli. LOWELL (*North Am. Rev.* 120. 381). And this is the way he introduces five pregnant verses of Dante, *Inf.* 24. 46-52:

Seggendo in piume
 In fama non si vien, ni sotto coltre,
 Senza la qual chi sua vita consuma,
 Cotal vestigio in terra di se lascia
 Qual fumo in aere ed in acqua la schiuma.

H. H. BLANCHARD (*PMLA* 40. 832-4). Belpheobe's splendid utterance to Braggadocchio concerning honor seems to contain elements which might well have been developed from similar passages in both Boiardo and Tasso.

Orl. Inn. 2. 1. 35-6:

Ma non già per cacciare, o stare a danza,
 Nè per festeggiar dame ne i giardini,
 Starà nel mondo nostra nominanza,
 Ma conosciuta fia da tamburini.
 Dopo la morte sol fama n'avanza,
 E veramente son color tapini,
 Che d'aggrandirla sempre non han cura,
 Perchè sua vita poco tempo dura.

Nè vi crediate, che Alessandro il grande,
 Qual fu principio de la nostra gesta,
 Per far conviti d'ottime vivande
 Vincesse il mondo, nè per star in festa;
 Ora per tutto il suo nome si spande,
 E la sua istoria, che è qui manifesta,
 Mostra, che al guadagnar d'onor si suda,
 E sol s'acquista con la spada nuda.

Ger. Lib. 17. 61:

Signor, non sotto l'ombra in spiaggia molle
 Tra fonti e fior, tra Ninfe e tra Sirene,
 Ma in cima a l'erto e faticoso colle
 De la virtù riposto è il nostro bene.
 Chi non gela, e non suda, e non s'estolle
 De la vie del piacer, là non perviene.

Here it will be seen that the lure to oblivion mentioned in Spenser is expressed in the terms, "pompe of prowde estate," "courtly blis," "in Princes court." This conception is nearer to Boiardo's "per cacciare," "o stare a danza," "per festegiar dame ne i giardini," "per far conviti d'ottime vivande," "per star in festa," than it is to Tasso's "sotto l'ombra in spiaggia molle Tra fonti e fior," "tra Ninfe e tra Sirene."

Furthermore, in Tasso's passage, mention of the life of arms and of battles is made only in the following manner, *Ger. Lib. 17. 62-3*:

T'alzò natura in verso il ciel la fronte,
 E ti diè spirti generosi ed alti. . . .
 E ti diè l'ire ancor veloci e pronte. . . .
 . . . perchè il tuo valore, armato d'esse,
 Più fero assalga gli avversari esterni. . . .

Spenser's "abroad in armes," "in woods," "in waves," "in warres," "with perill and with paine" would seem to be echoes much more of Boiardo's "conosciuta fia da tamburini," and the example of Alexander conquering the world "con la spada nuda" than the colorless line of Tasso's, "Più fero assalga gli avversari esterni."

[See notes on sts. 4 ff.]

xli. W. J. COURTHOPE (*Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.* 3. 236). What we do find there [in the *F. Q.*] is the chivalrous spirit, such as still survived in the soul of Sidney and a few others, uttering itself, when opportunity offers, in short bursts of enthusiastic and sublime sentiment, as in the following stanza on Honour [stanza quoted].

There is nothing in *Orlando Furioso* so lofty as this; nor can the great poet of Italian romance for a moment compare with Spenser in "that generous loyalty to rank and sex . . . that subordination of the heart," which, as Burke observes, is one of the noblest characteristics of chivalry.

WINSTANLEY. We may note the particularly beautiful and subtle alliteration in this stanza. It is one of the noblest in all Spenser's works.

5-9. JORTIN quotes Hesiod, *Works and Days* 287-291:

["Evil one may attain easily and in abundance: smooth is the way and it dwelleth very nigh. But in front of virtue have the deathless gods set sweat: long is the way thereto and steep and rough at first."—Translation of A. W. Mair.]

GREENLAW (*MLN* 41. 324-6). The debate between Braggadocchio and Belpheobe has some resemblances to the passage in *Comus* in which the Lady rebukes the enchanter, and belongs to a distinguished literary tradition. One stanza in Spenser's splendid version of it leads us directly to Hesiod. [Stanza 41 quoted.] This passage about the way to honor is imitated from *Works and Days* 1. 287-292. A little later, Hesiod's version appealed to another Elizabethan poet, George Chapman, and in order to show the parallel I quote his translation:

With much ease
To Vice and her love, men may make access;
Such crews in rout herd to her, and her court
So passing near lies, their way sweet and short;
But before Virtue do the Gods rain sweat,
Through which, with toil and half-dissolved feet,
You must wade to her; her path long and steep,
And at your entry 'tis so sharp and deep.
But scaling once her height, the joy is more
Than all the pain she put you to before.

Chapman's note on the passage emphasizes it as an expression of the conflict through which the soul fights through the knowledge and hate of the miseries and beastliness of vice:

His argument to persuade to virtue here is taken both from her own natural fate and the divine disposition of God; for as she hath a body, being supposed the virtue of man, and through the worthily exercised and instructed organs of that body, her soul receives her excitation to all her expressible knowledge (for *dati sunt sensus ad excitandum intellectum*), so to the love and habit of knowledge and virtue, there is first necessarily required a laborious and painful conflict, fought through the knowledge and hate of the miseries and beastliness of vice. And this painful passage to Virtue Virgil imitated in his translation of the Pythagorean letter Y.

Chapman's note indicates precisely the exposition of the virtue of Temperance which is the subject of Spenser's Legend of Guyon; the allegories of the soul and the body, and of the place of knowledge and of the intellectual love of God, of which Chapman speaks, are implicit throughout the book. As to the "Pythagorean letter Y," ascribed to Virgil in Spenser's and Chapman's time, we have Chapman's translation, as follows:

This letter of Pythagoras, that bears
This fork'd distinction, to conceit prefers
The form man's life bears. Virtue's hard way takes
Upon the right hand path, which entry makes
(To sensual eyes) with difficult affair;
But when ye once have climb'd the highest stair,
The beauty and the sweetness it contains,
Give rest and comfort, for past all your pains.
The broadway in a bravery paints ye forth,

(In th' entry) softness, and much shade of worth;
 But when ye reach the top, the taken ones
 It headlong hurls down, torn at sharpest stones.
 He then, whom virtues love, shall victor crown
 Of hardest fortunes, praise wins and renown;
 But he that sloth and fruitless luxury
 Pursues, and doth with foolish wariness fly
 Opposed pains (that all best acts befall),
 Lives poor and vile, and dies despised of all.

(I am indebted to Professor W. P. Mustard for a reference to Persius *Sat.* 3:

et tibi quae Samios diduxit littera ramos
 surgentem dextro monstravit limite callem.

Professor Gildersleeve's note on this passage explains that the letter Y " or rather its old form Ψ, was selected by Pythagoras to embody the immemorial image of the two paths—Hesiod, *O. et D.*, 287-292—so familiar in the apologue of Hercules at the cross-roads—Xen., *Comm.*, 2. 1. 20—and alluded to again by our author, 5. 34. Hence this letter was called the Pythagorean; Auson., 12, *de litt. monos.*, 9." Gildersleeve also cites Conington's explanation of the symbolism of the letter: "The stem stands for the unconscious life of infancy and childhood, the diverging branches for the alternative offered to the youth, virtue or vice.")

xlvi. See notes on 4. 1. below.

CANTO IV

i. UPTON. To manage the steed and to ride well, was in high estimation in Queen Elizabeth's reign: so it was among the Persians in the times of Cyrus, and among the Romans in the times particularly of Julius and Augustus Caesars.

TODD. In the reign of Elisabeth, to ride well was indeed a science diligently cultivated. Numerous books on the subject were published. The reader will be pleased with an example, which powerfully illustrates this remark; especially as it relates to a family, whose name the *Faerie Queene* has immortalized; the noble family of Scudamore. The anecdote is cited from a book, not often to be met with, entitled, *Instructions, or Advice to his Grandson in three parts*: By William Higford, Esq. Lond. 1658. 12mo. In p. 69 he recommends "the noble exercise of riding the great horse":

A knight on horseback is one of the goodlyest sights in the world. Methinkes I see Sr. James Scudamore, your thrice noble Grandfather, a brave man of armes both at tilt and barriers, after the voyage of Cales and the Canary Islands (wherein he performed very remarkable and signal service, under the conduct of the Earl of Essex), enter the tiltyard in a handsome equipage, all in complete armor, embellished with plumes, his beaver close, mounted upon a very high bounding horse, (I have seen the shooes of his horse glisten above the heads of all the people;) and, when he came to the encounter or shock, brake as many spears as the most, her Majesty, Q. Elizabeth, with a train of ladies, like the starrs in the firmament, and the whole Court looking upon him with a very gracious aspect. And when he came to reside with Sr. John Scudamore, his father, (two braver gentlemen shall I never

see together at one time, such a father, such a son,) himself, and other brave cavalliers, and some of their menials and of his suit, to manage every morning six or more brave well-ridden horses, every horse brought forth by his groom in such decency, that Holme-Lacy, at that time, seemed not onely an Academy, but even the very Court of a Prince.

TODD (note on 3. 46. 5). The Knight, who was regularly educated, is always represented in tales of chivalry and romance as governing his steed with dignity and ease. Thus also De St. Palaye tells us: "Il falloit—que l'aspirant à la Chevalerie réunît en lui seul toute la force nécessaire pour les plus rudes metiers, & l'adresse des arts les plus difficiles, avec les talens d'un excellent homme de cheval."

KITCHIN. This is a description of the Platonic *εὐφυής*, the well-bred, well-thewed, and, it must be confessed, the affected gentleman. It was the fashion of the society in which Spenser moved to be keenly sensitive as to the honour and duties of the estate of gentleman. The newer aristocracy of the reign prided themselves on their breeding and conduct, and despised the "rascal rout" without stint. The feeling that can be traced here runs through Sir W. Raleigh's writings and acts, in a foppish strain: it also gives the colour to Sir P. Sidney's affected *Arcadia* throughout.

MARIE WALTHER (*Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene*, p. 68). Cf. Malory, *Morte Darthur*, ed. H. O. Sommer, p. 490, l. 27: "Thenne he (Lamorack) horsed his bretheren ageyne and sayd: bretheren ye oughte to be ashamed to falle so from your horses. What is a knyght but whan he is on hors-back? I sett not by a knyght whenne he is one foote."

WINSTANLEY. We may compare what Sidney says (*Apologie for Poetrie*) of his master in horsemanship, John Pietry Pugliano: "Hee sayd, Souldiours were the noblest estate of mankinde, and horsemen the noblest of Souldiours. Hee sayde, they were the Maisters of warre, and ornaments of peace: speedy goers and strong abiders: triumphers both in Camps and Courts. Nay, to so unbelieved a peynt he proceeded, as that no earthly thing bred such wonder to a Prince, as to be a good horseman."

H. S. V. JONES (*A Spenser Handbook*, p. 195) cites Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* l. 18.

EDITOR. Castiliogne would have the courtier "a perfect horseman for everie saddle," and skillful "in horses and whatsoever belongeth to a horseman." (Hoby's translation, Everyman ed., p. 41.)

iii. 2. UPTON. Vergil, *Aen.* 6. [454]: "aut videt aut vidisse putat." Milton, *P. L.* 1. 783:

Some belated peasant sees

Or dreams he sees.

iv-xvi. E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, pp. 108-112). Neither pictures nor pageants make up the whole of Spenser's models. He was also influenced by the stage, more especially by the morality which was not yet quite dead, and most of all by a species of spectacular entertainment much relished in his time, and which may be called the moral dumb-show or pantomime. . . .

The dumb-show, then in close relation to the morality, resembled it in being mainly allegorical. . . .

If you eke out these dry indications and call up the players' vivid mimicry, you will turn without feeling any real difference to the numerous moral pantomimes scattered about in the *Fairy Queen*. I will content myself with pointing out the struggle of Sir Guyon against Furor and Occasion, in the fourth canto of the Second Book. The passage is a long one, but in that allegory, intended to show how Anger is born of Occasion and can only be quelled when the occasion that gave rise to it has first been mastered (a rather trite moral), what strikes us is the concrete, visible, palpable character of every incident, the obvious symbolism of the personages and of every gesture and grimace they make, the ease with which the least detail might have been expressed by an actor in a dumb show. [The episode is reproduced in detail, with emphasis upon its pantomimic character.] . . .

Is not this entire scene one that Spenser might have seen performed, or, conversely, one that might easily be given on the stage, after simply copying every attitude and every grimace from his verse?

This is Spenser's habitual manner. He makes the abstract concrete and material. He personifies it like the painter or the actor. And he is so much carried away by his pleasure in these scenes of his making, that he often half forgets their symbolism or moral import. The moral lesson varies in weight and significance; at times it is truly childish. We are apt to remember the image and forget the lesson it ought to convey. Spenser resembles in this the great allegorical painters of the Renaissance, on whose pictures we gaze not for edification, not even to learn their precise meaning, but for the perfection of their forms and colours.

iv. JORTIN. *Phaedrus* 5. 8. *Occasio depicta*:

Cursu volucris pendens in novacula
Calvus, comosa fronte, nudo corpore,
Quem si occuparis, teneas: elapsum semel
Non ipse possit Jupiter reprehendere;
Occasionem rerum significat brevem.
Effectus impediret ne segnis mora,
Finxere antiqui talem effigiem Temporis.

In the *Anthologia*:

["Posidippus
On a Statue of Time by Lysippus

A. Who and whence was the sculptor? B. From Sicily. A. And his name? B. Lysippus. A. And who art thou? B. Time (Time, that is, in his character of Opportunity, not of Length of Years) who subdueth all things. A. Why dost thou stand on tip-toe? B. I am ever running. A. And why has thou a pair of wings on thy feet? B. I fly with the wind. A. And why dost thou hold a razor in thy right hand? B. As a sign to men that I am sharper than any sharp edge. A. And why does thy hair hang over thy face? B. For him who meets me to take me by the forelock. A. And why, in Heaven's name, is the back of thy head bald? B. Because none whom I have once raced by on my winged feet will now, though he wishes it sore, take hold of me from behind. A. Why did the artist fashion thee? B. For your sake, Stranger, and he set me up in the porch as a lesson" (Translation of W. R. Paton).]

Ausonius, *Epigram.* 12:

In simulacrum Occasionis & Poenitentiae.
 Cujus opus? Phidiae, qui signum Pallados, ejus,
 Quique Jovem fecit. tertia palma ego sum.
 Sum dea, quae rara, & paucis Occasio nota.
 Quid rotulae insistis? Stare loco nequeo.
 Quid talaria habes? Volucris sum. Mercurius quae
 Fortunare solet, tardo ego, quum volui.
 Crine tegis faciem. Cognosci nolo. Sed heus tu
 Occipiti calvo es. Ne tenear fugiens.
 Quae tibi juncta comes? Dicat tibi. Dic rogo quae sis.
 Sum dea, cui nomen nec Cicero ipse dedit.
 Sum dea quae facti, non factique exigo poenas.
 Nempe ut poeniteat, sic Metanoea vocor.
 Tu modo dic, quid agat tecum? si quando volavi,
 Haec manet. hanc retinent, quos ego praeterii.
 Tu quoque, dum rogitas, dum percontando moraris,
 Elapsam dices me tibi de manibus.

See the Commentators on *Phaedrus* and *Ausonius*.

UPRON. Litterally from Homer, *Il.* 2. 217: ["Bandy-legged was he (Thersites), and lame of one foot"]. . . . Alluding to this passage of Homer: "it means," says Hesychius, "one of his legs, or rather his left leg." Now *ἑτερος* is used sometimes for left, and what is left-handed is unlucky. . . . Pindar, *Πυθ.* 3, ver. 62. . . . Plato, *de Repub.*, p. 439, ed. H. St. . . .

KITCHIN. Spenser describes her as lame of one leg (not necessarily lame of the left, or unlucky, leg, as some annotators hold, but, like Thersites in Homer, lame of one leg, but still swift as the wind). Her hair hangs down before her face, that no one may know her, till she is past; at the back of her head she is bald, that when once she is past, no one may be able to grasp her from behind;—for opportunity once missed never returns. This is expressed by the old proverb, "Fronte capillata, post est occasio calva," given in Dionysius Cato's *Distichs*, No. 17.

J. G. McMANAWAY (*MLN*, 1934). A much more immediate source is the contemporary emblem books. Spenser's interest in these books is a safe assumption, if only because of the presence of his "Epigrams" and "Sonets" in Van der Noodt's *Theatre of Voluptuous Worldlings* (1569). Many collections of emblems treat of Occasion, but I shall list only a few: William de la Perriere, *Theatre des Bons Engins* (Paris, 1539), and Giles Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie* (Paris, 1540, Emblems 41 and 84), cited by H. Green (*Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, London, 1870, pp. 258, 261); also Andrea Alciati, *Viri Clarissimi* (Augsburg, 1531, Sig. [A 8 recto and verso]); Alciati, *Emblematum Libellus* (Paris, 1534, Sig. iiv); Alciati, *Emblemata* (Lyons, 1551, Sig. I 3); Alciati, *Emblemata* (Frankfort, 1583, Emblem 185—the figure of Occasion is used with variations on title-page and in the colophon); and Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems and Other Devices* (1586, p. 181). Green (*op. cit.*, pp. 264-5) mentions Johann David's *Occasio Arrepta Neglecta* (Antwerp, 1605), with twelve

illustrative plates by Theodore Galle. The emblem books usually reprint and translate the poem from the *Anthology* and illustrate it with the figure of a young, vigorous woman with winged feet (or standing on fortune's wheel or on a ball and a dolphin). Her head is bald save for a long forelock, and in her hand she usually holds a razor. She represents the mutability of occasion in general. Spenser retains only one feature of this deity, the forelock on a bald head, intended to symbolize the elusiveness of fortune. His goddess, as Kitchin points out, is a different sort of creature. She is Occasion for Wrath, and her nature is revealed by her filthy raiment, her wrinkled age, her feeble steps, and her lameness.

The figures of Discord and Envy in the emblem books may have suggested some of the details in Spenser's description that are not found in the sources mentioned. "Invidia" in Alciati's *Emblemata* (Lyons, 1551, Sig. [E 8]) is a loathsome hag with viprous tongue (cf. *F. Q.* 1. 4. 30. 3 and 5. 12. 30. 5-7) and pendulous breasts, who supports herself with a staff. The figure appears again in his *Emblematum Libellus* (Sig. E iii^v) and in *Emblemata* (Paris, 1584, Emblem 81), and two others much like it are to be found in J. Baudoin's *Recueil d'Emblemes Divers* (Paris, 1638): "Discord," and "Envy" (vol. 1, pp. 279, 565). None of these creatures is lame in her "other leg." (Spenser is fond of the phrase. Impotence, one of Maleger's attendants, is lame in her "other legge," *F. Q.* 2. 11. 23. 6-8; see also the references to Malbecco's "other blinked eye," 3. 9. 5. 5 and 27. 6-7). For this idea Spenser may have gone to Homer's account of the "other" (=left) leg of the railing Thersites, as Upton believes. Kitchin accepts the suggestion of source, but holds that Occasion is not necessarily lame in the left leg, but merely in one leg. The illustration of "Amor virtutis" in *Q. Horati Flacci Emblemata* (published by Otho Vaenius, Antwerp, 1607; see pp. 26-7) lends weight to the belief that the lameness was in the left leg. The woman in this emblem holds a cane and supports herself on a wooden left leg. So does the woman who avenges a murder in illustration of the motto, "Culpam poena premit comes" (*loc. cit.*, p. 180-1). From such graphic contemporary sources as these, I think, Spenser probably derived the ideas that are combined in his unclassical figure of Occasion.

v. 1. UPTON. The usual phrase is "her tongue did run": but the rhyme required it otherwise, and 'tis to be defended as a catachrestical expression.

x. 6. UPTON. Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* 3. 5. defines "furor, mentis ad omnia caecitas," i. e. "Whilst reason blent through passion nought descride." "Furor" in Greek is *θυμός*, and thus those verses of Euripides are to be interpreted, which so much pleased, and are so often cited by the Philosophers, *Med.*, ver. 1078 ["Now, now, I learn what horrors I intend: But Passion overmastereth sober thought And this is cause of direst ills to men."—Tr. by A. S. Wray.] Senec. in *Hippol.* ver. 177:

Quae memoras scio
Vera esse, nutrix: sed Furor cogit sequi
Pejora: vadit animus in praeceps sciens,
Remeatque, frustra sana consilia appetens.

Horace very boldly has translated this word, *θυμός*, "mens," *Epist.* 1. 2. 60:

Qui non moderabitur irae,
Infectum volet esse, dolor quod suaserit et mens.

Other poets prefix some epithet, when taken in this sense; "Mens mala, dira, insana," &c.

xiv-xv. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 1. 294-6:

Furor impius intus
Saeva sedens super arma, & centum vinctus aënis
Post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.

UPTON. Furor, here broken loose, is according to the description of this Madman in Petronius [*De Mutatione Reipublicae Romanae* 258-9]:

Quos inter Furor, abruptis ceu liber habenis
Sanguineum late tollit caput.

Furor is described by Virgil as bound. Compare Homer, *Il.* [5]. 385, where Mars, the furious god of war, is said to have been imprisoned and bound in chains. Hence Virgil took the hint, as likewise from a picture of Apelles, mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Lib. 35, p. 697, ed. Hard. . . . Cf. Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 3. 45-6.

LEIGH HUNT (*Imagination and Fancy*, p. 80) suggests Michael Angelo as a suitable painter of this character of "Superhuman energy and rage."

HEISE (p. 131) cites Shakespeare's *Lucrece* 1118-9.

xv. 1. UPTON. "Hunc fraenis, hunc tu compesce catena," says Horace [*Epistolarum*, Book 1, 2. 63], speaking of this same perturbed state of mind, represented by this monster. So Juvenal, *Satire* 8: "pone irae fraena modumque."

8. LEIGH HUNT (*Imagination and Fancy*, p. 80). "coloured like copper-wire." A felicity suggested perhaps by the rhyme. It has all the look, however, of a copy from some painting; perhaps one of Julio Romano's.

xvii ff. WARTON (1. 205). This tale is borrowed from the tale of Geneura in *Orlando Furioso* [4. 60 ff.].

TODD. Mr. Steevens, noticing this passage, mentions, however, a novel of Belleforest, copied from another of Bandello, which, "seems to have furnished Shakspeare with his fable, as it approaches nearer in all its particulars to the play before us, than any other performance known to be extant." And Dr. Farmer suspects that, although Ariosto is continually quoted for the fable of *Much Ado about Nothing*, Shakspeare was satisfied with the *Geneura* of Turberville.—Harington, in his notes on the translation of Ariosto, relates that some had affirmed, "that this very matter, though set downe here by other names, happened in Ferrara to a kinsewoman of the Dukes, which is here figured vnder the name of Geneura, and that indeed such a practise was vsed against her by a great Lord, and discovered by a damsell as is here set downe. Howsoever it was, sure the tale is a prettie comicall matter, and hath bene written in English verse some few years past (learnedly and with good grace) though in verse of another kind, by Mr. George Turberuil."—Spenser seems to have attended also to the *moral* exposition of the characters and story, in *Belleze del Furioso di M. L. Ariosto*, Venet. 4to. 1574, pp. 64-5.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Spenser's modifications are very characteristic. Ariosto's *novella* had to be harmonized with its new and more ideal surroundings, and its allegorical possibilities had to be developed.

H. H. BLANCHARD (*PMLA* 40. 834-5). A certain part . . . however, is paralleled in an incident in Boiardo. . . .

Orlando, in order to secure a certain key with which to release imprisoned friends, pursues the fay Morgana unceasingly over mountains and through valleys. In his mad career, he is met by a woman who issues from a cave. She tells him that she is Penitence, that she always follows the one whom Fortune abandons, and counsels him to have patience. When Orlando scorns her counsel, she pursues and scourges him (*Orl. Inn.* 2. 9. 3 ff.).

It will be seen at once that the same very general frame exists in both these stories. Phedon, in mad pursuit of Pryene, is met by Furor, who pursues and scourges him. Orlando, in heated pursuit of Morgana, is met by Penitence, who pursues and scourges him.

The part of the parallel which is of value, however, lies in the two following points and their combination.

(1) Both Furor and Penitence are distinctly allegorical figures in human form (although of different sex and constitution); they appear because of the acts and state of mind of Phedon and Orlando respectively. Phedon is completely carried away with the wrath caused by the deception which has been practised upon him. Orlando is consumed with his desire to catch Morgana, and scorns the idea of patience.

(2) The consequence of the state of mind is represented in each case by pursuit and scourging on the part of the allegorical figure.

EDITOR. For further analogues to this story see Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction* (1814) 2. 386; and the Furness Variorum edition of Shakespeare's *Much Ado*.

xviii. 3. UPTON. He seems to allude to the Italian phrase, which calls a foster brother, "fratello di latte." 'Tis not to be passed over likewise, that the Irish, in particular, look upon their foster brothers in a higher degree of friendship and love, than their own brothers; which Spenser takes notice of in his *View of Ireland*. This consideration makes the pathos more sensibly affecting.

xx. 1. CHURCH. "Philemon." Spenser all along places the accent upon the first syllable.

J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 102-103). Philemon, the false friend, is certainly not the Philemon of Ovid. The name is common in Greek, but here does not seem to refer to any particular person in history or mythology. As in the case of Fidessa, Spenser probably intended the reader merely to catch the irony of the etymology from *φάλλω*, love. His accentuation of the word on the first and last syllables may be merely the common anglicizing of the time, or it may point to a supposed etymology of the last two syllables from the possessive adjective of the first person, *ἐμόν*. Popular etymology flourished in the age.

xxiv. 2. WARTON (1. 171). That is, he had searched the matter to the bot-

tom. This form is founded upon an old proverb in Chaucer, *Nonne's Priests Tale* 1355:

But I ne cannot boult it to the brenne,
As can that holy doctour saint Austen.

xxv. 6. UPTON. Her name in *Orlando Furioso*, is Dalinda; in Shakespeare Margaret. But as Spenser varies in his names, so he varies likewise in many other circumstances from the original story.

xxix. 8. See note on 12. 33. 5-7.

xxxii. 1. KITCHIN. "Feare gave her wings." Virg. *Aen.* 8. 224: "Pedibus timor addidit alas."

xxxiv. WINSTANLEY. Aristotle says that virtue is largely a habit; Aristotle declares that a man grows temperate through continually practising temperance and just through continually practising justice.

9. KITCHIN. The Palmer, acting as Chorus, here sums up the matter neatly, and points the due moral.

xxxv. G. GREGORY SMITH (*Elizabethan Critical Essays* 1. 305-6) notes that Abraham Fraunce in his *Arcadian Rhetoric* (1588), fol. E₈, quotes this stanza as an illustration of "conceipted kindes of verses." This quotation shows that the second book circulated in MS before publication; see Bryskett's *Discourse of Civill Life*, 1606, and Harvey's letters for further evidence of MS circulation. [See Appendix, "The Date of Composition."]

B. E. C. DAVIS (*Edmund Spenser*, p. 114). Irascibility, which ultimately destroys itself, and the spurious "courage of anger" (*θυμός*), prompted not by deliberation but by injury, which incites men to behave like beasts, are figured under the quaint imagery of the mediaeval homilist.

xxxvi. 5. TODD. Compare John 5. 14. "Sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee."

xxxvii. 2. KITCHIN. Atin, *sc.* Strife: thus continuing the personification of the Vices and their attendants. Atin is a name drawn either from the Greek *ἄτη*, "the goddess of mischief, author of all blind, rash actions and their results." (Liddell and Scott.) As Mr. Gladstone says, *Homeric Studies*, vol. 2, p. 159, "Vigorous and nimble, she ranges over the whole earth for mischief";—or more probably from the adj. *ἄτος*, as in *Il.* 5. 388, "*Ἀρης ἄτος πολέμοιο* an adj. which bears the sense of "insatiate," and is used solely of fighting; for Atin is always drawn as eagerly exciting strife. [See note on 42. 5.]

xxxviii. 5. TODD. Nothing is more common, I had almost said more tedious and disgusting in the old romances, than descriptions of the impresses on the shields of knights and heroes. The author of the romance of *Palmerin of England*, and Boiardo, in the second book of the *Orlando Innamorato*, are uncommonly elaborate in this respect. Perhaps the origin of these blasoneries may be attributed to Aeschylus's account of various shields in his *Sept. Theb.*

xli. TODD. Compare the character of Hotspur in Shakspeare (Boyd).

CHILD. Pyrochles means fiery-tempered; Cymochles, fluctuating and contentious like the waves of the sea; Acrates, ungovernable. Jarre is Discord.

WINSTANLEY. "Pyrochles." The name is found in Sidney's *Arcadia*. . . . He represents the excess of passion (*θυμός*), where Braggadochio is the defect and Guyon the mean (*Gr. πυροκλέης*).

C. G. OSGOOD (*MLN* 46. 503). Spenser has fashioned Cymochles to illustrate the invariably incontinent man, one who

has poured out his idle mind
In daintie delices, and lavish joyes, . . .
And flowes in pleasures, and vaine pleasing toyes.

He is ever deliquescent in his incontinence, like a wave (*κύμα*); hence the name. At 35. 2 he wades in "still waves of deepe delight," and at 6. 27. 5 his heart is molten "in slouthfull sleepe." The idea of deliquescent carnal desire, flooding or melting all moral resistance, is a fixed and favorite one with the poet: the Red Cross Knight is "poured out in loosnesse" at Fidessa's feet (1. 7. 7. 2); cf. Perissa, "poured out in pleasure and delight" (2. 2. 36. 5). One may swim in pleasure and bathe in courtly bliss (2. 3. 39. 7; 40. 2), or "drown in dissolute delights" (2. 6. 25. 7); note the frequency of "wave" and "waves" in Cantos 6 and 12, which are especially occupied with carnal temptation. The figure occurs also at 3. 1. 39. 8; 48. 6; 10. 8. 7; 12. 45 *orig.* 7; 4. 16. 38. 7; 7. 7. 33. 9; *Col. Cl.* 782.

J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 101). Cymochles is metaphorically named for his fickleness from *κύμα*, a wave, and *ὄχλέω*, sweep. [See UPTON's note below.]

A. H. GILBERT ("Spenser's Cymocles," *MLN* 48. 230). Cymocles is said to derive his name from *κύμα*, meaning "the dashing of waves," or "breakers." His brother Pyrocles (*πῦρ*, "fire"), however, is fiery by nature; and their common grandfather is Phlegeton, "whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage." Figures taken from fire are often applied to Cymochles: the "close fire" (2. 5. 34. 7) of lust; "inflamed" (37. 8); "heat" (38. 4); "kindled" (2. 6. 2. 3); "flamed mind" (8. 6); "molten heart" (27. 5); "the brond of his conceived ire" (27. 6); and the "hastie heat of his revenge" (40. 9). It seems that his passions are those of heat. This is clearer, and his relation to his closely associated fiery brother is more evident, if his name is derived from *καῦμα*, meaning "burning, glow," especially "the burning heat of the sun." [See TODD's note on 3. 39. 7.]

6-9. UPTON. See their genealogy, which I have drawn up in a note on 1. 5. 20. Aeternitie is mentioned in Boccace, "sequitur de Aeternitate, quam ideo veteres Demogorgoni sociam dedere, ut is qui nullus erat videretur aeternus; quae quid sit suo se ipsa pandit nomine—de illa sic Claudianus,

'Est ignota procul, nostraeque impervia menti,
Vix adeunda deis, annorum squalida mater,
Immensi spelunca aevi' . . ."

Phlegeton according to Spenser is the son of Erebus and Nox: according to Boc-

cace, Flegeton is the son of Cocytus: and mentioned as an infernal river and deity in Virgil 6. 265:

Dii quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes
Et Chaos et Phlegethon—

Again alluding to its etymology, 6. 550:

Quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.

Milton spelt it as Spenser did, tho' since altered in the latter editions, *P. L.* 2. 580:

Fierce Phlegeton
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.

You see then how proper this fiery infernal deity is the supposed father of Acrates. Jarre is the "Litigium" of Boccace, the *Ἔρις* of Homer and Hesiod and the "Discordia" of Virgil, 8. 702:

Et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla.

Acrates, (*Ἀκρατής*) and Despight ("dispetto," malice, ill-will, &c.) are not mentioned particularly by the mythologists, but they may be included under those vile affections of the mind, which are said to be the offspring of Night and Erebus. The sonnes of Acrates and Despight, are Cymochles and Pyrochles, the former has his name from *κῦμα*, non modo fluctus sed et variorum malorum frequentia, et *κλέος*, gloria: meaning one who seeks for vain honours in a sea of troubles: Pyrochles, from *πῦρ*, ignis, et *κλέος*, gloria.

SAWTELLE (p. 52). Eternity seems to be the same as the Chaos of Hesiod (*Theog.* 123), whence all things proceeded. Among the offspring of Chaos, Hesiod mentions Erebus and his sister Night—Erebus being a personification of darkness. Spenser further follows Hesiod in making Erebus the husband of Night. While Hesiod calls only the Sky and Day the children of this union, later writers—such as Hyginus, in the preface to his fables—multiply their offspring, among whom Styx is mentioned. Thus Spenser is following the spirit, if not the letter, of classical mythology in calling Erebus and Night the parents of Phlegethon, another river of the Lower World.

In *F. Q.* 3. 4. 55 and *V. G.* 40, Erebus is used without personification, also, as the abode of Night, the region of darkness. Compare *Aen.* 6. 247, 404 and *Met.* 10. 76, where it signifies the Infernal Regions.

LOTSPEICH (p. 34). "Aeternitie" is named as a divinity only in Boccaccio 1. 1, which appears to be the basis of the present passage. . . . [See Upton's note above.] The stanza as a whole, with its genealogy, seems to have Boccaccio's opening pages as a model. In Boccaccio, Aeternitie is the "socia" of Demogorgon, who is father of Herebus and Litigium and grandfather of Night. In Spenser, Aeternitie is the parent of Herebus who with Night begat Phlegethon and Jarre (Litigium).

8. WARTON (1. 72-3). Spenser is just to mythology in representing Erebus and Night as married. In another place, this address is made to Night (3. 4. 55): "Black Erebus thy husband is."

WINSTANLEY. "Herebus and Night." A classical pair; very fitly represented as the ancestors of so many vile affections of the mind. We may compare Milton's

Loathed Melancholy,
Of Cerberus and blackest midnight born.

And also (*P. L.* 2. 959):

when straight behold the throne
Of Chaos . . .
 with him enthroned
Sat sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
The consort of his reign . . .
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.

LOTSPEICH (p. 57). In *Theog.* 123 ff.; Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 3. 17; Hygin., *Fab.* praef.; Natalis Comes, 3. 12, Erebus and Night are the parents of a numerous and terrible offspring.

xl. 5. UPTON. The squire of Pyrochles, the stirrer up of strife, and revenge. He has the same name of a goddess, whom Homer mentions, and who had just the same offices allotted her. [*Il.* 19. 91: "Ate who blindeth all."]

EDITOR. Such is Ate in Book 4, e. g., 4. 1. 19:

Her name was Ate, mother of debate,
And all dissention

xl. 2-6. JORTIN. Alluding to Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 93-5:

Egregiam vero laudem & spolia ampla refertis,
Tuque puerque tuus, magnum & memorabile nomen,
Una dolo Divum si foemina victa duorum est.

CANTO V

i. E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, p. 44). He is supreme in tautology. He can take the whole of one solemn stanza to tell us that temperance is the reverse of intemperance [stanza quoted].

[Cf. Appendix, "Burton on Spenser".]

3-9. UPTON. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 3. 11:

Perturbatio, animi motus, vel rationis expers, vel rationem aspernans, vel rationi non obediens: isque motus aut boni aut mali opinione exercitatur.

[*Idem*] 4. 15:

Perturbationes, quae sunt turbidi animorum concitatusque motus, aversi a ratione et inimicissimi menti vitaeque tranquillae.

De Finib. 3. [10]:

Nec vero perturbationes animorum, quae vitam insipientium miseram acerbamque reddunt, quas Graeci *πάθη* adpellant (poteram ego verbum ipsum interpretans, morbos adpellare, sed non conveniet ad omnia: quis enim misericordiam, aut ipsam iracundiam, morbum solet dicere? at illi dicunt *πάθος*. Sit igitur perturbatio, qua nomine ipso vitiosa declarari videtur) nec hae perturbationes vi

aliqua naturali moventur: omnesque sunt genere quatuor, partibus plures, aegritudo, formido, libido, quamque Stoici communi nomine corporis & animi ἡδονήν adpellant, ego malo laetitiam adpellare quasi gestientis animi elationem voluptuariam. Perturbationes autem nulla naturae vi conmoventur, omniaque ea sunt opiniones ac iudicia levitatis: itaque his sapiens semper vacabit.

We may find all these four perturbations characterized by Spenser, "Aegritudo" i. e. Sorrow and discomfort, exemplified in the mother of the babe with the bloody hand: "Formido," in Braggadochio and Trompart. "Libido," in Cymochles and Acrasia. ἡδονή i. e. "laetitia, seu gestientis animi elatio voluptuaria," in Phaedria.

ii. 3-7. E. DE SELINCOURT (*Oxford Spenser*, one vol. ed., p. lix). He [Spenser] is deeply sensitive to the beauty of light upon the water. The armour of Pyrochles glitters.

ANNE TRENEER (*The Sea in English Literature*, p. 207). The figure is doubly felicitous because both armour and sunny sea are enhanced by it. The polished plates of light are the pieces of the corselet, and the splintered sunbeams sparkle round the edges of both.

iv-v. KITCHIN. It was clean against the laws of chivalry to strike a horse. Spenser makes Guyon do it by accident, and his antagonist pretends to think it was done purposely. Sidney, in the *Arcadia* [Book 3, Ch. 18], has a corresponding passage: "Amphialus . . . gave a mighty blow . . . upon the shoulder of the Forsaken Knight, from whence sliding, it fell upon the neck of his horse, so as horse and man fell to the ground. . . . But the courteous Amphialus excused himself for having, against his will, killed his horse."

MARIE WALTHER (*Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene*, p. 73) cites as a parallel to the fight of Pyrochles and Guyon the encounter between Galahad and Palomydes (*Morte Darthur*, Book 10, Chap. 43, ed. Sommer, p. 481):

[But at the last sire Galahalt the haut prynce smote a stroke of myghte vnto Palomydes sore vpon the helme but the helme was soo hard that the swerd myght not byte but slypped and smote of the hede of the hors of sir Palomydes. When the haut prynce wyst and sawe the good knyght falle vnto the erthe he was ashamed of that stroke. And there with he alyghte doune of his owne hors and prayd the good knyghte Palomydes to take that hors of his yefte and to forgyue hym that dede. Syre said Palomydes I thanke yow of your grete goodnes for euer of a man of worship a knyghte shalle neuer haue disworship and soo he mounted vpon that hors and the haute prynce had another anone.]

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Similar to *Orl. Fur.* 24. 105-6:

[Il cavallo del Tartaro, ch' aborre
La spada che fischiando cala d'alto,
Al suo signor, con suo gran mal, soccorre:
Perché s'arresta per fuggir d'un salto,
Il brando in mezzo il capo gli trascorre,
Ch'al signor, non a lui, movea l'assalto.
Il miser non avea l'elmo di Troia,
Come il patrone; onde convien che muoia.]

Quel cade, e Mandricardo in piedi guizza
 Non più stordito, e Durindana aggira.
 Veder morto il cavallo entro gli adizza,
 E fuor divampa un grave incendio d'ira.
 L'African, per urtarlo, il destrier drizza,
 Ma non più Mandricardo si ritira,
 Che scoglio far soglia da l'onde; e avvenne
 Che 'l destrier cadde, et egli in piè si tenne.]

H. H. BLANCHARD (*PMLA* 40. 836) cites a parallel in Boiardo (*Orl. Inn.* 3. 8. 38):

El scudo gli spezzò quel maledetto,
 Le piastre aperse, come fosser carte,
 E crudelmente lo piagò nel petto,
 Giunse a l'arcione e tutto lo disparte,
 E'l collo al suo ronzon tagliò via netto.

EDITOR. Cf. also *Bevis of Hampton* 1885 ff.

iv. 2-4. WINSTANLEY. Spenser, like Chaucer, will employ the same word as a rhyme if it is used as a different part of speech, or with different meanings.

EDITOR. For a list of similar rhymes see Van Winkle's ed. of the *Epithalamium*, p. 131.

vi. 2-3. WARTON (2. 145). This seems to be Virgil's (*Aen.* 12. 925): "Clypei extremos septemplex orbes."

3. KITCHIN cites also *Il.* 7. 22, etc., and Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book 1 ("seven-double shield").

vii. 8. TODD. The sword of Michael thus cuts asunder the sword of Satan (*P. L.* 6. 325):

... nor staid;
 But with swift wheel reverse, deep entering, shar'd
 All his right side.

Spenser uses the same expression (4. 4. 24): "The wicked steele staid not". . . .

Mr. WARTON has adduced various passages from Chaucer in which "biting" is applied to "sword"; and from which, although similar expressions might be cited from other ancient poets, Spenser most probably adopted it.

viii. 9. WINSTANLEY. The lion in Spenser is nearly always represented as a noble beast, but the tiger is his type of savage ferocity. Cf. 11. 20.

x. JORTIN. Shakespear, *Timon of Athens* [4. 3. 338-340]: "Wert thou the unicorn, pride and wrath would confound thee, and make thine own self the conquest of thy fury."

And in *Julius Caesar* [2. 1. 203-5]:

For he loves to hear
 That unicorns may be betray'd with trees,
 And bears with glasses. . . .

UPTON. As to the stories told of the fighting of the Lyon and

Unicorn, they are fit for children, though told by grave writers. "Rebellious" he calls it, according to what is said in Job 39. 10 of the unicorn, and by the commentators: see Bochart concerning this creature, and its pretious and wonderful horn. The following is translated from Gesner:

The unicorn is an enemy to lyons; wherefore as soon as ever a lyon seeth a unicorn, he runneth to a tree for succour, that so when the unicorn maketh at him, he may not only avoid his horn, but also destroy him: for the unicorn in the swiftness of his course, runneth against the tree, wherein his sharp horn sticketh fast: then when the lyon seeth the unicorn fastened by the horn, without all danger he falleth upon him and killeth him. These things are reported by a king of Aethiopia in a Hebrew epistle unto the bishop of Rome.—They speak of the horn as the most excellent remedy in the world.—There was brought unto the king of France, a very great unicorn's horn valued at fourscore thousand ducats.

KITCHIN. This is an early example of "the lion and the unicorn fighting." According to mediaeval belief and early books on natural history, there was a constant feud between them. The unicorn is described by Cardan (who died 1576) as a rare animal, of the stature of a horse, weazel-coloured, with a stag's head, out of whose forehead sprang a single tapering central horn, some three cubits long. He has a short neck, sandy mane, slight and somewhat shaggy legs, and cloven hoofs. This is the creature as he is traditionally depicted as a supporter of the English royal coat of arms. Some held that he perished at the Deluge; others that he was still to be found in Arabia Deserta. It is recorded that in the year 1588 (only two years before the publishing of the *Faery Queene*) a poor woman found an unicorn's horn on the Suffolk coast. This was however, in all probability, the horn of a narwhal. . . . (See *Ann. and Mag. of Nat. Hist.*, Nov. 1862.) [See Odell Shepard's *Lore of the Unicorn*, Boston, 1930.]

xi. 7. CHURCH. He calls her "that heavenly Mayd," meaning Gloriana, *F. Q.* 2. 1. 28. See also *F. Q.* 2. 8. 43.

xii. 6. UPTON. This is according to ancient custom. [Joshua 10. 24]: "And it came to pass, when they brought out those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said unto the captains of the men, which went with him, come near, put your feet upon the necks of them." Hence figuratively for subjection and servitude 'tis frequently used, Psalm 8. 6: "Thou hast put all things under his feet." See 1 Cor. 15. 25; Heb. 2. 8; Homer, *Il.* 5. 618 and 6. 65; Virgil, *Aen.* 10. 495 and 736; Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 9. 80 [references condensed]. Spenser frequently alludes to this custom; it may not therefore be improper to mention it this once.

8-9. WINSTANLEY. These lines can only be conjecturally interpreted; Pyrochles probably means that Guyon has overcome him, not by force or strength, but only by good luck, "fortunes doome unjust." [See "Critical Notes on the Text."]

xiii. 4. KITCHIN. "Th' equall dye of warre." The *ἐνὸς Ἀπὸς* of the ancients. Some commentators propose to spoil the allusion by reading "th' unequall," for which there is neither authority nor reason. [See "Critical Notes on the Text."]

xiv. 7-8. SCHOENEICH (p. 42). Cf. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 2265:

And I am pleasde with this my ouerthrow,
If, as beseemes a person of thy state,
Thou hast with honor usde Zenocrate.

xvi. See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."

xxii. 7. UPTON. "Ay burning bright," cannot agree with "stygian lake," for he calls it "the black stygian lake" (1. 5. 10). So he describes the river Cocytus, "in a black flood," 2. 7. 56. See 6. 12. 35. There is no brightness in hell; ["misty Tartarus,"] Hom., *Il.* 8. 13. "Tartara nigra," Virg. *Aen.* 6. 134. Hell is called in scripture "outer darkness," Matt. 22. 13, and emphatically in Jude 13: "The blackness of darkness." Compare Spenser's description in the passages referred to above. Nor can hell allegorized have any references to brightness, light, cheerfulness, joy, &c. but to gloominess, darkness, &c. — Observe by the bye Spenser's abuse and confusion of the river Styx, with Phlegethon, which burnt with sulphur, so as to make darkness visible. "Stygian" he uses for "hellish": but rightly distinguishes in 1. 5. 33 "the fiery flood of Phelgeton," and very properly, 4. 2. 1, calls discord, "a fyre brand of hell first tyned in Phlegeton." — Nor can "ay burning bright," agree with "fyre-brand": for it had not been for ever kindled. In short, the printer has often blundered seeing "y" prefixed to participles, sometimes he mistook it for "yt" and here for "ay." Let us then read:

Now brought to him a flaming fyre-brond,
Which she in stygian lake, yburning bright
Had kindled.

WARTON (2. 79-80). Mr. Upton . . . says, the lake of brimstone burned not bright, but only served to make "darkness visible." I allow, that Milton's idea of this lake was, that it served to make "darkness visible" (*P. L.* 1. 63). But might not Spenser's idea of the Stygian lake be different from Milton's?

KITCHIN. The Styx was a river, not a lake: nor did it "burn bright," but, on the contrary, was cold and dark; the loathsome river. Still Spenser has the authority of Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 134: "bis Stygios innare lacus."

xxiv. 6. See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."

xxvi. 5-8. SCHOENEICH (p. 47). Cf. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 2927:

Now shall his barbarous body be a pray
To beasts and foules, and all the winds shall breath
Through shady leaues of euery scencelesse tree
Murmures and hisses for his hainous sin.

8. TODD. It was the custom, in the ages of romance, to suspend the shields of the conquered on trees. Thus, in *Palmerin of England*, P. 1, Ch. 62, English translation: "When he had beheld the castle he desired so long to see,—he came to the tree which he saw was laden with the sheelds of the vanquished Knights, whose names being subscribed underneath every one, made him to have

knowledge of divers that had beene there foyled." And thus, in Hawes's *Hist. of Graunde Amoure*, ed. 1554, Sign. Y 1:

Besides this gyaunt, vpon euery tree
I did se hang many a goodly shelde
Of noble Knightes that were of hye degree,
Which he had slayne. . . .

xxviii. 5-9. See OSGOOD's note on 4. 41. 5.

xxix ff. UPTON. This whole episode is taken from Tasso, 16. 10, where Rinaldo is described in dalliance with Armida. The bowre of bliss is her garden.

Stimi (si misto il culto è col negletto)
Sol naturali e gli ornamenti, e i siti,
Di natura arte par, che per diletto
L'imitatrice sua scherzando imiti.

Ovid, *Met.* 3. 157-162:

Cuius in extremo est antrum nemorale recessu,
Arte laboratum nulla, simulaverat artem
Ingenio natura suo: nam pumice vivo,
Et levibus tophis nativum duxerat arcum.
Fons sonat a dextra, tenui perlucidus unda,
Margine gramineo patulos incinctus hiatus.

xxix. TODD. If this passage may be compared with Tasso's elegant description of Armida's garden, Milton's "pleasant grove" may vie with both. See *P. R.* 2. 289-298. He is, however, under obligations to the sylvan scene of Spenser before us. Mr. J. C. Walker, to whom the literature of Ireland and of Italy is highly indebted, has mentioned to me his surprise that the writers on modern gardening should have overlooked the beautiful pastoral description in this and the two following stanzas. It is worthy a place, he adds, in the Eden of Milton. Spenser, on this occasion, lost sight of the "trim gardens" of Italy and England, and drew from the treasures of his own rich imagination.

8. SAWTELLE. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5. 201 ff.

xxx. TODD. Compare the following stanza in the continuation of the *Orlando Innamorato*, by Nicolo degli Agostini, 4. 9:

Ivi e un mormorio assai soave, e basso
Che ogniun che l' ode lo fa addornientare,
L' acqua, ch' io dissi gia per entro un sasso
E pareva che dicesse nel sonare,
Vatti riposa, ormai sei stanco, e lasso,
E gli augeletti, che s' udian cantare,
Ne la dolce armonia par che ogn' un dica,
Deh vien, e dormi ne la spiaggia aprica.

Spenser's obligations to this poem seem to have escaped the notice of his commentators. (J. C. Walker.)

1-4. R. SCHRAMM (*Spensers Naturschilderungen*, p. 29) cites Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* 160-2.

xxxi. 1-5. JORTIN. It is not easy to know what Spenser had in his mind here. At the Olympic games the victors were crown'd "oleastro, fera oliva," says Statius, at the Nemeæan games, "apio." I know of no victory which Hercules gained in Nemea, except his killing the lion there. Hercules was crowned "oleastro" at the Olympic games. His favorite tree however was the poplar. . . .

And probably that is the tree he here speaks of. Natalis Comes 1. 9: "Scriptum est a Pausania in prioribus Eliacis, in Jovis Olympii fano, ubi magistratus nigro ariete faciebant, neque ulla portio victimae dabatur vati, sed collum tantum lignatori more majorum, mandatum fuisse negotium lignatori ut ad sacrorum usum ligna certo pretio daret, vel publice civitatibus, vel privatim cuilibet, quae non erant ex alia arbore, quam ex alba populo, qui honor habitus est arbori, quod eam Hercules e Thesprotide primus in Graeciam portavit, quam ad fluvium Acheruntem Thesprotidis reperit, cujus etiam lignis victimarum femora cremavit."

2-3. UPTON. The stately tree, dedicated to Jupiter, is the *oak*; and the stately tree, dedicated to his son Alcides, (for so the passage is to be supplied,) is the poplar. See Broukh. on Tibullus, p. 82. Spenser supposes that the poplar was then first dedicated to Hercules, when he slew the lion in Nemea. The reader, at his leisure, may consult what Servius and the other commentators have observed on Virgil, *Ecl.* 7. 61: "Populus Alcidae gratissima."

SAWTELLE (pp. 75-6). Cf. *Od.* 19. 296.

xxxii. TODD. Compare Canto 12, stanza 70 of this book. Scenes of this kind are frequent in romance. I will cite an instance from the *Hist. of Palmendos*, son to the most renowned Palmerin D' Oliva, bk. 1, ch. 21:

So they went both together to the fountain, where Palmendos was unarmed by the Princess Francelina and her damosels, and a costly mantle was brought to wrap about him: Then sate he down by his Lady, in another chair covered all over with gold. There was lillies, roses, violets, and all the sweet flowers that the earth afforded, and of incomparable beauty . . .

xxxiii-xxxiv. UPTON. Compare these stanzas with Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 16. 18 and 19, from which they are translated:

[Ella dinanzi al petto hà il vel diviso,
E'l crin sparge incompuesto al vento estivo.
Languet per vezzo: e'l suo infiammato viso
Fan biancheggiando i bei sudor più vivo.
Qual raggio in onda, le scintilla un riso
Ne gli humidi occhi tremulo, e lascivo.
Sovra lui pende: & ei nel grembo molle
Le posa il capo, e'l volto al volto attolle.

E i famelici sguardi avidamente
In lei pascendo, si consuma, e strugge.
S'inchina, e i dolci baci ella sovente
Liba hor da gli occhi, e da le labra hor sugge:
Et in quel punto ei sospirar si sente
Profondo sì, che pensi; hor l'alma fugge,
E'n lei trapassa peregrina: ascosi
Mirano i duo Guerrier gli atti amorosi.]

xxxiii. 6. TODD. It has been ingeniously observed, that, when sugar was first imported into Europe, it was a very great dainty; and therefore the epithet "sugred" is used by all our old writers metaphorically to express extreme and delicate sweetness. See the *Reliques of Anc. Eng. Poetry*, 4th edit. note, p. 198 [Ser. 2. Bk. 2. 13]. The reader, I am persuaded, will not consider the illustration, which I shall add from the very scarce poem by Lydgate, entitled *The Churle and the Byrde*, as uninteresting or inelegant:

It was a very heauenly melody
Euen and morow to heare the byrdes songe,
And the swete sugred ermony
With vncouth warbles and tunes draw alonge.

xxxvi. 2. UPTON. This likewise is imitated from Ubaldo's speech to Rinaldo whom he finds in the bower of Armida (*Ger. Lib.* 1. 16. 33):

Qual sonno, ò qual letargo hà si sopita
La tua virtute, ò qual viltà l'alletta?
Sù, sù, te il campo, e te Goffredo invita,
Te la fortuna, e la vittoria aspetta.

Fairfax thus translates them, with Spenser in his eye:

What letharge hath in drowsiness uppend
Thy courage thus? what sloth doth thee infect?
Up, up, our camp and Godfrey for thee send,
Thee Fortune, praise and victory expect.

"Womanish weak knight," is Homeric, *Il.* 2. 235: ["Ye women of Achaia and men no more"]. Virg. 9. 617: "O vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges." Or he expresses Tasso, 16. 32: "Egregio campione d'una fanciulla," which Fairfax very well translates, "A carpet champion for a wanton dame."

3. TODD. The same expression of reproach occurs in B. Riche's *Adventures of Simonides*, 1584, where he is speaking of Love, Sign. Q. ij. b:

He daunteth none but simple sottes, who, lulde in Ladies lappes,
Do deeme thei liue in greatest blisse. . . .

CANTO VI

See Appendix, "Celtic Elements in Book II."

i. EDITOR. This stanza seems to paraphrase Aristotle, *Ethics* 2. 3, near the end: "Again, it is more difficult to contend against pleasure than against anger, as Heraclitus says, and it is *not what is easy but what is comparatively difficult* that is in all cases the sphere of art or virtue, as the value of success is proportionate to the difficulty."

ii-xix. H. H. BLANCHARD (*PMLA* 40. 837-8). In the following parallel situations in *Orl. Inn.* it will be seen that the knights come to a river in their travels; they find there an unknown damsel; they desire to be ferried across; they are betrayed into the hands of a hostile power. Rinaldo is traveling in company with three other knights (2. 9. 49-53):

E prima cercherà molte contrade,
 Strane avventure e diversi paesi. . . .
 Ed era già passato il quinto giorno. . . .
 Quando da lunge odir suonare un corno
 Sopra ad un castello alto e ben murato;
 Nel monte era il castello, e poi d'intorno
 Avea gran piano, e tutto era d'un prato;
 Intorno il prato un bel fiume circonda,
 Mai non si vide cosa più gioconda.

L'acqua era chiara a meraviglia e bella,
 Ma non si può vadar tanto è corrente,
 A l'altra ripa stava una donzella
 Vestita a bianco, e con faccia ridente,
 Sopra a la poppa d'una navicella.
 Diceva: O Cavalieri, o belle gente,
 Se vi piace passare, entrate in barca,
 Però che altrove il fiume non si varca.

I Cavalier, che avean molto desire
 Di passar oltre e prender suo viaggio,
 La ringraziarono di tal proferire,
 E travargano il fiume a quel passaggio.
 Disse la dama nel lor dipartire;
 Da l'altro lato si paga il pedaggio,
 Nè mai di quindi uscir si può, se prima
 A quella ròcca non salite in cima.

The damsel then informs the knights that the land they are about to enter belongs to one King Monodante, and that it will be impossible for them to leave it until they have dealt with him. They meet the king, who imposes upon them a battle with Balisardo, a giant and necromancer. Here then we have the details in Spenser not found in Tasso.

It will be noted in addition that Boiardo's damsel is described "con faccia ridente," suggesting at once the seductive mirth of Phaedria. Also, Boiardo's knights are traveling on foot, having been deprived earlier of their horses, in much the same way as Guyon, whose horse had been stolen by Braggadocchio.

ii. TODD. Compare the conduct of Cymochles at the conclusion of the last canto, with his yielding (in the present) to the allurements of Phaedria so completely, as "that of no worldly thing he care did take," st. 28.

iii. 1. KITCHIN. Phaedria, representing unmeasured mirth and wanton idleness; the "insolens laetitia" of Horace, *Odes* 2. 3. 3. The name is derived from the Greek *φαιδρός*, bright, glittering. The character answers nearly to that *βωμολοχία*, unreasonable merriment, which Aristotle has described in his *Ethics* 4. 8: "They who exceed in fondness for what makes laughter seem to be *βωμολόχοι* and low, for they strive to put everything in a ridiculous light; and aim rather at raising a laugh, than at speaking what is seemly, nor do they spare the feelings of their butt"; which answers closely to the description of Phaedria in stanza 6. [See note on st. 9, l. 7.]

4. UPTON. "as merry as pope Jone." So the first edition in quarto. . . . With respect to [this] reading, I find it a proverbial expression and alluded to in an old play, called *Damon and Pythias*, p. 270 in the collection of plays printed by Dodsley: "As merie as pope John. Jack. That pope was a merrie fellow, of whom folke talk so much." And this proverb is mentioned by Fox in his *Acts and Monuments*, p. 178, ann. 979, who there gives us a short history of this merry pope John XIII: "if mirth consists in following the pleasures of Venus, Bacchus and Ceres: As merry as pope John, a proverb." — But this proverb surely falls below the dignity of an epic poem, he therefore seems to me to have altered it himself. . . . And though there are many liberties taken in the 2d edition, yet the alteration now before us, I think Spenser's own.

EDITOR. Reference is more likely to the legend of the female Pope, Joan or Johanna. Most Catholic historians of the sixteenth century denied her existence, but some Protestants used the legend in their attacks on the Papacy. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* (8. 407-9) gives an account of the legend and a bibliography. See "Critical Notes on the Text."

v ff. EDITOR. Cf. Southey's *Thalaba the Destroyer* 11. 31.

v. UPTON. But we should not pass unnoticed this wonderful ship of Phaedria, that sails without oars or sails. Old Homer is the father of poetical wonders, and romance writers are generally his imitators. This self-moved, and wondrous ship of Phaedria, may be matched with the no less wondrous ship of Alcinous [Upton quotes Pope's translation of *Od.* 8. 555 ff. The Butcher and Lang translation is as follows:

Tell me too of thy land, thy township, and thy city, that our ships may conceive of their course to bring thee thither. For the Phaeacians have no pilots nor any rudders after the manner of other ships, but their barques themselves understand the thoughts and intents of men; they know the cities and fat fields of every people, and most swiftly they traverse the gulf of the salt sea, shrouded in mist and cloud, and never do they go in fear of wreck or ruin.]

The Tripods likewise that Vulcan made were self-moved [Pope's translation of *Il.* 18. 370 is quoted]. The elegant translator had plainly Milton in view, 6. 749:

Forth rushed with whirlwind sound
The chariot of paternal deity,
Flashing thick flame, wheel within wheel, undrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit.—

As Milton had the prophet Ezekiel 1. 16; [20]: "The spirit of the living creature was in the wheels." Besides ships, tripods, and chariots, we read of Gates, instinct with spirit and spontaneously moving [cf. note on 2. 7. 31. 3]. . . . Phaedria's bark moves spontaneously, directed or steered by the turning of a pin.—Peter of Provence and the fair Magalona rode through the air on a wooden horse, which was directed by the turning of a pin. See *Don Quixote*, Vol. 1, B. 4, C. 22. and Vol. 2, B. 3, C. 8-9. This illustrates the story in Chaucer, where the king of Araby sent to Cambuscan a horse of brass, which by turning of a pin, would travel wherever the rider pleased.—Compare this wonderful bark, with that mentioned in Tasso, 15. 3. where the knights go on board a strange vessel steered by a Fairy:

Vider picciola nave, e in poppa quella,
Che guidar gli dovea, fatal donzella.

KITCHIN. This enchanted boat comes from Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 30. 11:

Per l'acqua il legno va con quella fretta
Che va per l'aria irondine che varca.

Or perhaps from Tasso.

E. KOEPPPEL (*Anglia* 11. 348). Das zauberboot des Idle Lake, welches ohne ruder und segel vorwärts eilt, und seinen weg selbst zu finden weiss, hat diese eigenschaften gemein mit dem nachen, der Rinaldo und Florindo aus dem *Albergo della Cortesia* zu neuen abenteuern trägt (*Rinaldo* 7. 83 f.; 8. 25).

viii. 5. WARTON (2. 145-6). Some late editors of Shakspeare have endeavoured to prove, that "wench" did not antiently carry with it the idea of meanness or infamy. But in this place it plainly signifies a loose woman; and in the following passages of Chaucer. January having suspected his wife May's conjugal fidelity, May answers (*Merchant's Tale* 1719):

I am a gentle-woman, and no wench.

And in the *House of Fame*, "Wench" is coupled with "groom" (verse 206):

Lord, and ladie, grome, and wench.

And in the *Manciple's Tale* (verse 1796):

And for that tother is a pore woman,
And shall be called his wenche, or his lemman.

We must allow notwithstanding, that it is used by Douglas without any dishonourable meaning. The following verse of Virgil, ". . . Audetque viris concurrere virgo," is thus expressed in the scotch *Aeneid*: "This wensche stoutlye rencounter durst with men." But I believe it will most commonly be found in the sense given it by Chaucer. In the Bible it is used for a girl, "And a wench told him."

7. WARTON (2. 147). Lucretius, the warmest of the roman poets, has given us this metaphor (4. 1055-6): "Dulcedinis in cor Stillavit gutta."

ix. 7. J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 102). The word often had a bad connotation in Greek as it has in Spenser, and was used on the comic stage for a young man sowing his wild oats (e. g., Terence, *Phormio*). Apparently this is the particular sort of temptation that Guyon is allegorically experiencing in Canto 6.

x. 9. TODD. It is observable, that the expression "perlous foord" is also used in st. 19. We have thus repeatedly the "tower perillous," in Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*; and, if I recollect rightly, the "perilous lake" occurs in the *Hist. of K. Arthur*. [Cf. Malory 3. 4, *et passim*.]

xi. 3. CHURCH. As this Island, in the following Stanzas, is said to abound in all delights, by calling it "waste and void," the Poet meant to say, that it was uninhabited. Cf. 3. 9. 49. 7.

KITCHIN. This floating island is natural to romance. The first island of the kind is Delos, which wandered about the Aegean till Zeus chained it to the bottom of the sea, that it might be a safe birthplace for Apollo and Artemis. But it was also a natural phenomenon, not altogether uncommon on lakes whose shores are swampy and covered with vegetation. So Pliny (*Epist.* 8. 20) describes, as an eye-witness, floating islands on Lake Vadimo, large enough to carry cattle without sinking. They were made of reeds, grass, &c. [See HENLEY's note at the beginning of Canto 12 and WHITNEY's note on 12. 10-3.]

xii-xiii. D. SAURAT (*Les Idées Philosophiques de Spenser*, pp. 10-11). Si l'enchantement se mêle aux charmes naturels dans la description du jardin où Phaedria conduit Cymochles, les éléments de cet enchantement sont cependant les beautés de la nature [quotes st. 12 and part of 13]. Ce sont bien là, nous dit Spenser, dans la strophe suivante "false delights and pleasures"; mais d'abord la condamnation s'applique à l'enchantement et non à la nature elle-même, et ensuite, il reste acquis que le poète est sensible au charme qu'il exprime si harmonieusement. Et cela est vrai également de la description de la mer au chant 12 de même livre [quotes stanza 33]. Ces exemples, que l'on pourrait répéter (il ne sont pourtant pas extrêmement fréquents) suffisent à montrer que Spenser était vivement susceptible à la beauté de la nature, et que la nature était essentiellement pour lui chose vivante, animée de vents, parfumée de riches senteurs, remplie de chants d'oiseaux et de grands bruits harmonieux.

xii. 1-4. H. W. WELLS (*Poetic Imagery*, p. 143) cites these lines as an example of "the artistic diminutive."

1-2. UPTON. This expression is literally from Cicero, *de Oratore* 1. 44: "Patriae tanta est vis ac tanta natura, ut Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis, tamquam nidulum, affixam sapientissimus vir immortalitati anteponeret."

xiii. UPTON. Observe here a kind of poetical beauty, which consists sometimes of separating your images, and then bringing of them together; as in this stanza: sometimes, in bringing all your images together, and then separating them, as in 2. 12. 70, 71.

TODD. This most elegant stanza is not easily to be paralleled by any passage from other poets. Poetry and Romance are here happily united.

xv-xvii. UPTON. This love song which the nymph sings is imitated from a song sung to Rinaldo, who arriving at an enchanted island is lulled asleep. Compare Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 14. 62-4:

[O giovinetti, mentre Aprile, e Maggio
V ammantan di fiorite, e verdi spoglie;
Di gloria, ò di virtù fallace raggio
La tenerella mente ah non v'invoglie.
Solo chi segue ciò che piace, è saggio:
E in sua stagion de gli anni il frutto coglie;
Questo grida natura: hor dunque voi
Indurerete l'alma à i detti suoi?

Folli, perche gettate il caro dono,
 Che breve è sì, di vostra età novella?
 Nomi, e senza soggetto Idoli sono
 Ciò, che pregio, e valore il mondo appella.
 La fama, che invaghisce à un dolce suono
 Voi superbi mortali, e par si bella;
 È un Eco, un sogno, anzi del sogno un'ombra,
 Ch' ad ogni vento si dilegua, e sgombra.

Goda il corpo sicuro, e in lieti oggetti,
 L'alma tranquilla appaghi i sensi frali:
 Oblì le noje andate, e non affretti
 Le sue miserie in aspettando i mali.
 Nulla curi, se'l Ciel tuoni, ò saetti:
 Minacci egli à sua voglia, e infiammi strali
 Questo è saver, questa è felice vita:
 Sì l'insegna natura, e sì l'addita.]

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 196). The song of Phaedria has not a word in common with the song of the siren (*Ger. Lib.* 14. 62-4); yet the spirit of the two is exactly the same; they might be transposed. In other words, Spenser finds in Tasso a kindred genius, and has no need of asserting imaginative independence.

D. SAURAT (*Les Idées Philosophiques de Spenser*, pp. 14-5). La chanson de Phaedria, au chant 6 du livre 2, nous donne le motif repris plus tard par Milton dans *Comus*.

Wherefore did Nature pour her bounties forth. . . .

Les deux poètes font célébrer l'invite de la Nature par des personnages condamnés, mais les deux poètes la sentent et l'expriment d'aussi pénétrante façon [stanza 7, lines 1-7 quoted]. Nous avons ici les bases d'une conception purement matérialiste de la nature; (c'est pour cela que Spenser la met dans une bouche condamnée: ce procédé ordinaire à la Renaissance ne doit pas nous donner le change):

—how, no man knowes.—

Le Satan de Milton, plus hardi encore, ira plus loin (*P. L.* 9. 719):

this fair Earth I see
 Warmed by the Sun, producing every kind;
 Them (the gods) nothing.

Phaedria continue [*F. Q.* 6. 16. 1-3; 17. 6 quoted]. Et cette nature, qui incite l'homme à suivre son exemple, n'est autre que Vénus elle-même. L'hymne à Vénus du livre 4 l'explique clairement [*F. Q.* 4. 10. 44-7 quoted].

xv. TODD. Compare the song of the enchanting voice, . . . in the poem formerly attributed to Spenser, entitled *Brittains Ida* [2. 7-8] and usually printed with his works.

4-5. JORTIN. Lucretius, 5. 234-5:

quando omnibus omnia large
 Tellus ipsa parit, Naturaque daedala rerum.

xvi. JORTIN. A manifest allusion to those sacred words: "Consider the lillies of the field how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin." The Poet ought not to have placed them where he has.

Shakespear, *King Henry VIII*:

like the lilly,
That once was mistress of the field and flourish'd,
I'll hang my head, and perish.

UPTON. This verse is a fine example of Spenser's favourite iteration of letters. . . . The whole allusion is manifest (see Matt. 6. 28), and seems very elegantly brought in here, in this mock representation of tranquillity, to shew how the best of sayings may be perverted to the worst of meanings.

xvii. TODD. The same kind of ostentatious sophistry is employed, but without success, against the innocent Lady in Milton's *Mask* by the vile Enchanter Comus.

xxiv. 4-5. TODD (from Thyer). If the beautiful assemblage of proper circumstances in a charmingly natural and familiar simile of Milton, did not lead one to think, that he took the hint of it from a real scene of the sort, which had some time or other smitten his fancy, I should be apt to think that he alluded to this same thought in Spenser. Compare *P. L.* 9. 452:

If chance with nymph-like step fair virgin pass,
What pleasing seem'd, for her now pleases more,
She most. . . .

6. TODD. Compare Psal. 65. 13. "The vallies shall stand so thick with corn that they shall laugh and sing." The phrase may be also found in Greek and Latin poetry. Spenser, however, seems to translate Petrarch, *Son.* 42:

Ridono i prati, e 'l ciel si rasserena;
Giove s' allegra. . . .

xxvii. TODD. Compare st. 21. It is probable that Milton had this passage in view, when he described our Saviour superiour to the temptation of female beauty, *P. R.* 2. 208:

What woman will you find,
Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye
Of fond desire? . . .

The Earl of Oxford, in a poem much commended by Puttenham in his *Art of Eng. Poesie*, 1589, p. 172, entitled *Fancy and Desire*, personifies the latter by the name of "Fond Desire." See Percy's *Reliques of Anc. Poetry*, 4th ed., 2. 179. Fancy then takes leave of Desire: "Then, fond Desire, farewell". . . .

xxviii. 5. WARTON (2. 147). "Recreant knight," is a term of romance. Thus in *Morte Arthur* (1. 21): ". . . But thou yeeld as overcome and recreant, thou shalt dye. As for death, said king Arthur, welcome be it when it cometh; but as to yeeld me to thee as recreant. . . ."

xxix. W. J. COURTHOPE (*Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.* 3. 239). The

character of his [Spenser's] vocabulary and of his syntax may be exemplified in [this] stanza. . . .

The idea of simplicity mingled with archaism here aimed at is also raised by the avoidance of anything like a precise search for epithets in those classical combinations which he frequently employs.

xxxii. 7-9. JORTIN. Tibullus, 1. 11. 1:

Quis fuit, horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
Quam ferus, & vere ferreus ille fuit!

SCHOENEICH (p. 19). Cf. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 658: "Accurst be he that first invented war!"

7. UPTON finds the phrase "wo worth" in Sidney's *Arcadia* [10th ed.], p. 316; Chaucer's *Troilus and Creseide* 2. 344-7; *ibid.* 4. 763; and in Ezekiel 30. 2.

CHURCH. Deut. 12. 23: "For the blood is the life." See also 6. 3. 51.

xxxv. 7-9. KITCHIN. The story is told by Homer, *Od.* 8. 266 ff.

SAWTELLE (p. 81). See also *F. Q.* 3. 6. 24; 3. 11. 36; 3. 11. 44.

xxxvi. 5. KITCHIN. An allusion to Prov. 15. 1, "A soft answer turneth away wrath."

xli-xlii. CORY (p. 124 n.). Professor Dodge thinks that Bojardo had no influence on Spenser. But this striking scene bears some marked resemblance to one in the *Orlando Innamorato* where Mandricardo, half-consumed by fire, leaps into a fountain. The curious may find other plausible traces of the Ferrarese poet in *The Faerie Queene*. [See Appendix, "Italian Romances."]

xlili. 6. WARTON (1. 171-2). So Chaucer (*Reve's Tale* 964):

And gan to cry out harrow and weal-away.

Haro is a form of exclamation antiently used in Normandy, to call for help, or to raise the Hue and Cry (Glossary to Urry's edit.). We find it again in our author (2. 6. 49), "Harrow the flames which me consume." Again (2. 8. 46):

Harrow, and weal-away!
After so wicked deed, . . .

It occurs often in Chaucer, and is, I think, always used as an exclamation of grief; but there are some passages in an old mystery printed at Paris, 1541, where it is applied as a term of alarm, according to its original usage. Lucifer is introduced summoning the devils.

Dyables meschans, . . .
Viendrez vous point a mes cris, et aboys, . . .
Haro, haro, nul de vous je ne veoy?

And in another place, where he particularly addresses Belial:

Haro, haro, approche toy grand dyable,
Approche toy notayre mal fiable,
Fier Belial. . . .

It is observable, that the permission of the "clameur de haro" is to this day specified, among that of other officers, in the instrument of License prefixed to books printed in France.

xliv. 1-5. See Appendix, p. 470.

2. TODD. "Implacable," with the accent on the first syllable, is common in Spenser. Thus, in *F. Q.* 3. 7. 35:

Who, to avenge the implacable wrong
Which he supposed donne. . . .

See also *F. Q.* 4. 9. 22. The same accent occurs in the old Comedy of *Lingua*; but the passage is borrowed from Spenser, Act 4, Sc. 15:

I burn, I burn, I burn; O! how I burn
With scorching heat of implacable fire!
I burn. . . .

xlvi. 6-8. UPTON. It seems to me that Spenser had in view the lake Asphaltus, or Asphaltites, commonly called the Dead Sea, when he wrote this description of the Idle Lake. I will cite Sandys, who in his history of the Holy-land, has given us the following relation:

The river Jordan is at length devoured by that cursed lake Asphaltites, so named of the bitumen which it vomiteth. (See Pliny 5. 16.) Called also the Dead Sea; perhaps in that it nourisheth no living creature; or for his heavy waters hardly to be moved by the winds. (Justin 36. 6; Corn. Tacitus, *Histor.* 5.) So extreme salt, that whatsoever is throwne thereinto not easily sinketh. Vespasian, for a trial, caused divers to be cast bound hand and foot, who floated as if supported by some spirit. (Joseph. *de bell. Judaic.* 5. 5.)

I think the parallel may be easily seen. Dante, likewise, *Inf. Cant.* 8 hence imagined that dead and sluggish lake which he names "la morta gora." And Tasso in this Asphaltic lake places the island of Armida. See Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 10. 62; 16. 71.

L. 1. See TODD's note on 1. 9. 21-2, Book I, p. 277.

9. SAWTELLE (p. 100) cites *Aen.* 6. 551.

KITCHIN. The burning river of Hades. Spenser probably connects it with the description of the souls carried round in torment, described in the *Mythus* at the end of Plato's *Phaedo*; to which dialogue an allusion is also made in 7. 52. Cf. also 1. 5. 33:

The fiery flood of Phlegeton,
Where as the damned ghostes in torments fry.

CANTO VII

HUGHES (1. lxxx-lxxxi). The Episode of Mammon . . . very properly diversifies the Entertainment in this Book; and gives occasion to a noble Speech against Riches. . . . Sir Guyon's falling into a Swoon on his coming into the open Air, gives occasion to a fine Machine of the Appearance of an heavenly Spirit in the next Canto.

CHARLES LAMB ("Sanity of True Genius," 2. 187-9). So far from the position holding true, that great wit (or genius, in our modern way of speaking), has a necessary alliance with insanity, the greatest wits, on the contrary, will ever be found to be the sanest writers. . . . [A reader of common fiction finds] a more bewildering dreaminess induced upon him, than he has felt wandering over all the fairy grounds of Spenser. In the productions we refer to, nothing but names and places is familiar; the persons are neither of this world nor of any other conceivable one; an endless string of activities without purpose, of purposes destitute of motive:—we meet phantoms in our known walks; fantasies only christened. In the poet we have names which announce fiction; and we have absolutely no place at all, for the things and persons of the *Fairy Queen* prate not of their "whereabout." But in their inner nature, and the law of their speech and actions, we are at home and upon acquainted ground. The one turns life into a dream; the other to the wildest dreams gives the sobrieties of every day occurrences. By what subtle art of tracing the mental processes it is effected, we are not philosophers enough to explain, but in that wonderful episode of the cave of Mammon, in which the Money God appears first in the lowest form of a miser, is then a worker of metals, and becomes the god of all the treasures of the world; and has a daughter, Ambition, before whom all the world kneels for favours—with the Hesperian fruit, the waters of Tantalus, with Pilate washing his hands vainly, but not impertinently, in the same stream—that we should be at one moment in the cave of an old hoarder of treasures, at the next at the forge of the Cyclops, in a palace and yet in hell, all at once, with the shifting mutations of the most rambling dream, and our judgment yet all the time awake, and neither able nor willing to detect the fallacy,—is a proof of that hidden sanity which still guides the poet in his widest seeming-aberrations.

It is not enough to say that the whole episode is a copy of the mind's conceptions in sleep; it is, in some sort—but what a copy! Let the most romantic of us, that has been entertained all night with the spectacle of some wild and magnificent vision, recombine it in the morning, and try it by his waking judgment. That which appeared so shifting, and yet so coherent, while that faculty was passive, when it comes under the cool examination, shall appear so reasonless and so unlinked, that we are shamed to have been so deluded; and to have taken, though but in sleep, a monster for a god. But the transitions in this episode are every whit as violent as in the most extravagant dream, and yet the waking judgment ratifies them.

AUBREY DEVERE ("Characteristics of Spenser's Poetry," p. 298). The Renaissance, whatever its merits, was a time of pride, wealth-worship, and imperial dreams. The World had long shared the throne with Religion; but she was beginning to aspire after rule unparticipated. Spain, then the first European Power, was planting slavery in a new world, and burthening the seas with fleets which brought her from the Indies that gold destined not only to enfeeble but to impoverish her by discountenancing honest industry. England had substituted, for that mediaeval regimen in which Liberty was maintained through the balanced powers of a king "primus inter pares," of the nobility, of the Church, and of the popular municipalities, a despotic monarchy destined to vanish with the last Stuart.

France was on her way to an Absolutism, through which she was to pass to her Revolution. It was time that a warning voice should be uttered, whether wittingly or unwittingly, by him who was certainly "high priest for that year" in the realm of song.

TAINÉ (*Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* 1. 346-351). Et cependant c'est peu que tout cela. Quoique puissent fournir la mythologie et la chevalerie, elles ne suffisent pas aux exigences de cette conception poétique. Le propre de Spenser, c'est l'énormité et le débordement des inventions pittoresques. Comme Rubens, il crée de toutes pièces, en dehors de toute tradition, pour exprimer de pures idées. Comme chez Rubens, l'allégorie chez lui enflé les proportions hors de toute règle, et soustrait la fantasia à toute loi, excepté au besoin d'accorder les formes et les couleurs. Car, si les esprits ordinaires reçoivent de l'allégorie un poids qui les opprime, les grandes imaginations reçoivent de l'allégorie des ailes qui les emportent. Dégagées par elle des conditions ordinaires de la vie, elles peuvent tout oser, en dehors de l'imitation, par delà la vraisemblance, sans autre guide que leur force native et leurs instincts obscurs. Trois jours durant sir Guyon est promené par l'esprit mandit, Mammon le tentateur, dans le royaume souterrain, à travers des jardins merveilleux, des arbres chargés de fruits d'or, des palais éblouissants et l'encombrement de tous les trésors du monde. Ils sont descendus dans les entrailles de la terre et parcourent ses cavernes, abîmes inconnus, profondeurs silencieuses. Un démon épouvantable marche derrière lui à pas monstrueux sans qu'il le sache, prêt à l'engloutir au moindre signe de convoitise. L'éclat de l'or illumine des formes hideuses, et le métal rayonnant brille d'une beauté plus séduisante dans l'obscurité de cachot infernal. . . .

Nul rêve de peintre n'égale ces visions, ce flamboiement de la fournaise sur les parois des cavernes, ces lumières vacillantes sur la foule, ce trône et cet étrange scintillement de l'or qui partout luit dans l'ombre. C'est que l'allégorie pousse au gigantesque. Quand il s'agit de montrer la tempérance aux prises avec les tentations, on est porté à mettre toutes les tentations ensemble. Il s'agit d'une vertu générale, et comme elle est capable de toutes les résistances, on lui demande à la fois toutes les résistances; après l'épreuve de l'or, celle du plaisir: ainsi se suivent et s'opposent les spectacles les plus grandioses et les plus délicieux, tous au delà de l'humain, les gracieux à côté des terribles, les jardins fortunés à côté du souterrain maudit.

KATE M. WARREN (pp. xiii-xiv). The splendid work of the Seventh Canto—the temptation of Mammon—is beyond praise. Guyon, after long traveling over wild and wasteful ground, comes suddenly upon the money god crouched in a gloomy glade. He is a grisly, smoke-tanned, sooty monster, whose black claw-like fingers turn over and over greedily the mass of coin in his lap. With the cunning speed of a typical miser, at the sight of Guyon he hides it in the hollow earth, and the meeting of the two is touched with the dramatic power that appears in the Story of Despair. Mammon then tempts the knight to take of his wealth, first by argument, and then by showing him his vast store of riches. The god of money is full of insolent pride in his consciousness of power, but he lowers his tone, even to querulousness, as he finds Guyon unmoved. He leads the knight through all his domain in the under world—his cave, his daughter's court, the garden of Proserpine—and this journey gives the poet opportunities for some fine

brief personifications. "Gnawing jealousy," sitting alone and biting his bitter lips; "trembling Feare," flying to and fro; "sad horror," grim to see, hovering over them with iron wings; "Self-consuming care" sits at the door, from behind which, as it closes, an ugly fiend leaps forth, and, with "monstrous stalke," follows Guyon close behind wherever he moves—the sort of creature who lived again in the imagination of Coleridge. But Guyon keeps his head through both the horrors and the allurements of Mammon's realm, though his steadfastness is such an effort to him that the effect of the strain undergone becomes visible as soon as he returns to the upper region of earth. At the first breath of "vitall air" he sinks exhausted in a deadly fit. And then, after all this stress and strain, there follow, with exquisite art, the lovely and caressing lines of restfulness:

And is there care in heaven? And is there love
In heavenly spirits to these creatures bace? . . .
How oft do they their silver bowers leave
To come to succour us that succour want.

And this softer mood of the poet is continued in the figure of the youthful angel who is found by the Palmer keeping watch over the insensible body of Guyon.

F. M. PADEFORD (*JEGP* 14. 408). A poet and an idealist, believing with Aristotle that learning and statesmanship afford the only activities worthy of a noble spirit, and believing in the Biblical doctrine that "the love of money is the root of all evil," was out of sympathy with the whole commercial spirit of the age. His attitude toward the greed for riches is set forth in the *Faerie Queene* 2. 7, where, in an allegory full of the spirit of the medieval moralities, Guyon, the Knight of Temperance, is tempted by Mammon. . . . The desire for riches is opposed to the Law of Nature, that law of which we read so much in the contemporary philosophers and economists, and which has such potent influence over men's minds, since untroubled nature despises superfluity and escapes those cares which "empeach our native joyes."

LOTSPEICH (p. 20). In the Mammon episode, materials from many different sources are brought together and are held together by the bond of the allegorical meaning which they are intended to shadow forth. From moral considerations in which Comes and Boccaccio have had a share, the mood of "the divine Vergilian pity" has gone out of the conception of Hades and it has become Hell, a place of terror, an allegory of the temptations and punishments of sinners. [M. Y.] Hughes, pp. 371-381, makes the point that the "mood of reverent pity for the dead and of curious speculative faith hardly distinguishable from doubt about the immortality of the soul" which pervades Vergil's Hades is not recaptured by Spenser where he is working from passages in *Aeneid* 6. In its place is "stark allegory," the prevailing note of which is one of horror. There is a germ of this in the Vergilian passages—*Aen.* 6. 280-1, 285-9—which lie behind 2. 7. 21-3. But the difference between Vergil's Hades and Spenser's is mainly the result of the intrusion of moral allegory for which Spenser found his authority in Boccaccio and Natalis Comes. Natalis Comes, discussing the intent of the ancients in their mythology of the infernal regions says, "Many terrible things in the lower regions and things 'horrenda dictu' have been imagined, by which to lead ruder men into virtue"—3, Proem. Boccaccio has the same idea in a passage which has prob-

ably influenced 2. 7. 21-3. . . . Thus the classical Hades had become, for Spenser, an allegory which was to teach virtue by inspiring fear. The conception of Hades as filled with personifications and representations of evil is probably again in his mind when he has such monsters as the Blatant Beast, "bred of hellish strene And long in darkesome Stygian den upbrought"—6. 6. 9. 7. The interpretation of Pluto as the avaricious god of wealth, found in both Comes and Boccaccio, has influenced Spenser's conception of Mammon. The famous Golden Chain of Homer had been made by Comes into a symbol of ambition and avarice; Spenser brings it into Philotime's court and labels it "Ambition." The golden apples in Proserpina's garden, with the meaning attached to them by Comes, become symbols of the temptations to which Guyon is being subjected. Branded by the same commentators as a type of avarice, Tantalus finds his place there, so that Guyon can wag his finger at him [2. 7. 60 quoted].

[See Appendix, "Celtic Elements."]

Arg. 2. TODD. Milton most probably had this passage in mind, when he wrote the following judicious and animated lines in *Comus* [398-9]:

You may as well spread out the unsunn'd heaps
Of miser's treasure by an outlaw's den. . . .

i. KITCHIN. In Spenser's day the mariner seems to have sailed chiefly by the stars, applying to his chart ("card") and compass when fog or cloud blotted away the heavens. The fact was that neither chart nor compass were fully understood, or very safe guides; so that sailors found it more prudent to trust chiefly to "a stedfast starre." The earlier works on navigation mostly came (as one would expect) from Spain; but towards the end of the sixteenth century, as English and Dutch adventure grew, Englishmen also and Dutchmen turned their attention to the subject. The only "card" in existence was that known as the "plane chart," which was full of inaccuracies, and a most unsafe guide, till Gerard Mercator published an universal map in 1569. This map, however, was not understood, and was believed to be still more dangerous than the old plane chart. Nor was it till 1592, two years after the publication of the *Faery Queene*, that its value began to be recognised. After that date the principles of navigation improved rapidly, chiefly through the writings of an Englishman, Edward Wright. It is curious to notice how the interest in seafaring shewn by Spaniards and Portuguese languished towards the end of the century, and how the Dutch and English took their place as the chief advancers of navigation.

9. UPTON. "Winged vessels." 'Tis the very expression of Pindar, *Olymp.* 9. 36, *ναὺς ὑποπτέρου*, and Virg., *Aen.* 3. 520, "velorum pandimus alas."

KITCHIN. Any one who has ever seen a lateen-rigged vessel, sees at once that the metaphor is just.

ii. 4-5. UPTON. So Plato uses *ἐνωχέισθαι λόγων καὶ σκέψεων* (*Repub.* Lib. 9, p. 571, edit. Steph.) and *ἐστιάσας λόγων καλῶν καὶ σκέψεων*. And Cicero, "Saturari bonarum cogitationum epulis." Milton, who is more philosophical than his reader often perhaps imagines, hence says, *P. L.* [3]. 37:

Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers.

P. R. 2. [109-111]:

The while her Son tracing the desert wild,
Sole, but with holiest meditations fed,
Into himself descended.

Sydney's *Arcadia* [10th ed.], p. 50: "They are never alone that are accompanied with noble thoughts."

TODD. Philosophical expressions of this kind often occur in our old writers. See my note on Milton's *P. L.* 4. 37 [which contains references to *Antony and Cleopatra* 4. 13; Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit., p. 92; Milton's *P. R.* 2. 258, and *Prose Works*, 1698, vol. 1, p. 223].

KITCHIN. Not altogether our conception of the true magnanimous hero, to meditate on, and comfort himself with, his own "vertues and praise-worthie deedes." But it is quite after the pattern of Aristotle's magnanimous man, whose character to a certain extent enters into that of Sir Guyon. The humility which runs through the morality of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and forms one of the most beautiful elements in it, is wanting from this part of the *Faery Queene*.

6. See "Critical Notes on the Text."

7. LOTSPEICH (p. 58). On Fame's golden trumpet (2. 7. 2; 2. 3. 38; 3. 3. 3.; *Am.* 85) cf. Chaucer, *House of Fame* 3. 482 ff.; 588. Spenser's use of Fame, determined primarily by his ideals of heroic virtue and heroic poetry, differs vitally from the classical personification of Rumor. Spenser has taken over only the Vergilian imagery, probably under the influence of Boccaccio's interpretation.

8-9. TODD. Thus in the ancient allegory, entitled *Le Pelerinage de vie humaine*, the pilgrim meets the ill-favoured old woman Avarice, laden with riches, in a gloomy valley: "Comment le pelerin trouua vne parfonde vallee plaine de hideurs, en laquelle il recontra vne vielie plus laide que celles dont dessus est parlé, laquelle estoit estrangement habillee. . . ."

iii. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 278). Cf. Natale Conti, *Mythologiae* (3. 5), who, interpreting Cerberus as a symbol of avarice, declares that the monster "is said to live in a dark cavern because avarice is the most stupid of vices."

4. UPTON. This is exactly his description in the Greek play, called *Plutus*; ver. 78, μαρώτατες; ver. 84, αἰχμῶν; ver. 123, δειλότατος πάντων δαιμόνων. And in Lucian's *Timon* we have the following description: ["I have seen you full of care, fingers contracted, and threatening to run away from them the first opportunity."]

v. EDITOR (Note supplied by Miss Dorothy E. Mason). Cf. Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (p. 50, ll. 1169-1172):

What would great Alexander have with us,
That from our fiery region, millions of leagues
Beneath the sulphurous bottome of Abisse,
Where Mammon tells his ever tryed gould.

viii. 1-2. UPTON. Mammon is mentioned in Matt. 6. 24 and Luke 16. 13. Riches unjustly gained are the wages of the Devil, or of that invisible being, "the god of the world and worldlings. . . ." So John 12. 31: "Prince of this world." And 1 Corinth. 2. 6: "Prince of this age. . . ." He is supposed to assist men in their unrighteous acquisitions of riches, hence "Mammon" in the Syriac, and "Plutus" in the Greek languages, which signify riches, signify likewise the god of riches. In Milton, *P. R.* 4. 203, Satan thus says of himself,

God of this world invok'd, and world beneath.

. . . This Mammon has many names, Orcus, Ades, Jupiter Stygius, Ζεύς χθόνιος, Plutus, Pluto, &c. [Upton cites *Scholia* on Aristophanes, *Plutus* 727; Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 2. 26; Lucian's *Timon*; and a scholion by Timocreon from the *Scholia* on Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1302, and *Acharn.* 532), in which he wishes "that blind Plutus had never appeared upon earth, neither upon the sea, nor on the main land, but had had Tartarus and Acheron for his abode." Cf. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* 3. 1138. See notes on stanza 3. 4, and stanzas 16-7.]

ix ff. TODD cites Milton, *P. R.* 2. 422-431, "where Satan vainly assails our Lord with the specious offer of wealth. Spenser indeed evidently alludes to the Temptation in the Wilderness."

ix. 1-2. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Matthew 4. 8-9.

x. 8-9. UPTON. Thus Orlando refuses riches, Berni, *Orl. Inn.* 1. 25. 19.

xii-xiii. KITCHIN. The student should notice the condensed description of the evils and crimes of wealth in these stanzas, especially in st. 13. The day-dreams of golden shores, so rife at the time, the adventure and rapine, the cruel treatment of innocent natives, and the deterioration of character in Spain and England, arising from the greed of wealth, give point and special meaning to these stanzas. It must be remembered that Spenser lived among the brilliant adventurers of the time.

xii. See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."

1-2. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. 1 Timothy 6. 10.

xiii. 2. See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."

8. SCHOENEICH (p. 29 n). Cf. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 4357: "Kingdomes made waste, braue cities sackt and burnt."

xiv. 3. KITCHIN. The Caspian and the Adriatic Sea were famous among the ancients for their storms. Horace's "Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae" (*Od.* 3. 3. 5) will occur to every one. Milton, *P. L.* 2. 714-6, describes Satan and Death as like two clouds on the Caspian.

xv. 1-6. WINSTANLEY. Cf. Milton's *Comus* 768-771.

3-4. JORTIN. Lucan 4. 377:

Discite quam parvo liceat producere vitam,
Et quantum Natura petat.

xvi-xvii. UPTON. Our poet, like his royal mistress, was a great reader of Boetius, and seems here to have him in view (*Consolat. Phil.* 2. 5):

Felix nimium prior aetas . . .
Heu! primus quis fuit ille,
Auri qui pondera tecti,
Gemmasque latere volentes
Pretiosa pericula fodit?

Mammon is finely described, even in his angelical state his thoughts were downward bent, admiring more the trodden gold and riches of heaven (*P. L.* 1. 683-8):

Then aught divine or holy else enjoy'd
In vision beatific. By him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught
Ransack'd the center, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother earth,
For treasures better hid.

xvi. WINSTANLEY. Cf. Milton's *Comus* 762-4.

6-8. JORTIN. Alluding perhaps to Deuteronomy 32. 15: "But Jesurun waxed fat and kicked."

UPTON. The comparison is happy, of "the corn-fed steed" to the pride of later ages; and scriptural (*Jer.* 5. 8): "They were as fed horses." *Il.* 6. 506: ["Even as when a stalled horse, full-fed at the manger."]

CHURCH. Mr. Ray places "He's corn-fed" among his Proverbial expressions, p. 183.

xvii. 1-4. JORTIN. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 138-140:

Itum est in viscera terrae:
Quasque recondiderat, Stygiisque admoverat umbris,
Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum.

CHURCH. So Fletcher (*Purple Island* 8. 27-30), who never loses sight of our Poet:

Oh hungrie metall, false deceitfull ray,
Well laid'st thou dark, prest in th' earth's hidden wombe,
Yet through our mother's entrails cutting way,
We dragge thy buried corse from hellish tombe.

WINSTANLEY. Cf. *P. L.* 1. 690-2.

xix. 2. WINSTANLEY. Cf. Milton (*Comus* 704-5):

And that which is not good is not delicious
To a well-governed and wise appetite.

xx-xxiii. CORY (p. 129). It was this passage that Milton, in his first sustained

attempt at sublimity, chose to follow almost servilely (*In Quintum Novembris* [139-156]).

xx. 7. UPTON. *Virg. Aen.* 6. 268: "Ibant obscuri." Compare Ovid, *Met.* 4. 432-3:

Est via declivis, funesta nubila taxo;
Ducit ad infernas per muta silentia sedes.

See also *Met.* 14. 122.

xxi ff. RONALD BAYNE ("Masque and Pastoral," *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, 6. 335). Such famous descriptions as the cave of Mammon and the bower of Bliss are like set pieces which Inigo Jones tried to make real to the eye when the masque became a fixture at the end of the great hall.

CARPENTER cites Milton's reference to "the cave of Mammon" in his *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnus* (Bohn ed. 3. 81):

Do they think then that all these meaner and superfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of learning from the den of Plutus, or the cave of Mammon?

See also the famous passage in *Areopagitica* (Bohn ed. 2. 68):

That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, (whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas,) describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain.

H. J. C. GRIERSON (*Cross Currents in English Literature of the 17th Century*, pp. 49-50). Only once to my mind has Spenser achieved the kind of symbolism in which Bunyan excels, an image the moral, emotional symbolism of which is immediately significant, needs no intellectual disentanglement, and that is in the episode of Guyon's visit to the subterranean caverns of Mammon [stanza 21 quoted]. The sensation which this and the stanzas that follow convey (discounting some fantastic but beautiful details) of darkness, temptation, danger, strain, does to me suggest the dark and crooked ways, the peril of losing one's soul indeed, to which no passion conduces so powerfully as covetousness and ambition, the lust of wealth and power: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" If Spenser elsewhere strikes the same ethical and spiritual note, it is not in allegoric passages but where he speaks straightforwardly, as in the speech of Despair (1. 9. 38), the speech of Belpheobe (2. 3. 41-2) or in some of his personal digressions.

[See Appendix, "Spenser and Milton."]

xxi-xxv. HUGHES (1. xli-xlvi). As Allegory sometimes, for the sake of the moral Sense couch'd under its Fictions, gives Speech to Brutes, and sometimes introduces Creatures which are out of Nature, as Goblins, Chimaeras, Fairies, and the like; so it frequently gives Life to Virtues and Vices, Passions and Diseases,

to natural and moral Qualities; and represents them acting as divine, human, or infernal Persons. A very ingenious Writer (*Spectator*, Vol. 4, No. 273) calls these Characters "shadowy Beings," and has with good reason censur'd the employing them in just Epick Poems: of this kind are Sin and Death, which I mention'd before in Milton; and Fame in Virgil. We find likewise a large Groupe of these shadowy Figures plac'd in the Sixth Book [273-281] of the *Aeneis*, at the Entrance into the infernal Regions; but as they are only shewn there, and have no share in the Action of the Poem, the Description of them is a fine Allegory, and extremely proper to the Place where they appear.

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in Faucibus Orci
Luctus & ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,
Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
Et Metus, & malesuada Fames, ac turpis Aegestas,
Terribiles visu Formae; Lethumque Labosque

Tum consanguineus Lethi Sopor, & mala Mentis
Gaudia, Mortiferumque adverso in limite Bellum;
Ferreique Eumenidum Thalami, & Discordia demens,
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

In medio ramos annosaeque brachia pandit
Ulmus opaca, ingens; quam sedem Somnia vulgo
Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.

. . . Every Book of the *Fairy Queen* is fruitful of these visionary Beings, which are invented and drawn with a surprising Strength of Imagination. I shall produce but one Instance here, which the Reader may compare with that just mention'd in Virgil, to which it is no way inferior . . . [Quotes stanzas 21-3.] The Posture of Jealousy, and the Motion of Fear in this Description, are particularly fine. These are Instances of Allegorical Persons, which are shewn only in one transient View. The Reader will every where meet with others in this Author, which are employ'd in the Action of the Poem, and which need not be mention'd here.

JORTIN cites similar groupings of personifications in Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 686-696; Statius, *Theb.* 7. 47-53; Claudian, *In Rufin.* 1. 30-8; and Lactantius, "or whoever is the author" of the poem *de Phoenice*, 15-20.

LOTSPEICH (pp. 65-6). Similar figures appear as the offspring of Erebus and Night in Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 3. 17, and Natalis Comes, 3. 12. . . . The Induction to *The Mirror for Magistrates* has probably also contributed, especially in suggesting the figure of Sorrow. In the Induction, there are figures at the gate of Hell such as "Dread," "fell Revenge," "Misery," "greedy Care," and by him "heavy Sleep, the cousin of Death." Finally, the idea of introducing these figures before the gate of Mammon's cave, in an allegory of avarice, may well have come from Boccaccio, 8. 6, who makes Vergil's House of Dis (*Aen.* 6. 541) a house of riches, associates it with Dante's House of Dis (*Inf.* 8), and describes just such abstractions as Spenser's as guarding it: "Divitiis ferrea civitas et custos Thesiphon (*sic*) ideo datur, ut ferreas avarorum mentes et truculentias eorundem circa custodiam et tenacitatem earum cognoscamus. . . . In hac civitate scribit Dantes noster obstinatis inferri supplicia, quibus nulla proximi charitas, nullusque fuit amor in

xxv. 7. UPTON. Death and Sleep were brothers; both sons of Night and Erebus: hence Homer, *Il.* 14. 231: ["There she met Sleep the brother of Death"]. Hence too Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 278: "Tum consanguineus Lethi Sopor."

xxviii. 7-9. SAWTELLE (p. 25). Cf. 12. 77. See also *Muioptomos* 261 ff.

xxix. 6-9. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 268-272:

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram . . .
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in silvis: ubi caelum condidit umbra
Jupiter, & rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

UPTON. Cf. *F. Q.* 1. 1. 14, and Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 13. 2. See also Tasso, 14. 37. And add Apoll. Rhodius, *Argon.* 4. 1479 . . . which verses Virgil has imitated, *Aen.* 4. 453. Also Dante, *Inferno* 15. [19].

7-9. H. W. WELLS (*Poetic Imagery*, p. 141) cites these lines as an illustration of simplicity and concentration in a figure which still produces a romantic effect.

xxx. 1-3. TODD. It is not improbable that Hogarth might have noticed, and been pleased with, this description. The picture of the *Rake's Progress*, which presents us with a view of the hero, after the death of his avaricious father, in a room where the furniture consists principally of similar chests and coffers, certainly leads us to admire the minute discrimination of the moral painter, as well as of the moral poet.

6-7. WARTON (2. 130-1). Thus the champions, when they are betrayed by the necromancer of the Black Castle into an enchanted cave (*Seven Champions* 2. 8): "And as they went groping and feeling up and down, they found that they did tread on no other things but dead mens bones."

Cf. *F. Q.* 1. 4. 36.

TODD. But there is probably an allusion also to the meadow of the Syrens, *Od.* 12. 45. . . . Chapman, the translator of Homer, appears to have chosen the same expression as Spenser:

And round about it runnes a hedge or wall
Of dead mens bones.

[Cf. Ezekiel 37. 1.]

xxxi. 3. UPTON. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 5. 749; Milton, *P. L.* 5. 254, and 7. 205. See also stanza 26.

TODD. I am persuaded, however, by the expressions in this passage, that Spenser was thinking of Holy Writ, Acts 12. 10: "When they were past the first and the second ward, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth unto the city; which opened to them of its own accord."

xxxiii. 8. UPTON. Cyrus told Croesus that he had his treasures too; for I make my friends rich (said he) and reckon them both as treasures and guards. Xenophon, p. 584, ed. Hutchinson: where the learned editor mentions a like

saying of Alexander, who being asked where his treasures were: answered, Here, pointing to his friends. And Ptolemy the son of Lagus, said, that it more became a king to make others rich, than to be rich himself. See Plutarch's apothegms.

KITCHIN. These reflections on the superiority of the knight to wealth (also of the "gentleman" to the merchant and trader) are quite in the highest style of the time. It must not be forgotten that these were the days in which, through their mines, etc., the Spaniards were essentially the "purse-proud" race, and duly hated by the English. Possibly, too, a little scorn for the burghers of Holland, who had but lately shown so little sense of Lord Leicester's splendour and blood, may have been working in Spenser's mind.

xxxiv. WARTON (*History of English Poetry*, 1781, 3. xlii-xlv) cites two versions of a similar fable (cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ch. 107, and William of Malmesbury's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, 2. 10, London, 1866, pp. 176-7). A man visits a rich subterranean palace and is tempted to carry away some of the golden treasures. Every move he makes is watched by a figure who, with bended bow, stands ready to inflict punishment on the visitor if he yields to cupidity. In the first account the man tries to steal and is destroyed; in the second, he restores the treasure and escapes punishment.

xxxv ff. CORY (p. 130). One would have expected the advent of the nineteenth century, of our modern factories and monsters of the ocean before such a scene could have been possible to the poetic imagination. All these scenes and, above all, the following episode, a climax where it would seem that imagination had already made climax impossible, make the lover of Spenser protest when he remembers the long line of purblind critics who have denied to the creator of Mammon and of Philotime (Ambition) the possession of sublimity. (One of the most exasperating comments may be found in the opening paragraph of Swinburne's essay on Marlowe—reprinted in *The Age of Shakespeare*—in which Marlowe's erratic descendant denies to Spenser the quality of sublimity in order to make Marlowe the first English master of the power which he so justly worships.)

xxxv. 4. KITCHIN. These forges were possibly taken from the Cyclopean furnaces in Virg. *Aen.* 8. 418.

xxxvi. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 449-451:

Alii ventosis follibus auras
Accipiunt redduntque: alii stridentia tingunt
Æra lacu. Gemit inpositis incudibus antrum.

See Homer, *Il.* 18. 468 ff.

7. UPTON. Milton had his favourite Spenser in his thoughts, when he described Mammon and the rest of the hellish fiends employed about the building of Pandaemonium. See *P. L.* 1. 702-4:

A second multitude,
With wondrous art, founded the massy ore,
Severing each kind, and scum'd the bullion dross.

9. UPTON. When Thetis came to Vulcan she found him thus swincking and sweating, *Il.* 18. 372. Compare Callim. in *Dian.*, ver. 49 ff.; Virg., *Aen.* 8. 445 ff.

xl. This stanza is quoted in *England's Parnassus* (1600); see "Critical Notes on the Text."

xli. 1. UPTON. We have another monstrous giant of the same name in *F. Q.* 6. 7. 44. Disdayn is a fairy knight introduced in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 42. 53-64, who frees Rinaldo from the monster Jealousy.

xliv-li. See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."

xliv. KITCHIN. Cf. Rev. 17. 3.

6. UPTON. This description perhaps our poet had from Joh. Secundus, in his poem called, *Reginae Pecuniae regia*, st. 48:

Regina in mediis magnae penetralibus aulae,
Aurea tota, sedet solio sublimis in aureo . . .
Haec est illa, cui famulatur maximus orbis . . .
Telluris magnae Plutique sacerrima proles.

This woman's name we have St. 49. Spenser loves for a while to keep his readers in doubt.

TODD. It may not be foreign to the subject of this passage to observe, that Secundus's verses appear to have also influenced a professed disciple of Spenser in his choice of a poetical theme; viz. *Lady Pecunia, or The Praise of Money*, by Richard Barnfield, 4to. 1605. He calls the Lady, st. 2:

Goddesse of Gold, great Empresse of the earth!
O thou that canst doo all thinges vnder heauen!

Barnfield had before written *Sonnets*, entitled *Cynthia*, avowedly in imitation of Spenser.

xlvi-xlviii. KITCHIN cites *Il.* 8. 19-22: ["Fasten ye a rope of gold from heaven, and all ye gods lay hold thereof and all goddesses; yet could ye not drag from heaven to earth Zeus, counsellor supreme, not though ye toiled sore."]

C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 277). Cf. Natale Conti, *Mythologiae* (2. 4):

In regard to the golden chain by which all the gods were unable to pull Jove down from heaven, I should judge it to mean sometimes avarice and sometimes ambition, which although it is very potent, and has drawn many from the true faith of God to false dogmas . . . nevertheless will not be able to move a good man.

LOTSPEICH (p. 64). Writers after Homer also made it a symbol of the cosmic force which holds the universe in order. Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 153 D; Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* 2, metre 8; Chaucer, *Troilus* 3. 1744 and *Kn. Tale* A 2987-93; *Romance of the Rose* 16988-9; Natalis Comes, 2. 4: ". . . auream catenam, quae est vis aethereorum et superiorum corporum inter se divinitus connexorum."

xlvi. 8. See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."

xlvi. KITCHIN. Spenser's reminiscences of court life, at least of the courtiers round the queen, were not altogether pleasing, as we see from his lines in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, 877 ff., where he describes the shifts and tricks of Renard (Reynold), and the way in which poor honest suitors are cozened and left to wait. . . .

6-9. G. GLASENAPP (*Zur Vorgeschichte der Allegorie in Edmund Spensers "Faerie Queene,"* p. 51). Bei James I. in "The Kingis Quair" wird Fortuna ähnlich beschrieben. Die Göttin erscheint auch von einer grossen Menschenmenge umgeben. Alles drängt zu ihrem Rade, um emporzukommen, aber die meisten enden in dem unter dem Rade befindlichen Abrung (Strophe 163):

It semyt unto my wit a strangē thing:
So mony I sawe that than clymban wold
And failit foting and to ground were rold.

xlix. 1. UPTON. "Philotime." φιλοτιμία, ["love of honour"]. HOFFMAN cites Aristotle's use of the word.

J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 103). Spenser intended the reader to pronounce the -e as in Greek and to note the meaning of the name, for he pointedly remarks, "And fayre Philotime she rightly hight."

EDITOR. Spenser had reference, in all probability, to the meaning only. As UPTON and KITCHIN point out, the word should be pronounced Philotimé.

K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58. 346). Cf. Fletcher's Philotimus, *P.I.* 8. 38-41.

i. 7. UPTON. He does not say to whom: but in his shield he bears the head of the Fairy queen.

li. UPTON. 'Tis not unlikely that Spenser imaged the "direful deadly and black fruits," which this infernal garden bears, from a like garden, which Dante describes, *Inf.* 13. 4-6:

Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco,
Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e 'nvolti,
Non pomi v'eran, ma stecchi con toscio.

The garden or grove is mentioned likewise in Virgil, *Georg.* 4. 467:

Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,
Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum
Ingressus.

LEIGH HUNT (*Imagination and Fancy*, p. 68). Dante's garden, however, has no flowers. It is a human grove; that is to say, made of trees that were once human beings.

lii. 4. UPTON. "Tetra," i. e., tetrum solanum, deadly night-shade; or rather "Tetragonia," a name for the Euonymus, which bears a fruit of poisonous quality.

TODD. Parkinson, however, relates of the "tetragonia," that, though Theophrastus, and others from him, have said that "its leaves are deadly, and pernicious," especially to sheep and goats, Clusius has denied the assertion, and even mentions that goats are fond of it. See *Theatrum Botanicum*, edit. 1640, p. 242. . . .

Gerarde, in his Herball, speaking of the "coloquintida," or bitter gourde, says, that "it is sown and commeth to perfection in hot regions, but seldom or neuer in these northerly and cold countries," p. 769, edit. 1597. But Parkinson, Gerarde's successor, says that a species of it is called "colocynthis Germanica, because lesse dangerous, and more easie to grow in those colder countries."

5-9. JORTIN. He had no authority, I presume, for what he says of Socrates and Critias. Critias had been a disciple of Socrates, but he hated his master. Here is the story of which I suppose Spenser had a confused idea (Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 40): "Quam me delectat Theramenes! quam elato animo est! etsi enim flemus, cum legimus, tamen non miserabiliter vir clarus emoritur. qui cum coniectus in carcerem triginta jussu tyrannorum, venenum ut sitiens obduxisset, reliquum sic e poculo eiecit, ut id resonaret: quo sonitu reddito, arridens, Propino, inquit, hoc pulcro Critiae, qui in eum fuerat teterrimus."

UPTON. "Mortal Samnitis," he means, I believe, the Savine-tree, "arbor Sabina": and calls it "mortal," because it procures abortion. The Samnites and Sabines being neighbour nations, he uses them promiscuously. . . .

[Upton would read line 7: "Wise Socrates; and him, who quaffing glad."] Socrates was put to death by drinking the juice of the Cicuta; so Plato and Xenophon tell us; and Xenophon likewise tells us very particularly how Theramenes was thus put to death, *Hellenica* 2. 3. 56. Theramenes was a Philosopher, and an admirer of Critias; who afterwards becoming one of the thirty tyrants that harassed the Athenian state, he was deservedly resisted by Theramenes; which Critias could not bear; so he prosecuted him, and unjustly had him put to death: when Theramenes drank the poison; what was left at the bottom of the cup he flung out (after the manner of the sport they formerly used, called Cottabus) calling upon by name his once dearest, and now deadliest belamy: (observe by the bye Spenser's word "dearest," which takes in both significations: see *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*, p. 327.). . . . This Spenser calls "pouring out his life and last philosophy to the fair Critias his dearest belamy." The same story is told by Valerius Maximus [3. 2. 6], and by Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* 1. 40. In confirmation of this easy correction, let me observe that Cicero joins these two philosophers together, as both unjustly put to death, and both after the same manner: "Vadit in eundem carcerem atque in eundem paucis post annis scyphum Socrates; eodem scelere judicium, quo tyrannorum Theramenes." *Ibid.* 24: "Sed quid ego Socratem aut Theramenem, praestantes viros virtutis et sapientis gloria comemero?" [Upton quotes the passage he has just paraphrased, concluding: *κρίτια τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ*—"Here's to the health of my beloved Critias" (tr. Brownson, Loeb Library).]

CHURCH. The truth is, our Poet, by a slip of his memory, has applied to Socrates what Tully relates of Theramenes. An easy mistake this; especially as

Socrates is immediately made mention of by Tully, as having drank of the same Cup that Theramenes did.

A. E. TAYLOR (*MLR* 19. 209-210) repeats without any reference to Jortin and Upton the above information and concludes: "Thus it seems to result from comparison of the two passages of the *F. Q.* that Spenser's knowledge about Socrates does not go beyond a confused recollection of certain works of Cicero which were far better known to educated men in general in the sixteenth century than they are in the twentieth. If Spenser had ever read Plato for himself there is nothing in these passages to prove it, and the blunder about the incidents of Socrates' last day could not well have been made by any one who knew the *Phaedo*. Yet if Spenser was unacquainted with the *Phaedo*, is it likely that he knew any Platonic work at first-hand? Here is a question that deserves investigation—Was the 'poets' poet,' after all, a bit of a humbug?"

liii ff. WARTON (1. 78-80). This mythology is drawn from Claudian. Pluto consoles Proserpine with these promises, *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 287 ff.:

Nec mollia desunt
Prata tibi: zephyris illic melioribus halant
Perpetui flores, quos nec tua protulit Enna.
Est etiam lucis arbor praedives opacis,
Fulgentes viridi ramos curvata metallo.
Haec tibi sacra datur; fortunatumque tenebis
Autumnum, et fulvis semper ditabere pomis.

. . . His own allegorising invention has also feigned, that the plants which grew in the garden of Proserpine, were (st. 51):

Direful deadly blacke, both leaf and bloom,
Fit to adorn the dead, and deck the dreary toomb.

Whereas Claudian describes this garden as filled with flowers more beautiful than those of Enna. Nor is he less attentive to the antient fabulists, where he tells us, that the tree of the Hesperides sprung from this of Proserpine; that these were thrown in the way of Hippomanes and Atalanta, st. 54; and that those with which Acontius won Cydippe, and which Ate flung among the gods, were gathered from Proserpine's tree, st. 55.

UPTON. Compare [also] Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 136 ff. This is the tree whose branches bear golden fruit.

liv. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 277). Cf. Natale Conti, *Mythologiae* (7. 7): The apples of the Garden of the Hesperides are interpreted as symbols of wealth "which is given to men almost as a touchstone by which to test their souls; for to the wise it is the means of doing glorious things, but to the foolish it is almost a torment and a punishment."

6. TODD. By this passage Milton probably had been induced to call the daughters of Hesperus, daughters of Atlas, in his manuscript of *Comus*. Ben Jonson, in one of his Masks, had also mentioned the "faire daughters of Atlas."

SAWTELLE (p. 33). Ancient authorities by no means agree as to the

parentage of the Hesperides; but Spenser has the support of Diodorus Siculus (4. 27) in calling them the daughters of Atlas. They were appointed by Juno to guard upon Mt. Atlas the apples which she had received at her marriage; but the eleventh labor imposed upon Hercules was to obtain these apples. This he did by the assistance of Atlas.

8-9. UPTON. Hippomenes was of Onchestos, a city of Boeotia, so he says of himself, Ovid, *Met.* 10. 605: "Namque mihi genitor Megareus Onchestius." He is called likewise "Aonius Juvenis," *ibid.* 589. Euboea is an island near Boeotia; some say formerly joined to it, but afterwards by inundations and earthquakes rent from it as Sicily was from Italy. But Spenser confounds neighbour countries and nations, as I mentioned above. The reader may see the story in Ovid, *Met.* 10; *Fab.* 11.

SAWTELLE (p. 32). This story is related by both Apollodorus (3. 9. 2) and Ovid (*Met.* 10. 560 ff.), but with the difference, that, according to Apollodorus, the name of the successful youth was Melanion, while, with Ovid, it is Hippomenes. Spenser employs neither name, but, as mentioned above, calls the successful competitor "the Euboean young man." This would indicate that he took the story from Apollodorus rather than from Ovid; for, according to Apollodorus, Melanion was the son of a certain Amphidamas, and we are told by Hesiod (*W. and D.* 654) that Amphidamas was a king of Chalcis, on the Island of Euboea. Thus Spenser might properly speak of his son as "the Euboean young man."

lv. 1-3. UPTON. Observe here a playing with sound, a jingling pun; which Spenser is not so delicately nice as to avoid, when it comes fairly in his way. . . . As bad as this pun may appear, the great Milton borrowed it, *P. L.* 9. 647:

Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming hither
Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to' excess.

But 'twas not with an apple of gold, that Acontius "got his lover trew": this seems our poet's own mythology; which he often varies and changes just as he pleases. The whole story of the loves of Acontius and Cydippe, may be seen, elegantly told, in the Epistles of Aristaenetus (as they are named), Lib. 1. Epist. 10, where the apple is called, *κυδώνιον μήλον*, "malum Cydonium," i. e. an orange, citron, or quince: but this apple is there said to be gathered from the gardens of Venus. The inscription written upon the apple was, "μα την Αρτεμιν Ακοντιω γαμουμαι." Cydippe took up the apple, and reading, she swore she would marry Acontius, without knowing she thus swore, being unwarily betray'd by this ambiguous inscription (*Epist. Heroid.* 20. 209):

Postmodo nescio qua venisse volubile malum
Verba ferens [doctis] dubiis insidiosa notis.

LEIGH HUNT (*Imagination and Fancy*, p. 69). The story is in Ovid: *Heroides* 20, 21.

LOTSPEICH (p. 31). The apple in Ovid's story is not a gold one, but Ovid does make Acontius promise a golden image of the apple if he is successful in his suit (*Her.* 20. 237-40), and, at *Her.* 21. 123-4, Cydippe compares it with Atalanta's golden apples, which Spenser has just mentioned. Considering that he

is here developing the subject of golden apples and assembling examples, these points may serve to explain his version of the myth.

4.9. UPTON. Jupiter ('tis said) invited all the gods and goddesses to banquet at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, excepting only the mischievous goddess Discord (Hygin. 92: "Excepta Eride, id est, Discordia"; see too Servius, *Virg.*, 1. 31) who being angry at this neglect, threw a golden apple among the goddesses with this inscription, "Let it be given to the fairest": Juno, Minerva and Venus all claimed this golden prize: and Paris was chosen to determine the dispute, who was then a shepherd on mount Ida: and because these three goddesses met on mount Ida, the poet calls them the Idaean ladies. Compare *F. Q.* 4. 1. 19, 22.

SAWTELLE (pp. 32-3). It is evident that Spenser makes Ate identical with Eris, because he says that it was Ate who threw the apple among the gods, and in *F. Q.* 4. 1. 22, he hints the same. According to the ancients, however, it was Eris who stirred the fatal strife (see Hyg. *Fab.* 92).

But there is no essential difference in the character of the two. They are both divinities delighting in discord and strife.

According to Homer, Ate was the daughter of Jove, once inhabiting Olympus, but banished thence because she had dared to outwit Jove himself (*Il.* 19. 128); but Hesiod (*Theog.* 230) says she was the daughter of Eris, who in turn, was the daughter of Night, who was born of Chaos. Such an ancestry would warrant Spenser in saying (*F. Q.* 4. 1. 26) that Ate was "borne of hellish brood," and would, indeed, furnish him with a suggestion for that marvelous allegorical picture of the "mother of debate" and her abode which he draws at length in *F. Q.* 4. 1. 19 ff. What but the imagination of Spenser could have produced that image of her foul face, squinted eyes, loathly mouth; of her divided tongue and heart; her distorted ears; her feet unlike, and pointed in opposite directions; her hands interfering with each other? Almost as striking is the description of her abode, "Hard by the gates of hell. . . With thornes and barren brakes enviroind round."

Homer very appropriately calls Ate "venerable," and Spenser likewise (*F. Q.* 5. 9. 47) speaks of her as "that old hag."

lvi-lix. WARTON (1. 80-1). He adds, that the branches of this tree overspread the river Cocytus, in which Tantalus was plunged to the chin, and who was perpetually catching at it's fruit. Homer relates, that many trees of delicious fruit waved over the lake in which Tantalus was placed; but it does not appear from Homer, that Tantalus was fixed in Cocytus, but in some lake peculiarly appropriated to his punishment [*Od.* 11. 581 ff.]. . . .

Spenser has also made another use of Cocytus; That the shores of this river eternally resounded with the shrieks of damned ghosts, who were doomed to suffer an everlasting immersion in its loathsome waters. Cocytus, says antient fable indeed, must be passed, before there is any possibility of arriving at the infernal regions: but we are not taught, that it was a punishment allotted to any of the ghosts, to be thus plunged in its waves; nor that this circumstance was the cause of the ceaseless lamentations which echoed around its banks.

What Spenser has invented, and added to antient tradition, concerning Cocytus, exhibits a fine image. [St. 57 quoted.]

lvi. 8-9. SAWTELLE (p. 42). Mentioned in *Aen.* 6. 132, 297, 323.

KITCHIN. Spenser somewhat enlarges upon this river. The old writers do not describe the souls as wallowing and wailing in it, as a penalty.

LOTSPEICH (p. 48). Cocytus as a river of wailing and weeping is traditional. For Boccaccio, 1. 14, it symbolizes "luctus et lachrymae." Natalis Comes, 3. Pr., p. 185, says, "Cocytus . . . gravissimus et tristissimus amnis, cuius fremitus querularum animarum voces imitabatur," which might easily have suggested Spenser's line. Cf. also *Aen.* 6. 426, of the Styx, "Continuo auditae voces, vagitus et ingens." In Spenser the damned souls are represented as immersed in the flood. This conception is not common in classical tradition, but cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 113. The idea may come from Dante, *Inferno* 7. 109, although Spenser's use of Dante has not been proved unless we accept it here and in the case of Phlegethon.

lvii-lxi. KITCHIN. According to one account, he cut up his son Pelops, boiled him, and set him before the gods as a banquet (probably a traditional account of human sacrifice). Zeus, enraged at this, condemned him to stand up to his neck in a lake, whose waters he could never drink, with goodly fruit-branches just beyond his reach, for ever. Spenser puts it too strongly when he writes, "Of whom high Jove wont whylome feasted bee." [See SAWTELLE's note on 59. 6.] One account makes him a guest at the table of Zeus; where his high honour (as has occurred at other tables of the great) turned his head—ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι μέγαν ὄλβον οὐκ ἔδυνάσθη, Pindar, *Ol.* 1. 87—and prated of the secrets of the other world: whereupon Zeus punished him. His punishment is finely described by Homer, *Od.* 11. 581.

SAWTELLE and WINSTANLEY both think that this passage is copied directly from the *Odyssey*, which reads as follows (11. 582-592):

Moreover I beheld Tantalus in grievous torment, standing in a mere and the water came nigh unto his chin. And he stood straining as one athirst, but he might not attain to the water to drink of it. For often as that old man stooped down in his eagerness to drink, so often the water was swallowed up and it vanished away, and the black earth still showed at his feet, for some god parched it evermore. And tall trees flowering shed their fruit overhead, pears and pomegranates and apple trees with bright fruit, and sweet figs and olives in their bloom, whereat when that old man reached out his hands to clutch them, the wind would toss them to the shadowy clouds.

[See Appendix, "Sources."]

C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 227-8.) Cf. Natale Conti, *Mythologiae* (5. 5): [Tantalus was condemned to perpetual thirst] because for the avaricious there is no satiety even in the greatest abundance of wealth.

lvii. 2-3. UPTON. He says, "sad waves," alluding to the etymology of Cocytus:

Cocytus, namd of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream.

(*P. L.* 2. 579)

The construction is, "He saw many damned creatures continually plunged by cruel

sprights in those sad waves, which stank deadly"—"of" is a preposition. And this kind of synchysis is frequently used by Spenser. Perhaps in saying these waves stank so "direful deadly," he alludes to the ancient vulgar opinion concerning the state of the uninitiated, that they lie *ἐν βορβόρῳ* "in caeno." See Plato's *Phaedo*, Sect. 13. And Aristophanes, who writ his *Frogs*, to ridicule the ceremonies and notions of these mysteries, has the same expression, ver. 145. . . .

lix. 6. SAWTELLE (p. 113). From an examination of the ancients, it seems probable that the . . . line . . . should read, "Who of high Jove wont whylome feasted bee"; for that Tantalus was accustomed to eat at the table of the gods is vouched for by the ancients, where there is but one occasion on record where the gods feasted with him. It is said that Jove was accustomed to confide in Tantalus when he dined with him, and that Tantalus revealed the secrets of the immortals to men, for which he was thus punished in Hades. See Hyg. *Fab.* 82, 83; *Met.* 6. 173. [See KITCHIN's note above and "Critical Notes on the Text."]

9. TODD. See the translation of St. Mark 6. 37: "Give ye them to eat."

lxii. 2-9. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Matthew 27. 24.

2. KITCHIN. Pontius Pilate. One legend has condemned him to dwell for ever on Mont Pilate, near Lucerne, in Switzerland, in a gloomy lake called the "Infernal Lake," whence "a foam is often seen to emerge from the gloomy waters, and to go through the action of one washing his hands."

7. TODD. Compare the similar attempt of Shakspeare's Lady Macbeth, act 5, sc. 1.

lxiii. 3-9. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Mark 15. 11, and Matthew 20. 19.

8-9. UPTON. "In purity," i. e. in token of purity. See Matt. 27. 24.

TODD. So in Psal. 26. 6. "I will wash mine hands in innocency," i. e. in token of innocency.

lxiii. 6-9. WARTON (1. 79). Ovid relates, that Proserpine would have been restored to her mother Ceres, had she not been observed by Ascalaphus to pluck a radiant apple from a tree which grew in her garden; the same, I suppose, which Claudian speaks of in the verses just quoted [*Rapt. Pros.* 2. 290]. *Met.* 5. 533:

Cereri certum est educere natam:
Non ita fata sinunt; quoniam jejunia virgo
Solverat, et cultis dum simplex errat in hortis
Puniceum curva decerpserat arbore pomum.

From these verses, Spenser seems to have borrowed, and to have adapted to his present purpose the notion that these golden apples were prohibited fruit. The silver stoole is added from his own fancy, and is a new circumstance of Temptation.

8. UPTON. Mammon tempts Sir Guyon with the golden and forbidden fruit: which if he had gathered, he had betrayed an avaricious disposition. He tempts him likewise to sit down on the "silver stoole"; which if he had done, he

would have shewn himself a lazy knight, and deserving the punishment of Theseus for sitting on this slothful seat (*F. Q.* 1. 5. 35):

Theseus condemnd to endlesse sloth by law.

See Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 617:

Sedet, aeternumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus.

Where Taubmannus has the following observation, "Theseus cum Pirithoo ad rapiendam Proserpinam descendens super quadam petra consedit (typified in this silver seat: the forbidden seat in the mysteries) a qua petra licet semel al Hercule avulsus fuerit, post mortem tamen destinatus est, ut in memoriam istius rei aeternum in ignescente ista petra persideat." This *silver stoole* is mentioned above (53. 2). This stoole, on which it was unlawful to sit, our poet imaged from the forbidden seat in the Eleusinean mysteries. See Meurs, *Eleusin.*, p. 10, and the ingenious treatise concerning these mysteries, of Mr. Warburton in his *Divine Legation of Moses*, 1. 202. Our knight has now gone through a kind of initiation, and passed all the fiery trials; and comes out more temperate and just, as silver tried in the fire.

lxv. TODD. Long attention to lucrative pursuits (when better principles that preserve the balance of the mind are not cultivated) brings on a sort of intellectual torpor, a mental paralysis where still so much activity remains, as to suffer the ideas to circulate in a certain track; but all the other faculties are among what Steele aptly calls the "metaphorically defunct." Compare Dante, *Purg.* 19. [118-123]:

Si come l' occhio nostro non s' aderse,
In alto, fisso alle cose terrene,
Così giustizia quì a terra il merse.
Come avarizia spense à ciascun bene
Lo nostro amore, onde *operar perdesi*,
Così giustizia quì stretti ne tiene &c.

—BOYD.

[See Appendix, "The Structure," p. 469.]

4. UPTON. "The pillars of heaven"—"The pillars of the earth"—are expressions in the scripture, metaphorically taken from a building, founded upon its proper basis and supported by pillars. So this little world of man, and this earthly edifice, is propt up and kept from falling (as it were) with these two pillars, food and sleep. The body likewise is often called a house, a temple, &c. which wants its proper pillars to support it: "our earthly house," 2 Corinth. 5. 1. Food is called the prop or pillar, in Horace *Sat.* 2. 3. 154: "Stomacho fultura ruenti." Where the reader at his leisure may consult the notes of Dr. Bentley.

Ni cibus atque
Ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti.

"Ingens fultura," a mighty prop, a mighty pillar. The very expression of Spenser.

lxvi. 2. UPTON. Alluding to Matt. 12. 40: "As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whales belly, so shall the son of man be three days and three

nights in the heart of the earth." . . . It may allude likewise to the time allowed for surveying, according to the sacred mysteries, the infernal regions, which was two nights and one day: And this time Spenser calls three days. See Plutarch, *de Genio Socratis*: and consult the commentators on Virgil, 6. 535.

5-9. SCHOENEICH (p. 51). Cf. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 3002:

I fare, my Lord, as other Emperesses,
That when this fraile and transitory flesh
Hath suckt the measure of that vitall aire
That feeds the body with his dated health
Wanes with enforst and necessary change.

CANTO VIII

i-ii. JORTIN. These are fine lines, and would not suffer by being compared with any thing that Milton has said upon this subject. [Cf. *P. L.* 3. 276-283; 4. 797 ff., 977.]

KITCHIN. This is perhaps the best-known and most beautiful passage in the *Faery Queene*. Mr. Keble quotes the second stanza in his ed. of Hooker's *Works*, *E. P.* 1. 4. 1, on the passage, "Desire to resemble him in goodness maketh them unweariable and even unsatiable in their longing to do by all means all manner good unto all the creatures of God, but especially unto the children of men."

W. J. COURTHOPE (*History of English Poetry* 2. 286-7). His ideas dwell in a kind of Limbo between the mediaeval and the modern world, invested with a mild, harmonious atmosphere, which imparts a certain effect of unity to the most incongruous objects. A sense of beauty, rarely equalled, enabled him to reconcile, as far as mere form is concerned, Catholic doctrine with Pagan philosophy, mediaeval romance with classical mythology. What can be more beautiful than the abrupt opening of the eighth canto of the second book after the fall of Sir Guyon, the Knight of Temperance?—[quotes 8. 1] and yet observe the description of the guardian angel sent to Guyon:—[quotes 8. 5].

If Spenser were to be regarded, in the first place, as a moral and religious teacher, this description would be a mistake; for who could believe in the reality of such an angel? But, on the other hand, who, having regard to Spenser's style, could wish anything to be altered? Poetry can never take the place of religion. But it can soothe and elevate the mind, as nothing else in the world can do, by depicting the idea of beauty, whether it be derived from the doctrines of Dionysius the Areopagite, or from a painting of Titian. "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever"; and that is the secret of the enduring life of the *Faery Queen*.

E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, pp. 29-31). The very passage which is usually invoked as proof of Spenser's high seriousness and earnest religious inspiration is the opening of the eighth canto of the Second Book of his *Fairy Queen*:

And is there care in Heaven? . . .

The first two stanzas are indeed beautiful. With a lyrical élan of great suggestive power, the poet praises God's bounty to men. God sends His angels to the

assistance of "these creatures base," of "wicked man," of his "wicked foe." The angels do their office "all for love, and nothing for reward."

O why should heavenly God to men have such regard?

The vision of the blessed angels who leave "their silver bowers" and cleave the flitting skies with golden pinions, "like flying Pursuivant," has a glory about it. But the passage loses much of its seriousness through irrelevancy. The supposed "wicked foe" of God happens to be, here, Sir Guyon, the champion of Temperance, who has just passed victoriously through the most awful ordeal. . . . He has proved a sage and a saint, withstanding Mammon's entreaties, as Christ withstood Satan's offers in the wilderness. If he faints as he regains the upper air, it is merely through bodily exhaustion. His soul has not wavered a single instant in its loyalty to virtue. He truly deserves a crown. What has he in common with the "creatures base" to whom God shows His infinite mercy by saving and rescuing them from their baseness? Such utter contradiction between the occasion and the lyrical outbursts of humble gratitude, imparts to the passage, in spite of its apparent sincerity, a falsetto note which cannot but spoil the effect for the truly serious reader.

i. 8-9. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Hebrews 1. 14.

ii. 5. UPTON. Us militant here on earth; here in our christian warfare. Arrian, *Dissert.* 3. 24: "militia quaedam est nostra vita." Job 7. 1: "Is there not a warfare to man upon earth?" To which St. Paul alludes, 2 Corinth. 10. 4: "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal."

6-7. TODD. The guardianship of angels is a favourite theme of Spenser and of Milton. It is difficult to pronounce which of them has decorated the subject with greater elegance and sensibility. Spenser probably might here remember the following lines of Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, ver. 121: ["Spirits they are by the will of mighty Zeus: good spirits, on earth, keepers of mortal men. . . ."]

7. EDITOR. Cf. 2 Kings 6. 16, 17. Also Mat. 4. 6: "He shall give his angels charge concerning thee."

9. UPTON cites Psalms 144. 3.

iii. 6-7. TODD. Browne has elegantly imitated this passage, *Brit. Past.*, Book 1, st. 5:

When sodainly a voice as sweet as cleare
With words divine began entice his eare.

v-vi. LEIGH HUNT (*Imagination and Fancy*, p. 88). The superhuman beauty of this angel should be Raphael's, yet the picture as a whole demands Titian; and the painter of Bacchus was not incapable of the most imaginative exaltation of countenance. As to the angel's body, no one could have painted it like him,—nor the beautiful jay's wings; not to mention the contrast between the Pilgrim's weeds and the knight's armor. See a picture of Venus blinding Cupid, beautifully engraved by Sir Robert Strange, in which Cupid has variegated wings.

v. JORTIN. Compare this with Milton's description of Raphael, *P. L.* 5. 277-285:

six wings he wore to shade
His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waste, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colours dipt in heaven; the third his feet
Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd maile
Sky-tinctur'd grain.

WARTON (2. 148). Milton, in his description of Satan under the form of a stripling-cherub, has highly improved upon Spenser's angel, and Tasso's Gabriel, *Ger. Lib.* 1. 13; both which he seems to have had in his eye, as well as in his Raphael.

E. DE SELINCOURT (*Oxford Spenser*, one vol. ed., p. lvii). The guardian angel who watches over the prostrate Sir Guyon after his fierce struggle with the temptations of Mammon, and evokes that superb expression of Christian humility and gratitude (8. 2. 9):

O why should heuenly God to men haue such regard?

appears to Spenser as a fair young man . . . like to Phoebus, or "to Cupido on Idaean hill." The pedant finds the comparison ludicrous, the more prosaic pietist finds it profane. To Spenser it was natural, almost inevitable. As Truth appealed to him in terms of beauty, so all beauty, whatever its source, could be brought to serve and to illuminate the highest truth.

8. UPTON. "Decked with diverse plumes," *Plumis versicoloribus*. Spenser plainly seems to me to have in view Tasso, 1. 13, 14, thus most elegantly translated by Fairfax:

A stripling seemes hee, thrice five winters old,
And radiant beames adorn'd his locks of gold.
Of silver wings he took a shining paire,
Fringed with gold; unwearied, nimble, swift;
With these he parts the winds, the clouds, the aire,
And over seas and earth himself doth lift:
Thus clad, he cut the spheares and circles faire,
And the pure skies with sacred feathers clift.
On Libanon at first his foot he set,
And shooke his wings with rosie may-dewes wet.

vi. SAWTELLE (p. 44). Cf. 9. 18. 34; 3. 6. 20 ff. In support of all these references, we cannot do better than quote from E. K.'s Glosse on *S. C. March*:

"Swaine," a boye: for so he is described of the Poetes to be a boye, s. alwayes freshe and lustie: blindfolded, because he maketh no differences of personages: wyth divers colored winges, s. ful of flying fancies: with bowe and arrow, that is, with glaunce of beautye, which prycketh as a forked arrowe. He is sayd also to have shafts, some leaden, some golden: that is, both pleasure for the gracious and loved, and sorrow for the lover that is disdayned or forsaken. But who lists more at

large to behold Cupids colours and furniture, let him reade ether Propertius, or Moschus, his *Idyllion* of "winged love," being now most excellently well translated into Latine by the singuler learned man, Angelus Politianus.

Of the four epigrams on Cupid, so in harmony with the later conceptions of him, the fourth will be recognized as an amplification of Theoc. *Idyl* 19; the second and third as translations of two epigrams by Clément Marot—*De Diane* and *De Cupido et de sa Dame*.

1. KITCHIN. The Idaeus Mons was a range in Phrygia, of very considerable extent. The only connection between it and Cupid is the tale of Paris, and the award of the apple of discord to Aphrodite.

6. UPTON. I have often observed how Spenser varies his mythological tales, and makes these always subservient to his poem. Another genealogy of the Graces is mentioned in *F. Q.* 6. 10. 22 according to Hesiod. Concerning this genealogy the reader may at his leisure consult Falkenberg, *ad Nonnum*, p. 539. And Boccace, 3. 22: "Dicunt Venerem Gratias peperisse: nec mirum; quis unquam amor absque gratia fuit?"

KITCHIN. While, according to the *Odyssey*, Hephaestos was the husband of Aphrodite, according to the *Iliad* he was the husband of Charis (or of Aglaia, one of the Charites). So that the relation was regarded as close, though the critics are right in saying that the Graces were not, classically speaking, the sisters of Cupid. Their names were Euphrosyne, Aglaia, Thalia, and they were counted to be the daughters of Zeus.

vii. 7. Cf. Lyndsay, *Testament of Papyngo* 509: "I nyll, for dreid that dolour you dissolfe"; and Henryson, *Orpheus and Eurydice* 552: "Keipit with dreid, and tynt with grit dolour."
—Note supplied by Louella Garner.

ix. 8. UPTON. Spenser plainly had in view the affecting simile of our Lord, Matt. 23. 37.

xi. 4-5. TODD. This description of the furious Atin is evidently drawn from the pure fountain of wisdom, Prov. 15. 18: "A wrathfull man stirreth up strife." Prov. 26. 21: "As coals are to burning coals, and wood to fire; so is a contentious man to kindle strife."

xiii. 5. E. C. HART (Arden ed. of Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI*, p. xxvii) cites Shakespeare's phrase, "and be immortalized," in *2 Henry VI* 1. 2. 148.

xiv. 7. KITCHIN. This is a travesty on Solon's famous dictum about "seeing the end" before you decide as to a man's happiness.

xv. 2. CHURCH. I. e. seeing that he died a natural death. This sense is suitable to the mind of the speaker.

7. WINSTANLEY. In the *Iliad* the armour of a knight was quite lawfully the spoil of the victor, but the custom of chivalry was different since it was considered disgraceful to rob the dead. In Malory's *Morte d'Arthure* he mentions, as the last horror of desolation, that the "robbers and pillers" come upon the field to "rob and pill" the noble knights who were slain.

xvi. 4-9. UPTON. The Sarazin threatens he will entomb him in the birds of the air: repeating and changing the terms which the Palmer used. . . . The horses of the dead knights were decked out with black trappings, and with their armour; and thus walked in solemn procession to the tomb, where their arms and knightly honours were hung up: hence he says, "tomb-black" . . . 'Tis a usual threat in Homer to give the carcasses of the enemy to the fowls of the air: and the same threat like wise of the proud Philistine makes in scripture [1 Samuel 17. 44: "I will give thy flesh unto the fowles of the aire"; David answered in the same vein, 1 Samuel 17. 46: "I will give the carkeises of the host of the Philistines this day unto the fowles of the aire. . . ."]].

8-9. JORTIN. Gorgias Leontinus called vulturs "living sepulchres," γύπες ἐμψυχοι τάφοι for which he incurred the indignation of Longinus; whether justly or no I shall not say.

There is a thought not very unlike it in Milton's *Samson Agonistes* [100-5], where Samson complaining of his blindness, says:

To live a life half dead, a living death,
And buried; but O yet more miserable!
My self, my sepulcher, a moving grave,
Buried, yet not exempt
By privilege of death and burial
From worst of other evils.

xvii. 5. KITCHIN. "An armed knight." Prince Arthur, who appears in each Book to shew his perfect knighthood by succouring the good and crushing the evil. His entry here is very skilfully managed. He comes in for a very critical adventure, and one worthy of his dignity, while he still leaves to Sir Guyon the real completion of the task round which the book centres, the taming of Acrasia. Similarly, in Bk. I., he delivers St. George from prison, and slays the giant Pride; but he leaves the Red Cross Knight to fight the dragon, and in his turn to fulfil the main purpose of the book, the triumph of truth.

xviii. 6. WINSTANLEY. In the epics of Ariosto and Tasso, "Saracens" are always among the chief opponents of the Christian knights. Chaucer's knight also had fought three times at "Tramyssene" (i. e. in North Africa), and always slain his foe (*Prologue*).

xx. UPTON. I would observe that the sword of Hannibal was enchanted, Silius Italicus, *Punica* 1. 429-431. Virgil comes nearer still to our poet's expressions [lines 8-9]; who describing the sword of Turnus, says, 'twas made by Vulcan for Daunus, the father of Turnus, and tinged hissing hot in the Stygian lake [*Aen.* 12. 90-1]:

Ensem quem Dauno ignipotens deus ipse parenti
Fecerat, et Stygia candentem tinxerat unda.

Valerius Flaccus likewise, [*Argonautica*] 7. 364, bears testimony to the virtues and efficacy of the Stygian waters,

Prima Hecate Stygiis duratam fontibus harpen
Intulit.

And this explains and illustrates Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 19. 84:

L'Usbergo suo di tempra era sì duro,
Che non li potean contra le percosse,
E per incanto al fuoco de l'inferno
Cotto e temprato a l' acqua fu d' Averno.

Merlin beside mixt the metal with "medaewart": i. e. with the "wort" or herb called "medica," concerning which see Virgil, *Georgics* 1. 215. Nothing is more usual in romance writers than to read of heroes made invulnerable by enchantments; and of swords, by more powerful inchanters so framed, as to prevail over even enchanted heroes. Don Quixote tells Sancho (3. 4) that he will endeavour to procure a sword, superior to all enchantments; fortune, he says, may provide him such a one as that of Amadis de Gaul, who named himself knight of the burning sword: which sword could cut asunder whatever it undertook, and could resist all inchantments. So Balisarda the sword of Ruggiero (Berni, *Orl. Inn.* 2. 17. 13):

Quel brando con tal tempra fabbricato,
Che taglia incanto ed ogni fatatura.

. . . This sword for its virtues was named "Mordure": it bit hard and sharp; from "mordre" to bite, and "dur," hard: "mordax ferrum," Horat., Bk. 4. *Od.* 6. 9, or from the Ital. "mordere," to bite or wound and "duramente," cruelly, hardly. From this very quality Orlando's sword had its name; and was called "Durenda," as Turpin writes in his history of Charles the Great, Chap. 21: "Durenda interpretatur Durus Ictus." Hence Boyardo and Ariosto have called their heroes sword, "Durlindana." I cannot help observing how designedly Spenser here omits to follow either that silly romance called the History of Prince Arthur, which gives a long and ridiculous account of his sword, Excalibur, i. e. cut steel: or even of Jeffrey of Monmouth, who says, his sword's name was Caliburn, Book 9, Canto 4. Compare Drayton's *Polyol.*, p. 61 however as 'tis certain Spenser had read both the romance of Prince Arthur, and Jeffrey of Monmouth's British history, so it is as certain that he altered many things, and made their stories submit to the oeconomy of his poem. The following citation from Jeffrey of Monmouth concerning Prince Arthur, might here not improperly be made; "Arthur having put on a coat of mail, suitable to the grandeur of so potent a king, fits his golden helmet upon his head, on which was engraved the figure of a dragon (see *F. Q.* 1. 7. 31.) and on his shoulder his shield called Priwen, upon which the picture of the blessed Mary mother of God being drawn, put him frequently in mind of her. Then girding on his Caliburn, which was an excellent sword, made in the isle of Avallon, he graced his right hand with his lance, named Ron, which was hard, broad and fit for slaughter" (Jeff. of Mon., Book 9, Chap. 4).

5. WINSTANLEY. We may compare it (Medaewart) with the Haemony in *Comus* (638):

He called it Haemony, and gave it me,
And bade me keep it as of sovran use
'Gainst all enchantments, mildew blast or damp.

xxiv. 3. WINSTANLEY. "her fatall date." Her destined date. Spenser seems to have been a believer in predestination. We may compare (*F. Q.* 1. 9. 42):

Their times in his eternall booke of fate
Are written sure, and have their certeine date.

EDITOR. Spenser's reference is, more likely, to the classical fates than to the Presbyterian doctrine.

xxviii. 1-3. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Job 9. 33.

xxix. 3. KITCHIN. "Nephewes sonne." I. e. great-grandson. A rendering of the phrase in the second commandment, "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me," Exod. 20. 5.

xxx. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Pyrochles strikes full at Arthur's crest with Morddure, hoping to cleave his head: the good sword swerves aside from its master and leaves him unhurt. In *Orl. Fur.* 41. 95-6, Gradasso strikes full at Orlando's head with Durindana: the sword does not swerve aside from its master; it is true to Gradasso's aim; only Orlando's invulnerability saves him. The parallel is suggestive. Pyrochles acquired Morddure from Archimago, who stole it for Braggadochio: Gradasso acquired Durindana from Mandricardo, who virtually stole it.

4. UPTON. Presently after, 33. 3, "By Mahoune." These are oaths of impious Sarazins: "By Termagaunt and Mahoune." So in Chaucer's rhyme of Sir Thopas, 3318, The Giant swears "by Termagaunt." And in Tasso, 1. 80: "La grande e forte in Macometto crede." Which Fairfax translates, "On Termagant the more, and on Mahowne." And thus Spenser joins these two names, *F. Q.* 6. 7. 47: "And oftentimes by Termagant and Mahoune swore." So in the Italian poets: Berni, *Orl. Inn.* 2. 7. 70: "Con Trivigante, Apollino, e Macone"; Book 2, Canto 16, Stanza 57: "Che la fe di Macone e Trivigante. And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 12. 59.

KITCHIN. It is said that the Christians in the Middle Ages thought (among endless misconceptions) that Termagaunt was a Saracenic deity. The origin of the term is unknown. "Ter magnus," a Latin Trismegistus, is suggested, but is mere conjecture. Others propose the A. S. "tyr," used as a prefix, denoting "very," "exceedingly," and "mægan," "main" strength, and so make it [equal] the very powerful one. The name "Trivigant" seems the most probable origin of the word. It is possible that the latter part of the word, "-magaunt," may conceal the name of "Mahound," or Mahomet; if so, it is simply the invocation of the Prophet. The word has now come to mean only a scolding woman. "Curmudgeon" is probably the same word; the male grumbler, answering to the female shrew.

WINSTANLEY. Cf. *Hamlet* 3. 2 for Shakespeare's use of Termagaunt.

xxxi. 6-7. SCHOENEICH (p. 19). Cf. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 678:

Thou breakst the law of Armes, vnlesse thou kneele,
And cry me "mercie, noble King!"

xxxiv. 2. WINSTANLEY. The spear was the weapon for horseback, but the sword for those who were dismounted.

xxxv. 7. TODD. I have observed, in another place, that Milton probably remembered Dante's "Sta, come torre ferma," *Purgat.* 5. 14, when he said that Satan "stood like a tower," *P. L.* 1. 591. Spenser's simile, in the present passage, might not have been forgotten; although indeed Milton has drawn a picture, unrivalled and proudly eminent.

xxxvii. 9. TODD. Spenser was probably thinking of some of the representations in *The Dance of Death*, which thus paint the tyrant behind the man. See also the poet's allusion to the same description, *Shep. Cal.*, Nov.

xxxviii. 3. See notes on 1. 2. 18.

xl. 7-8. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Hosea 13. 8.

xl. 11. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Cf. *Orl. Fur.* 18. 19.

KITCHIN. This illustration is drawn from the national bull-baitings. The opening of it is like the opening of a passage in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 11. 42, "Come toro selvatico, ch'al corno," &c.

xl. 3. UPTON. The impression made by the sword, or force with which he stroke, deceived him; for it did not wound its true master, see St. 21.

5-9. UPTON. The Sarazin's flinging away his sword and leaping upon prince Arthur, is not unlike what Homer writes of Menelaus thus seizing on Paris, *Il.* 3. 369: ["he leapt upon him and caught him by his horse-hair crest."] Compare likewise the combat between Tancred and Argante, Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 19. 17.

1. 1-4. JORTIN. Ovid, *Met.* 6. 516-8:

Non aliter, quam cum pedibus praedator obuncis
Deposuit nido leporem Jovis ales in alto:
Nulla fuga est capto: spectat sua praemia raptor.

Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 721-4:

Quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
Consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam,
Comprensamque tenet, pedibusque eviscerat uncis:
Tum cruor, & volsae labuntur ab aethere plumae.

See a beautiful Fable in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 203 ff.: ["Thus spake the hawk to the nightingale of speckled neck as he bore her far aloft to the clouds in the clutch of his talons. . . ."]

lii. 2. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 12. 932: "Utere sorte tua."

UPTON. Sidney's *Arcadia* [10th ed.], p. 270: "The young knight, disdaining to buy life with yielding, bad him use his fortune; for he was resolved never to yield." Compare the duel between Tancred and Argante, where the Pagan has the same expression, Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 19. 22: "Usa la sorte tua, che nulla io temo." See also Sil. Ital., *Punica* 15. 804:

Contra Sidonius, leto non terreor ullo,
Utere Marte tuo.

liii. 7. UPTON. Sir Guyon does not say, "Sir," but "deare Sir": yet the boatman (12. 18) addressing the Palmer, says, "Sir Palmer." See Menage in "Sire": the word originally is the same, whether written "Sir" or "Sire"; yet it may admit of a doubt, whether Spenser did not intend to distinguish this reverend Palmer, from the knights, by the address of "Sire," and not "Sir": for this reverend Palmer, in the historical view of this poem, alludes (perhaps) to archbishop Whitgift, formerly tutor of the Earl of Essex, imaged in Sir Guyon.

lv. 3. CHURCH cites *P. L.* 3. 736: "and Satan bowing low"; and 5. 358-361: "Adam . . . bowing low."

TODD. I may add an earlier testimony of Milton's attention to it in his *Arcades*, ver. 37:

Whom with low reverence I adore as mine.

lvi. 1. KITCHIN. "the Infant." Prince Arthur is again so called in 6. 8. 25. "In our early poetry applied to the son of a king."—Richardson. But he gives no instance of this except from Spenser. It is most probable that Spenser adopted the term from the "Infant of Spain"—a title which must have been familiar in his day.

EDITOR. The *NED* cites only Spenser and Fairfax's translation of Tasso (1600).

CANTO IX

HUGHES (1. lxxxi-lxxxii). I cannot think the Poet so successful in his Description of the House of Temperance; in which the Allegory seems to be debas'd by a mixture of too many low Images, as Diet, Concoction, Digestion, and the like; which are represented as Persons. But the Allegorical Description of Memory, which follows soon after, is very good. [See Appendix to Book 1, "On the Propriety of the Allegory."]

M. HOFFMAN (*Über die Allegorie in Spensers "Faerie Queene,"* p. 15 and n. 13) observes that the man striving for the virtue of self-control must first hold contemplation in his heart in order to recognize how the body and soul are one in their mysterious interunion, that neither can sin without harming the other. He thinks that Spenser intends to point this out by Guyon's residence in the House of Alma. Later (p. 17) Hoffman takes the contradictory view that Cantos 9 and 11 are purely allegorical without standing in too narrow a connection with the main theme; and (p. 20) that the unity of the whole is disturbed by the fact that single cantos, namely 10, 11, and in part 9, stand in absolutely no connection with the particular hero of the legend, Sir Guyon. See Appendix, "The Structure."

ANON. (*Edinburgh Review* 161. 149-150). The secret of human happiness, according to Spenser, is self-control, especially in the use of lawful things. It is that dignity in which man was created, and that belongs not to his spirit alone, but to its earthly tabernacle also, which, far more than any servile fear, binds him over to resist all to which that dignity is opposed. The mandates of conscience constitute the true glory and beauty of the world we inhabit. They are "exceedingly broad"; and only in proportion as he rejoices in them while he obeys them, does man possess the "freedom of the city" in which he dwells.

Lives ruled by these radiant and benignant laws advance through boundless spaces in security as well as swiftness, like the planets which move without collision through the heavenly regions because they are faithful to their prescribed orbits; while lawless lives break themselves against unseen obstacles, and fall helpless. This is the doctrine illustrated by the ninth canto of the second legend which describes the House of Temperance.

G. GLASENAPP (*Zur Vorgeschichte der Allegorie in Edmund Spensers "Faerie Queene,"* p. 53). Es ist schon bei der Behandlung der moralischen Allegorien Spensers darauf hingewiesen worden, dass die Verteilung der Hofämter im Schlosse der Alma sehr derjenigen im *Pastime of Pleasure* von Stephen Hawes ähnelt. Dass Spenser dieses Werk gekannt hat, findet einen weiteren Beleg darin, dass Almas Berater, Phantastes, Eumnestes (mit Anamnestes als Helfer) und der unbenannte Dritte als Hüter der scholastischen Gelehrsamkeit in einem festen Turme wohnen, wie die Allegorieen der septem artium liberalium bei Hawes im Tower of Doctrine hausen.

Es ist das letzte Mal in der englischen Literatur, dass die alte scholastische Weisheit gefeiert wird. Gower hatte im 7. Buche der "Confessio Amantis" sie zum ersten Male dargestellt. Der "Hof der Weisheit" und Hawes' Werk hatten diese Richtung fortgeführt, zum Schluss erscheint sie bei Spenser.

FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*) finds in this canto some of the structural elements characteristic of the court of love. The setting may be in nature, as in canto 12, or indoors, in temple, palace, or castle. An account of the indoor setting includes: (a) General description, (b) Entrance, (c) Interior ornamentation: paintings on the walls, (d) Altar or other special feature. Within these settings are found the following types of characters:

1. A presiding deity or personage: (a) Venus, (b) Cupid, or (c) Some other mythical or allegorical figure.
2. The retinue or company of attendants, courtiers, suppliants, worshippers, or visitants: (a) Persons—including mythological and legendary characters, (b) Personifications.

Evidence of the court of love influence, on both setting and characters, is given in the notes below.

CORY (p. 133). In canto nine the narrative movement is quite becalmed and we are made to pause over one of the most ingenious and absurd pieces of elaborate allegory in *The Faerie Queene*. [See notes on 3. 13 ff.]

[See Appendices, "Alanus de Insulis," "The Castle of the Body," "Elizabethan Psychology," and "Structure."]

i. WINSTANLEY. The substance of this stanza should be specially noted. It expresses the intense reverence and admiration felt by the men of the Renaissance for the human body and all its powers. The idea that the body is noble when the soul governs the baser passions is found both in Plato and in Aristotle. [Cf. also *Hamlet* 2. 2. 310-5.]

ii. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Arthur, like Orlando, wins back his sword in open combat, *Orl. Fur.* 41, 42.

9. CHURCH. Mr. Thyer observes that Milton (*P. L.* 1. 529) has here copied Spenser:

... but he his wonted pride
 Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
 Semblance of worth not substance, gently rais'd
 Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears.

iv. WINSTANLEY. Spenser's expression of reverence for Queen Elizabeth should be taken quite seriously. To the men of his day she was the heroine who inspired the great spirit of England, and she was also the champion and representative of the Protestant faith.

vi. 6-9. UPTON. "The Knights of Maydenhead," are the knights in Fairy land; alluding to the knights of the round table, instituted (as said) by Arthur; and likewise to the Knights of the Garter: but particularly alluding to the Knights of the Garter in the court of queen Elizabeth. Arthegall and Sophy, are mentioned here, by the bye, to raise a curiosity of further inquiry in the reader; which curiosity he intended to answer hereafter: Arthegall, we shall read of often; and Sophy I make no doubt was intended to be the hero of some other book in this poem: he was the son of king Gulicke of Northwales (Drayton's *Polyolb.*, Song 24):

So Cambria had such too, as famous were abroad,
 Sophy, king Gulick's sonne of Northwales, who had seene
 The sepulchre three times, and more, seven times had been
 On pilgrimage at Rome, of Beniventum there
 The painful bishop made.

KITCHIN. We may conjecture from the name [Sophy] that the book would have treated the struggle between Wisdom (*σοφία*) and Folly.

EDITOR. Sir James Ware in his preface to Spenser's *View*, 1633, is the authority for the loss of the later books of the *Faerie Queene*. He says, sig. ¶³:

... There [at Kilcolman] he finished the later part of that excellent poem of his *Faery Queene*, which was soone after unfortunately lost by the disorder and abuse of his servant, whom he had sent before him into England. . . .

Cf. Carpenter, pp. 125-9.

6. KITCHIN. The Order of the Garter may here be signified: but Spenser probably only meant that all who entered the Queen's service became champions of her purity.

vii. KITCHIN. There are two movements throughout the *Faery Queene*: (1) that of the several knights, the servants of the Queen, fulfilling each his own task of resisting some force of malignant evil; and (2) that of Prince Arthur, who is gradually and very skilfully displayed before us, as the Briton Prince in search for Gloriana, whom he had seen in a vision only. This latter movement forms the undercurrent, but was doubtless designed to become more and more clear as the action of the poem proceeded.

5-6. UPTON. This expression of the sun walking round about the world with his lamp-burning light, is taken from Virg. 4. 6: "Postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras." [See *Epith.* 375.]

5. CHURCH. The Reader will please to take notice that Spenser always speaks of the heavenly Bodies according to the System of Ptolemy, who supposed the Sun to revolve round the Earth in the space of a year.

viii. 1. UPTON. Seneca, *Herc. Fur.*, ver. 523:

O Fortuna, viris invida fortibus,
Quam non aequa bonis praemia dividis!

Statius, *Theb.* 10. 384:

Invida Fata piis, et Fors ingentibus ausis
Rara comes.

Sidney's *Arcadia* [10th ed.], p. 102: "Lady, how falls it out that you, in whom all virtue shines, will take the patronage of Fortune, the only rebellious handmaid against virtue."

TODD. Probably there may be here an allusion also to a popular ballad, entitled *Fortune my foe*; to which Shakspeare has certainly alluded in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and of which Mr. Malone has printed, in a note on the passage, the first stanza, Act 3, Scene 3. This ballad is mentioned in Chettle's *Kind hearts dreame*, 1592; and is hinted at in Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters*, of the same date. The old ballad of "The most cruel Murther of Edw. V." is directed to be sung to the tune of *Fortune my foe*. Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, thus also affords a proper comment on Spenser's verse, where he speaks of "the brave Raleigh": "Those that he relyed on, began to take this his suddain favour for an allarum, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his, which made him shortly after sing, *Fortune my foe*. . . ."

x. 7. UPTON. Sir Guyon's horse was stolen, and he does not say how he got another. "Their" must include Sir Guyon, as well as Prince Arthur and his Squire. There are some few, in this poem, of these kind of inaccuracies, if passing over little circumstances may be so called. And perhaps the mentioning them may appear as trifling, as the inaccuracies themselves.

xi-xv. M. M. GRAY (*RES* 6. 414-5). In so far as this poem was a tale of knight errantry, Spenser followed in the main the example of Malory and of the mediaeval romance writers, but into the adventures of the knights he introduces a new kind, almost a direct transcript from the life and warfare of the English army in Ireland. In his prose tract, the *View of the State of Ireland*, he gives a description of the native Irish, their appearance, dress, customs and methods of warfare, and some passages and incidents in the *Faerie Queene* give almost the same descriptions in verse. Thus he describes in prose how they live in the mountains, and their dwellings are a harbourage for outlaws which "live upon stealths and spoils" (Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, Ware, p. 82). Of their warfare he writes, "For it is well known he is a flying enemy hiding himself in woods and bogs, from whence he will not draw forth but into some strait passage or perilous ford, where he knows the army must needs pass, there will he lie in wait, and if he find advantage fit, will dangerously hazard the troubled soldier" (*ibid.*, p. 157), and of their methods of attack, "their confused marching in heaps without any order

or array, their clashing of their swords together with their fierce running upon their enemies" (*ibid.*, p. 96). Their battle-cry, Spenser says, resembles that of the Scythians "who come running with a terrible yell as if heaven and earth would have gone together, which is the very image of the Irish hubbub which their kernes use at the first encounter" (*ibid.*, p. 90). They carry "short bows with little quivers with short-headed arrows" (*ibid.*, p. 95). In appearance and dress they are displeasing to Spenser—"the wearing of mantles and long glibs which is a thick curled bush of hair hanging down over their eyes and monstrously disguising them" (*ibid.*, p. 84), he "pulleth it so low down over his eyes that it is very hard to discern his thievish countenance" (*ibid.*, p. 90). His mantle is serviceable "for in his war that he maketh when he still flyeth from his foe and lurketh in thick woods and strait passages, it is his bed and almost his household stuff . . . therein he wrappeth himself strongly against the gnats which in that country do more annoy the naked rebels whilst they keep the woods and do more sharply wound them than all their enemies' swords or spears which can seldom come nigh them" (*ibid.*, p. 87). This kind of enemy supplied Spenser with new material for his romance. Neither Malory nor any of his predecessors in romance provide a precedent for the type of episode in which hordes of savages rush out of the mountains and forests to attack one or two knights, to lay siege to a castle, or to fall upon a peaceful community, robbing, destroying and carrying off prisoners. In mediaeval romance the knight rarely encounters the "rascal many"; he may meet a solitary churl, a wood-cutter or charcoal-burner. They show a proper respect for their superiors—if not, they receive short shrift, like the carter who refused to act as guide to Sir Lancelot and "Sir Lancelot leapt to him and gave him such a buffet that he fell to earth stark dead." In the *Faerie Queene* we find the new kind of incident in the assault on the "House of Temperance." Here in poetry we find what Spenser described in prose many years later; and, as if to leave no doubt in the reader's mind, the scene is completed by the simile of the gnats in the Fens of Allen, a simile always pointed out as the first allusion to Ireland in the *Faerie Queene*. If the preceding stanzas do not contain allusions to Ireland, they give a very lively picture of how the Irish rebels impressed the English Government officials. They knew, as did the dwellers in the House of Temperance, that (9. 12. 6)

thousand enemies about us rave,

and their enemies looked the same [st. 13 quoted]. Just such a horde came down on Kilcolman in 1598, but with more success. [See notes by KITCHIN and WINSTANLEY on st. 13 below.]

C. S. LEWIS (*RES* 7. 84-5). If it were necessary at this time of day to prove Spenser's familiarity with Boiardo, a single quotation would suffice.

F. Q. 3. 3. 26:

But that he by an Elfe was gotten of a Fay.

Orl. Inn. 3. 2. 46:

Che d'una fata nacque e d'un folletto.

In such an allowed matter, however, it will save time to proceed at once to those scenes of attack by a "rabble" which are in question.

Orl. Inn. 2. 19. 16 ff., Brandimarte, journeying unarmed with Fiordelisa, hears a robber's scout summoning his companions and is forced to fly until he finds a dead king in the forest, whose sword he takes. After that—

Il manto si rivolse al braccio manco
E con la spada i malandrini affronta.
Mai non fu campion cotanto franco.
Questo tocca di taglio e quel di punta,
A l'un il petto, a l'altro passa il fianco:
Or che bisogna che più vi racconta?
Tutti i ladroni uccise in poco d'ora,
Si ben col brando intorno li lavora.

There is no question here of a "parallel passage" in the strict sense; but we have clearly a combat of the same *kind* as that between the knights and "villeins" in *F. Q.* 2. 9. 14, when—

Those Champions broke on them that forst them fly, etc.

Slightly closer to Spenser's

Thus as he spoke, loe! with outrageous cry
A thousand villeins round about them swarm'd
Out of the rockes and caves adjoining nye

is the passage in which the same Brandimarte—who has particularly bad luck in the matter of robbers—is attacked in *Orl. Inn.* 2. 26. 53.

Ragionava in tal modo Doristella
Ed altre cose assai volea seguire
Chè non era compita sua novella,
Quando vide d'un bosco gente uscire,
Ch'è parte a piedi e parte in su la sella;
Tutti erano ladroni a non mentire.

. . . I have already said that I am not trying to refute Mr. Gray's thesis. The differences between Spenser and Boiardo in these passages are as important as the similarities, and those differences can well be explained as the product of Spenser's Irish experiences. My own concern in the matter is to combat the idea that "Malory and his predecessors" are the main source of Spenser's episodes. Is it not rather a canon of Spenserian *Quellenforschung*: "Never look further for the source of a passage until you have satisfied yourself that it does not come out of the Italian epics"? [See Appendix, "Italian Romances."]

xi. 4. TODD. See *F. Q.* 1. 8. 3, where the bugle horn breaks the enchantment as a single blast. Concerning other uses, to which the bugle horn was applied, I refer the reader to Mr. Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, 4to. Dublin, 1786, pp. 85, 86; but I will not omit his judicious observations on what concerns the application of it in the present sense. "Sometimes we discover it, in the Gothic romances, hanging over the entrance of castles, on the blowing of which by an hasty courier, or a wandering knight, the porter appears at the battlements, and inquires, whence the stranger—his errand—and the nature of the

business.—May we not suppose, that the bugle horn was sometimes suspended over the entrances of those stately castles which are now 'nodding to their fall' in many parts of this kingdom (i. e. Ireland)? For the fictions of romantick chivalry have, for their basis, the real manners of the feudal times; and such times undoubtedly there were in Ireland."

xii. 8. UPTON. See the 1st stanza, where the poet opens the allegory: nor has the reader any occasion to be put in mind, that this castle is the human body, and Alma the mind; and that this miscreated troop of besiegers are vain conceits, idle imaginations, foul desires, &c. Compare with *Orl. Fur.* 6. 59. Or rather with Plato *de Repub.* Lib. 8 where he mentions the perturbed affections seizing on the citadel of the youthful soul, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκρόπολιν, Alma's castle, or strong hold.—He says seven years, perhaps, in allusion to the seven ages of the world. 1st age, from Adam to Noah. 2d, to Abraham. 3d, from Abraham to the departure of Israel out of Aegypt. 4th, to the building of the temple. 5th, to the captivity of Babylon. 6th, to the birth of our Saviour. 7th, from the birth of our Saviour to the end of the world. Or perhaps the number "seven" has a particular reference to the various stages of man's life. Consult Censorinus, *de die natali.* cap. 7. and cap. 14. And likewise Macrobi., in *Somn. Scip.* 1. 6:

Hic denique numerus [*septenarius*] est qui hominem concipi, formari, edi, vivere, ali, ac per omnes aetatum gradus tradi senectae atque omnino constare facit.

. . . This whole chapter of Macrobius should be read over, to understand well this Canto of Spenser: for our poet plainly had it in view, as well as the *Timaëus* of Plato. [For Spenser's use of the number seven see Osgood's *Concordance*.]

WINSTANLEY. Cf. Shakespeare, *As You Like It* 2. 7.

xiii. KITCHIN. These are the evil desires, vices, temptations, which beset man's moral nature. There is also a bye allusion to the outbreaks of the "villenage," jacquerie, &c., who with rude assault, and weapons of the field, attacked the feudal castles; possibly also a slight allusion to the wild Irish, of whom Spenser was presently to have such sad experiences. As, in Spenser's mind, the castle and its lord represented knowledge, virtue, civilization, the part of the gentleman; so the rude clown and serfs represented ignorance, brutality, the ungentle character. We must not forget that Spenser despised the "raskall rout," and had no sympathy for any but the gentleman-class.

WINSTANLEY. This reminds us of the description of the unhappy Irish as given by Spenser himself. He says that the winter is the best time for making war upon Ireland: "then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to clothe and house the kearne; the ground is cold and wet which useth to be his bedding; the air is sharp and bitter which useth to blowe through his naked sides and legs; the kine are barren and without milk which useth to be his only food" (*View of the Present State of Ireland* [Globe ed., pp. 652-3]).

6-7. JORTIN. Statius, *Theb.* 4. 64:

Pars gesa manu, pars robora flammis
Indurata diu.

Q. Curtius, *Historiae* 3. 2: "Invicta bello manus, fundis, credo, & hastis igne duratis repellentur." Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 523:

Non jam certamine agresti,
Stipitibus duris agitur, sudibusve praeustis.

Arrian, *Indic.* 24. 3: ["They carried thick lances, about six cubits long. They were not iron all the way, but the point hardened in fire took the place of it."]

7. WARTON (2. 61) cites the use of "rustie knife" in *F. Q.* 1. 4. 35; 1. 9. 36; 2. 4. 44. He continues: "The steeds of Night are described champing 'their rustie bits,' *F. Q.* 1. 5. 20. The word 'rustie' seems to have conveyed the idea of somewhat very loathsome and horrible to our authour. In *Virgil's Gnat*, he applies it to 'Horror,' st. 56."

xv. 4. TODD. "raskall routs." This expression appears to have been common for a mob of the lowest kind. Thus, in *The First Part of K. Edw. IV.* 4to. bl. l. 1600:

We do not rise like Tiler, Cade, and Straw,
Blewbeard; and other of that rascall route,
Basely like tinkers, &c.

8. WINSTANLEY. "their idle shades." Because desires and temptations, when they are stoutly resisted, fade away. But we may also compare it with what Spenser says of the Irish: "They looked like anatomyes of death, they spake like ghostes crying out of theyr graves."

xvi. KITCHIN cites *Il.* 2. 469.

2. KITCHIN. An Irish experience of the poet. The "Bog of Allen" is the general name for a set of turbaries, spread over a wide surface, across the centre of the country, from Wicklow Head to Galway, and from Howth Head to Sligo, all on the east bank of the Shannon. [See Appendix, "Date of Composition."]

xviii ff. CHURCH. Mr. Prior's Poem called "Alma or the Progress of the Mind," probably took its rise from this Canto.

FOWLER (pp. 73, 75-6). We turn now to Spenser's adaptations of the court of love queen to the purposes of moral allegory. . . . Alma, the great lady of the House of Temperance, is represented as a virgin fresh and fair, who has been wooed by many a lord but who has "not yet felt Cupides wanton rage." She is apparelled in a white robe ornamented with gold and pearls, and her long train is borne by two damsels. She has yellow hair and wears a rose-garland. She graciously receives and entertains her guests, proving herself both wise and liberal. She shows the knights through her castle. Many of these traits are clearly reminiscent of the presiding personages in the courts of love. Venus is pictured with golden hair (cf. Boccaccio, *La Teseide* 7. 65 and Chaucer, *Parlement of Foules* 5. 267), and the rose is sacred to her (cf. Sawtelle, *The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology*, p. 122). A chaplet of roses is worn by Mirth in the *Romaunt of the Rose*. An interesting parallel is found in Breton's *Fort of Fancie* (printed

1577-82). There is, first of all, a fundamental resemblance in the allegory. As Alma, the soul, governs her castle, the body, so Fancie, a noble lady, rules her fort or castle, the head or brain.

J. L. LOWES (*PMLA* 29. 447, n. 39) suggests that Spenser may have drawn at least the name "Alma" from the "Alme" of Gower's *Mirour de L'Omme*. Not only is Alme (naturally enough) the central figure in the contest of the Vices and the Virtues, but her castle is again and again described in terms which Spenser's account (both of the House of Alma and of the attack on it) recalls. See especially 11. 11281 ff., 11797 ff., 14125 ff., 14712 ff., 16309 ff., 16375 ff.

xxi ff. LOWELL (*North Am. Rev.* 120. 375). As Bunyan rises not seldom to a natural poetry, so Spenser sinks now and then, through the fault of his topics, to unmistakable prose. Take his description of the House of Alma, for instance [passage quoted]. And so on through all the organs of the body. The author of *Ecclesiastes* understood these matters better in that last pathetic chapter of his, blunderingly translated as it apparently is. This, I admit, is the worst failure of Spenser in this kind; though, even here, when he gets on to the organs of the mind, the enchantments of his fancy and style come to the rescue and put us in good-humor again, hard as it is to conceive of armed knights entering the chamber of the mind, and talking with such visionary damsels as Ambition and Shamefastness. Nay, even in the most prosy parts, unless my partiality deceive me, there is an infantile confidence in the magical powers of Prosopopoeia which half beguiles us, as of children who play that everything is something else, and are quite satisfied with the transformation.

A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, p. 169). In the general conception and in many details of description and phraseology there is a striking resemblance of the "House of Alma" to DuBartas' *Prem. Semaine*. [See detailed notes below, and Appendix, "Sources."]

CORY (p. 134). The prevailing trouble with many critics who are so constantly denying to Spenser the gift of realism is that they are incapable of feeling the appropriateness of the allegory and, at the same time, realizing that Spenser often turned to contemporary life in its full vigor and complexity for the models of these same allegorical figures. There is an art in these apparently contradictory processes that must be rightly felt before one can hope fully to appreciate *The Faerie Queene*. On the other hand Spenser occasionally drifts into the over-elaborate, the over-ingenious as in the physiological allegory which follows, which is even more mechanical than all its innumerable quaint and starched medieval sources. What were Spenser's direct sources here we shall probably never discover and prove. We may be sure that they were many and that his individuality was great. Of the myriads of books on this subject we can only list a few which are among those more likely to have influenced him directly. Bishop Grosseteste's *Château d'Amour* or *Castel of Love* is the body of Mary into which Christ enters. The castle of Inwyt in *Piers Plowman* is a very plausible source of suggestion. Spenser may have seen *King Hart* by Gavin Douglas in which the hero lives in an elaborate physiological castle. Stephen Hawes in his *Passetyme of Pleasure*, chap. 24, has a similar classification of wits and senses, though he

does not allegorize them. In Lydgate's castle of Virtue in his *Assembly of Gods* there are five posterns like Spenser's five bulwarks of the senses. It all goes back, of course, to Prudentius and Bernard of Clairvaux and a jungle of churchmen who doubtless elaborated texts from the Bible in their characteristic allegorical manner going, perhaps, especially to *The Wisdom of Solomon*. [See note on 23 ff. and Appendix, "The Castle of the Body."]

E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, pp. 71-2). Yet the great champions of the *Fairy Queen* are not the only, are not even the extreme examples of Spenser's mediaevalism. His poem teems with pure abstractions which do not even wear the transparent disguise of a chivalric costume. The House of Holiness, the House of Pride, the House of Care, and many others, are mere allegorical symbols for the ideas which Spenser meant to impart to the reader. For all these structures and their inmates he seems to claim as real an existence as for the other scenes of his romance and his Arthurian characters. We may take for example his House of Temperance, one of the most elaborate allegorical structures erected by him in the Land of Fairy. . . .

. . . All the description is quaint, touched with the naïve and even childish. It is true that when exploring the mysteries of the brain, where the imagination takes rise in the front chamber, whereas in the back all we find is Memory, sitting at his desk—an old man, that is, in a library full of the records of ancient times—it is true that then the great poet asserts himself by degrees. He now gives expression to his sense of wonder before the enigma of the human mind. He has forgotten his trite moral theme of temperance.

But the foundation of the whole edifice is strangely mediaeval. It really belongs to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, before Chaucer. It seems almost incredible that it should have been thus patiently built up in the age of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Bacon.

EDITOR. It does not seem to occur to these serious critics that Spenser, like many of his talent, may sometimes wish to amuse himself—and others—with a bit of curious workmanship. Further, the contemporary popularity of the canto and the number of Elizabethan analogues bear witness that the "medieval foundation" was still understood and enjoyed. See the notes to this canto, and Appendices, "Elizabethan Psychology," and "The Structure."

EDWIN GREENLAW (*SP* 14. 212 n). Spenser describes the house of Alma in a passage owing much to Plato's *Republic* 8, but also deriving elements from other Platonic passages and welded into allegorical story by use of a familiar romance situation, the Castle of Maidens in the *Perceval* and *Galahad* cycles.

E. DE SELINCOURT (*Oxford Spenser*, one vol. ed., pp. lv-lvi). And even where the allegorical form is least spontaneous and most nearly dead, Spenser's imagination breathes life into what seems doomed to be formal and mechanic. The ingenious symbolism of the Castle of Alma might well have been borrowed from the driest scholasticism, and in the description of its lower regions, where the maister cooke Decoction officiates with the kitchen clerke Digestion, Spenser's art sinks to its lowest. Yet even within these antiquated walls we meet with vividly real people. Like Sir Guyon, we are drawn to that strangely shy maiden, dressed in her thickly folded robe of blue. We watch the flashing blood inflame her lovely

face as Guyon addresses her, and the human appeal of the scene is not lessened when Alma reveals its ideal significance (2. 9. 43):

Why wonder yee
Faire sir at that, which ye so much embrace?
She is the fontaine of your modestee;
You shamefast are, but Shamefastnesse it selfe is shee.

The ideal conception of modesty is bodied forth in the lady, the human quality of modesty is the very essence of Guyon's personality. The two meet for one vivid moment in the spacious halls of Alma, the Soul. And the larger world in which they meet is the ideal world of Spenser's imagination.

xxi. UPTON. But let us attend to the allegory. Xenophon, *Com.* 1. 4. 11: ["Who in the first place gave to man alone of living creatures his erect posture, enabling him to see farther in front of him and to contemplate more freely the height above . . ."—translation of H. G. Dakyns]. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* 2. 56: "Quae primum eos humo excitatos celso et erectos constituit, ut deorum cognitionem caelum intuentes, capere possent." Ovid, *Met.* 1. 85:

Os homini sublime dedit, caelumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

Milton, *P. L.* 4. 288:

Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall,
Godlike erect, with native honour clad.

A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 168-170). The first approach to Alma's castle strongly suggests this passage from Du Bartas, even to the detail of the "slimy" earth (*Prem. Semaine*, ed. 1583, pp. 377 ff.):

O Pere, tout ainsi qu'il te pleut de former
De la marine humeur les hostes de la mer:
De mesme tu formas d'une terrestre masse
Des fragiles humains la limonneuse race,
A fin que chasque corps forgé nouvellement
Eust quelque sympathie avec son element.
.
Mais tu logeas encor l'humain entendement
En l'estage plus haut de ce beau bastiment:
A fin que tout ainsi que d'une citadelle
Il domptast la fureur du corps, qui se rebelle
Trop souvent contre luy, & que nostre raison,
Tenant dans un tel fort jour et nuit garnison,
Foulust dessous ses pieds l'envie, la cholere,
L'avarice, l'orgueil, & tout ce populaire,
Qui veut, sediteux, tousjours donner la loy
A celuy qu'il te pleut leur ordonner pour Roy.

4-6. JORTIN. That is, like to "bitumen," which why he calls Aegyptian slime I can't conceive. He might have said: "like to that Assyrian slime."

UPTON. The slime used for cement to the bricks, with which Baby-

lon was built, was a kind of bitumen or pitchy substance, brought from the neighbourhood of Babylon: whether he calls it Aegyptian, Asphaltic or Assyrian slime, it differs not: for even historians confound neighbouring nations, much more so poets. Assyrians, Medes and Persians, are frequently confounded: all the northern countries are used promiscuously; Germans, Celts, Gauls, &c. . . .

He says, of thing like to Aegyptian or Assyrian slime, was built this edifice of man; but dust it was originally, and to dust it will return again. In the book of Wisdom 9. 15. the body is called an "earthly tabernacle." Compare 2 Corinth. 5. 1. If we turn to the poets, we shall find that man was made by mixing water and earth; or as Spenser calls it, by "a slime": ["to mingle earth with water"] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 61; and to this opinion Menelaus alludes, where he wishes the coward Greeks might be resolved back into the principles of water and earth, from which they were originally compounded (Homer, *Il.* 7. 99).

4-6. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Genesis 11. 3-9.

SAWTELLE (p. 91). Ninus and his wife Semiramis, the reputed founders of the Assyrian empire, must be regarded as mythical characters. Diodorus Siculus (2. 1 ff.) relates the numerous wars of this king; his conquests were so great that Spenser is warranted in saying that he was "of all the world obeyed."

Diodorus says Semiramis was the founder of Babylon ("tower of Babel," Spenser) but the achievements of Ninus and his wife are so closely connected as to warrant Spenser in attributing this work to Ninus. Diodorus mentions the Assyrian bitumen abounding in the region around Babylon, of which the walls of the city were built. Spenser, it will be noticed, somewhat carelessly calls this "Aegyptian slime."

5. KITCHIN. The "clay" of which man is made. Gen. 2. 7: "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground."

xxii. See Appendix, "The 22nd Stanza," for the numerous explanations of this stanza.

C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 7. 222) cites Trissino's *L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti* 5. 833. See Appendix, "The Influence of Trissino."

1-2. K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58. 329). Cf. Fletcher's *Purple Island* 1. 44:

That Trine-one. . . .
Part circular, and part triang'lar fits.

9. UPTON. 'Tis plain, I think, that Dryden had this passage in view, in his song for St. Cecilia's day.

From harmony, from heavenly harmony
This universal frame began:
From harmony to harmony
Through all the compass of the notes it ran,
The diapason closing full in man.

xxiii ff. UPTON. Before the reader considers the following stanzas, in which he might perhaps think that the house of Alma is too minutely and circumstantially expressed, I would have him think over with himself the following allegorical

description in Ecclesiastes, 12. 3-4: "In the day, when the keepers of the house (the hands, which keep the body, the castle of Alma) shall tremble; and the strong men (the legs, the pillars and support) shall bow themselves; and the grinders cease because they are few; (but originally 'twice sixteen,' St. 26.) And those that look out at the windows be darkned; (viz. the eyes, . . . the spyers, or spies, as Spenser calls them, 1. 2. 17; 3. 1. 36; 6. 8. 43.) And the doors shall be shut," i. e. the lips, or the mouth, St. 23, 24. Sonnet 81:

The Gate with pearles and rubies, richly dight,
Through which her words so wise do make their way.

Cf. 2. 3. 24. 8-9:

And twixt the pearles and rubies sofely brake
A silver sound.

But he does not say here of what substance the gate was framed: for by leaving the imagination at liberty he raises your ideas. Over this gate hangs the portcullis, imaging the nose. Compare the *Timaues*, where the description of the human body takes up several pages. See Longinus, Sect. 32: "Atqui in communium locorum tractationibus et in descriptionibus nihil aliud tam significans est, quam frequentes sibi que instantes tropi quibus et apud Xenophontem anatome magnifico more depingitur: et adhuc magis divino more apud Platonem." Spenser had plainly in view the discourse of Socrates with the atheistical and doubting Aristodemus, 1. 4, which Longinus refers to: and likewise the *Timaues* of Plato, p. 65. ed. Steph. And Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 2. 54 ff.

xxiii. 3-4. UPTON. This manner of expression we have in the Bible, "vessels not of silver but of gold," 1 Kings 10. 21. We have it frequently too in Chaucer. By telling you what a thing is not, your ideas are raised concerning what it is.

xxiv. CHILD. The porch is the upper lip; the wandering vine, the moustache; the portcullis, the nose; the barbican, the cavity of the mouth, the porter of which is the tongue, while the twice sixteen warders are the teeth.

M. P. TILLEY (*MLN* 42. 154). A passage in *Lingua*, which has not only verbal but also allegorical resemblance to a passage in the *Faerie Queene*, occurs in Gustus' description of his house (the mouth), which was placed, "not much unlike a cave," "near to the lowly base of Cephalon" (the head). This house is described in *Lingua* as "arch'd above by wondrous workmanship," p. 424 (4. 5):

With hewen stones wrought smother and more fine
Than jet or marble fair from Iceland brought.
Over the door directly doth incline
A fair perculis of compacture strong.

3. TODD. In the neighbourhood of Kilcolman, the residence of the poet, there was, it seems, a red and grey marble quarry. See Smith's *Hist. of Cork* 1. 343. In the same county, other valuable marbles also are to be found. See *ibid.* 1. 156, and more particularly 2. 375. [Cf. M. P. TILLEY's note above.]

EDITOR. Cf. Harington's translation of Ariosto (1591) p. 22: "as

likewise the great stones at Stonage on Salisbury plaine, which the ignorāt people believe he [Merlin] brought out of Ireland."

7. TODD. He probably bore in remembrance Psal. 141. 3. "Keep the door of my lips." See also the next stanza. And compare Homer, *Il.* 14. 83: ["the door of thy lips"].

xxv-xxvi. 2. A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 516-9). Cf. Fletcher, *P. I.* (ed. Grosart), pp. 155-6:

For close within, He sets twice sixteen guarders,
Whose hardned temper could not soon be mov'd:
Without the gate He placed two other warders,
To shut and ope the doore, as it behov'd: . . .
Thus—with their help—by her the sacred Muses
Refresh the prince dull'd with much business;
By her the prince, unto his prince oft uses
In heav'nly throne from hell to finde access.
She heav'n to earth in musick often brings,
And earth to heav'n; but oh how sweet she sings
When in rich Grace's Key she tunes poore nature's strings.

xxv. FOWLER (p. 81). On guard at the entrance to the garden, castle, or temple is the porter—a figure in the allegory distinctly mediaeval. Of the eleven episodes from the *Faerie Queene* under discussion here, seven have porters. All of these except one—the House of Temperance, the porter of which is not mentioned by name—are personifications.

xxvi. 1-5. A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 506-7). DuBartas, *Prem. Semaine* 1. 6. 565-6:

Un double rang de dents sert a l'ouverte gueule
De forte pallissade; & qui comme une meule. . . .

Sylvester's translation (ed. 1641), p. 54:

Two equall ranks of Orient Pearls impale
The open Throat; which (Quern-like) grinding small
Th' imperfect food, soon to the Stomack send it. . . .

Fletcher, *P. I.* (ed. Grosart), p. 82:

At the cave's mouth twice sixteen porters stand,
Receivers of the customarie rent;
Of each side four,—the foremost of the band—
Whose office to divide what in is sent;
Straight other foure break it in peices small,
And at each hand twice five, which grinding all,
Fit it for convoy, and this Citie's Arsenall.

2-5. M. P. TILLEY (*MLN* 42. 156). Cf. *Lingua* 5. 19: Gustus' house is "well guarded with thirty tall watchmen" (the teeth).

xxvii. 5-9. A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 514-5). Fletcher, *P. I.* (ed. Grosart), p. 153:

Below, a cave, rooft with an heav'n like plaister,
 And under strew'd with purple tapestrie,
 Where Gustus dwells, the Isle's and Prince's taster,
 Koilia's steward, one of th' Pemptarchie.

xxix. 4-9. See Appendix, "The Structure," p. 469.

5-7. A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, p. 506).
 DuBartas, *Prem. Semaine* 1. 6. 566-8:

& qui comme une meule,
 Brisant les durs morceaux, envoye promptement
 Dans le chaud estomach l'imparfait aliment.

7. UPTON. Aetna, or, as it is likewise called, Montgibel. "Or" is not
 a disjunctive particle. See *L'Adone* del Marino:

Fumar Etna si vede e Mongibello,
 Fiamme eruttar dalle nevose cime.

xxx. P. A. ROBIN (*The Old Psychology in English Literature*, p. 62 n).
 Galen (*Hipp. et Plat.*, 7. 9.): "In his discourse on the use of respiration, Plato
 seems to imitate Hippocrates, who maintains that inspiration takes place for the
 purpose of cooling the native heat, and expiration in order that fuliginous super-
 fluities may be discharged and breathed out." Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. An.*, 1. 16; Galen,
 2. 884; 3. 412, 617 K.

1. CHURCH. Wine is said to be "delayed" when it is temper'd with
 water.

xxxi. P. A. ROBIN (*The Old Psychology in English Literature*, p. 77). The
 office of the stomach is thus described by Gower (*Conf. Am.*, 7. 477 ff.):

In time of recreation
 Nature hath in creation
 The stomach for a comun coke [cook]
 Ordeined so, as saith the boke:
 The stomach coke is for the hall
 And boileth mete for hem all
 To make hem mighty for to serve
 The Herte, that he shall nought sterve.

xxxi. 6-xxxii. A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp.
 508-509). Cf. Fletcher's *P. I.* (ed. Grosart), p. 85:

There many a groom the busie Cook attends
 In under offices, and severall place:
 This gathers up the scumme, and thence it sends
 To be cast out; and liquors base.
 Another garbage, which the kitchin cloyes
 And divers filth, whose sent the place annoyes,
 By divers secret waies in under-sinks convoyes.

P. 89:

The last down-right falls to port Esquiline.

xxxi. 1-2. A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 506-7). Cf. DuBartas, *Prem. Semaine* 1. 6. 677:

Feudray-ie l'estomach, qui cuisinier parfait,
Cuit les vivres si bien, qu'en peu d'heure il en fait
Un chyle nourricier.

Sylvester's translation (ed. 1641), p. 54:

. . . soon to the Stomack send it
(Our Master-Cook) whose due concoctions mend it.

Ibid., p. 55:

Or, shall I rip the Stomacks hollowness
That ready Cook concocting every Mess,
Which in short time it cunningly converts
Into pure liquor fit to feed the parts.

Fletcher, *P. I.* (ed. Grosart), pp. 83-4:

Below dwells in this Citie's market-place
The Island's common cook, Concoction;
Common to all. . . .
Both night and day he works, n'ere sleeps, nor sleep desires.

xxxii. 8. UPTON. Alluding to Porta Esquilina. See the commentators on Horat. *Epod.* 17. 58; and *Epod.* 5 [99-100]:

Post insepulta membra different lupi,
Et Esquilinae alites.

[Wickham comments on "Esquilinae alites": "the birds of carrion that haunted the 'campus Esquilinus,' still the 'miserae plebi commune sepulchrum,' *Sat.* 1. 8. 10." (*Works of Horace* 1. 371).]

xxxiii. 8-9. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, p. 42). The storied representations on the walls of the castles and temples of love are indeed so much a part of the allegorical conception that Spenser apparently apologizes for the omission of the feature, when in describing the parlor of the House of Temperance he says that it was richly adorned with the royal arras,

In which was nothing pourtrahed nor wrought,
Not wrought nor pourtrahed, but easie to be thought.

The absence of such adornment is so unusual as to call for remark; but it is intimated that given the customary courtly environment the imagination should readily supply the deficiency. It should not be overlooked that two of the three rooms in the turret of this castle are described as having paintings on the walls (stanzas 50, 53).

xxxiv. 6. WARTON (2. 38). See a similar description of Cupid, *F. Q.* 3. 6. 49.

xxxv. 8. KITCHIN. A curious picture of manners, intended to express anger or moroseness. In a letter to Thomas à Becket (Giles, *Patres Eccl. Angl.* 39. 260) we find a curious description of the passion of Henry II. "Rex itaque solito furore succensus pileum de capite projecit, . . . stratum sericum quod erat supra lectum

manu propria removit, et, quasi in sterquilinio sedens, coepit straminis masticare festucas"—began to gnaw the rushes of the floor.

xxxvii. 3. UPTON. Emblematically representing her character. The poplar branch was worn in the athletic games, and sacred to Hercules. (See note on 2. 5. 31.) When Teucer made his chearful speech to his friends, he crowned his head with poplar branches,

Tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona.

See the Commentators on Horat. Bk. 1, Od. 6; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 276; Broukh. on Tibull., p. 82; and Burman on Ovid, [*Her.*] 9, ver. 64.—The rebuke of this lady to the prince, bears a double meaning, considering him as in pursuit both of glory, and of Gloriana. See 1. 9. 15 and 2. 9. 7. And was it not intended likewise as a secret and delicate rebuke to the earl of Leicester, in the historical allusion, as if his backwardness had kept him from being married to a queen?

xl-xliv. J. K. NEILL (*MLN*, 1934). Miss Winstanley (pp. lxvi-lxvii) has pointed out a general parallel between Spenser's Shamefastnesse and Aristotle's *αἰδώς* (*Eth. Nic.* 4. 9), but she hardly gets beyond the fact that both mean bashfulness. [Neill observes that they are alike in being a passion, a fear of blame or dishonor, and associated particularly with carnal desires—cf. 4. 10. 50. But Spenser differs from Aristotle in distinguishing between shamefacedness and modesty (like St. Thomas, *Summa*, Quest. 160) and in making shamefacedness an extreme rather than a mean.] The personified abstraction is overwhelmed with shame from the very beginning. Her confusion mars her modesty. Her actions are not temperate; her feelings run away with her. Everywhere else in this book Spenser stresses the mean and the rule of reason over the passions. Here there can be no doubt that he represents an extreme; the lady is even incapacitated from performing her courtly duties to Guyon. Aristotle begins his remarks on the subject:

There are also means in the passions and concerned with the passions . . . (*Eth. Nic.* 2. 7. 1108^a, trans. Ross).

Spenser has clearly conceived the passion in a fundamentally different way. He makes no attempt to portray a mean but takes the literary advantage of the extreme. As this is totally out of keeping with the principle so carefully laid down in the *Ethics*, the logical conclusion seems to be that Spenser was not using Aristotle as a source. [See Appendix, "The Virtue of Temperance."]

It is not necessary to look for a source for Spenser's idea; it was part of his literary and ethical inheritance. The Elizabethans seem to have made a slight distinction between modesty and shamefacedness but it was sometimes lost. There appear to have been two aspects of shamefacedness and Guyon represents them both: (1) the particular application to matters of sex which often shaded into (2) the general concept as applied to all behaviour. In Stephen Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* Shamefastness, the jailor in the house of Correction, guards those who have sinned by seducing women (Percy Society, vol. 18, p. 159). A great many of Guyon's adventures might be considered as illustrations of the following passage from Elyot's *Governour* (1531):

. . . Shamefastness ioyned to *Appetite of generation* maketh *Continence*, which is

the mean between *Chastitie* and *inordinate luste*. (Ed. Croft. London, 1883, vol. 1, p. 238. A great deal of Spenser's theory of love might also be related to this idea.)

In December 1596 Lady Bacon wrote to the Earl of Essex and took him to task about a rumored intrigue with one of the court ladies. She describes the lady in question as "utterly condemned as too bad, both unchaste and impudent, with, as it were, an incorrigible unshamfacedness. . . ." (W. B. Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, London, 1853, 1. 406.) Golding's translation of Hurault's *Politique, Moral and Martial Discourses* (1595) enumerates the "ornaments of a good woman" as "meeldness, shamefastnesse, and chastitie" (p. 332). Elizabeth assumed the virtue along with the other "ornaments of a good woman" and used it for political purposes in her international relations. According to Camden she made it an excuse to delay the marriage negotiations with Philip of Spain:

Her Suitor therefore King *Philip* she putteth off by little and little, with a most modest answer, and honest and maidenly shamefac'dness, but in very deed out of scruple of Conscience. (*History of Elizabeth*, 4th ed., 1688, p. 15.)

Thomas Wilson, in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560) used it to define modesty: "Modestie, is an honest shamefastnesse whereby we keepe a constant looke, & appear sober in all our outward doings" (ed. Geo. H. Mair, Oxford, 1909, p. 31). Closer to Spenser himself is a letter written by Sir Henry Sidney to his son, Sir Philip Sidney, giving him a list of rules from which to frame his conduct. Number eleven runs:

Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuffed of light fellows for a maiden Shamefacedness, than of your sober friends for pert boldness (*Harl. Misc.* 1. 380).

For further references see *NED* and 1 Tim. 2. 9.

It should be noted that most of these references come from life, not literature. They are from widely different sources including the Spenser circle itself. Spenser probably absorbed the idea long before he heard of Aristotle. It may easily have been part of his home teaching. His conception of the passion as an extreme in itself is of a *popular* nature. Aristotle handles it with more subtlety and makes it mean a passion between two extremes. If Spenser had done the same it would have been more in keeping with the rest of Book II. Instead of that he makes Guyon's modesty the result of a touch of shamefacedness in his character. The result is the same as Aristotle's mean but the underlying idea is entirely different.

xl. 7. UPTON. Pan fell in love with Echo and begat a daughter on her named Jynx, who was by Juno (but Spenser says by Pan) turned into a bird of the same name, because she endeavoured to practise her philters and incantations on Jupiter. See the Schol. on Theocr., *Idyll.* 2. 17. What bird this Jynx is, cannot so well be determined; but Spenser seems, by his description to mean the Cuckow. Chaucer, *Knights Tale* 1930:

And Jelousie
That werd of yellow goldis a garland
And had a Cuckow sitting on her hand.

KITCHIN. The owl; symbolical here of a retiring disposition. It does not appear from mythology how Pan maltreated her. There is a story that Pan had a daughter named Lynx, who was afterwards changed by Juno into a bird. But I know of no tale of Pan and the owl.

xli. 3-7. JORTIN. From Virgil, *Aen.* 12. 64-9:

Accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris,
 Flagrantes perfusa genas: cui plurimus ignem
 Subjecit rubor, & calefacta per ora cucurrit.
 Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
 Si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
 Alba rosa: talis virgo dabat ore colores.

F. Q. 5. 3. 23:

Whereto her bashful shamefacedness yrought
 A great increase in her fair blushing face;
 As roses did with lillies interlace.

Homer, *Il.* 4. 141: ["As when some woman of Maionia or Karia staineth ivory with purple"]. . . . Claudian, *R. Pros.* 1. 271-4:

niveos infecit purpura vultus
 Per liquidas succensa genas: castaeque pudoris
 Illuxere faces. non sic decus ardet eburnum,
 Lydia Sidonio quod femina tinxerit ostro.

Statius, *Archil.* 1. 304-8:

fax vibrata medullis
 In vultus, atque ora redit, lucemque genarum
 Tinguunt, & impulsum tenui sudore pererrat.
 Lactea Massagetae veluti cum pocula fuscant
 Sanguine puniceo, vel ebur corrumpitur ostro.

Ovid, *Amor.* 2. 5. 34-40:

At illi
 Conscia purpureus venit in ora pudor.—
 Quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae:
 Aut ubi cantatis Luna laborat equis:
 Aut quod, ne longis flavescere possit ab annis,
 Mæonis Assyrium femina tinxit ebur.

Met. 4. 330-2:

—erubuisse decebat.
 Hic color aprica pendentibus arbore pomis,
 Aut ebori tincto est.

Many more passages of ancient writers might be added where these favourite comparisons occur.

UPTON adds Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 10. 98-9.

3. TODD. Spenser is fond of thus describing personal beauty. See also *F. Q.* 2. 1. 41. From these elegant passages Milton transferred the enchanting smile to the Angel, *P. L.* 8. 618. . . . Sylvester, I should add, has adorned one of his ladies with Spenser's description in the passage before us. See DuBart., 1621, p. 498.

The lillies of her breasts, the rosie red
In either cheek.

xlili. UPTON. (note on 9. 40). Our old bard [Chaucer] describes Shamfastnesse in the *Court of Love*, ver. 1198, which our poet had I believe in view:

Eke Shamfastenesse was there as I toke hede,
That blushid red, and darst not been aknowe
She lovir was. . . .

TODD. Mr. Upton thinks that here is an historical allusion, and that the character of the Earl of Essex is particularly hinted at. Perhaps the poet was rather thinking of Lord Surry's elegant description in *Songes and Sonets*, edit. 1587, fol. 18. b. where "The louer for shamefastnes hideth his desire within his faithfull heart."

TODD (in his note on 4. 10. 50. 1). B. Young's translation (1587) of Boccace's *Amorous Fiammetta*, bl. 1, fol. 176: "And thou seemelie and honest Shamefastnes, (too late alas! entred into my wilful minde,) pardon mee; most earnestlie thee to give place a little while to timorous yong gentlewomen. . . ." See moreover B. Riche's *Simonides*, 1584, bl. 1, p. i: "Shamefastnesse, the vertue of youthe, blemysht his pale with rednesse."

xliv. 8. UPTON. Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 2. 56: "Sensus autem, interpretes ac nuntii rerum, in capite, tanquam in arce, mirifice ad usus necessarios et facti et conlocati sunt." *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 10: "Plato triplicem finxit animum, cujus principatum i. e. rationem in capite sicut in arce posuit." Plato calls it the *Ἀκρόπολις*.

9. UPTON. There may be many reasons why he says by "ten steps": Perhaps to shew the completion and finishing of the building; for *ten* is the completion and finishing number. Cf. Athenagoras, *Apol. Pro Christianis*; and Vitruv., 3. 3. . . . Another reason, and which seems the chief, why he says that the ascent was made by ten steps, may be assigned from what the Greeks call *κλιμακτῆρες* and Pliny (7. 49) "*anni scansiles*," i. e. Those steps or stages of life, which vary every seventh year; 'till the last step is reached, with difficulty; seven times 10, the 70th year. See Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 14; A. Gellius, 3. 10, and 15. 7; Macrobius, [*Comm. in Som. Scip.* 1. 6. 3.]

xlvi ff. A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 518-9). DuBartas, *Prem. Semaine* 1. 6. 503-9:

Mais tu logeas encore l'humain entendement
En l'estage plus haut de ce beau bastiment;
Afin que tout ainsi que d'une citadelle
Il domptast la fureur du corps, qui se rebelle
Trop souvent contre lui & que nostre raison
Tenant dans un tel fort jour & nuict garnison,
Foulast dessous ses pieds l'enuie, le cholere.

The description of Understanding, Phantastes, and Eumnestes (about 3 stanzas each) in *Purple Island* (pp. 180 ff.) are plainly and confessedly drawn from Spenser's description of the House of Alma. Fletcher says, *P. I.* (ed. Grosart), p. 183:

But let my song passe from these worthy sages
 Unto this Island's highest Sovereigne,
 And these hard warres which all the yeare he wages:
 For these three late a gentle shepherd-swain
 Most sweetly sung, as he before had seen
 In Alma's house; his memorie yet green
 Lives in his well-tuned songs, whose leaves immortall been.

xlvi. 6-7. SAWTELLE (p. 38). The whole story of the founding of Thebes, the Boeotian city, by Cadmus, the son of Agenor, is related by Ovid (*Met.* 3. 176 ff.). Bidden by his father to recover his sister Europa, who had been carried away by Zeus, or never to show himself in his home-country again, Cadmus sets out upon his quest. It proves to be a futile one; and, as an exile, he turns to the oracle at Delphi for directions as to his future course. He is told to follow a cow, which he would meet, and, wherever she should lie down, on that spot to found a city. He obeys directions, follows the heifer, and on the allotted spot, by the aid of armed men, who had sprung from the teeth of a hostile dragon, Cadmus founds the city of Thebes, the famous citadel of which is referred to by Spenser. The same story, in briefer form, is related by Apollodorus (3. 4. 1).

LOTSPEICH. Could be derived from *Theb.* 7. 440-6; 11. 180.

8-9. UPTON. Astyanax (the young Hector) was flung from the battlements of Troy. See Ovid. *Met.* 13. 415. "Though richly guilt," alludes to the description of Virg. 2. 448, "Auratasque trabes"; ver. 504, "Barbarico postes auro." And to what Paris says in his epistle to Helena,

Innumeras urbes atque aurea tecta videbis.

SAWTELLE (p. 60) cites also Hyginus, *Fab.* 109.

8. KITCHIN. "Though richly guilt." These words have been pointed out as an instance of an unnecessary filling up of a line. But they are quite defensible when we recollect that Oriental cities sometimes had coloured walls, and even gilded ones. So Herodotus, 1. 98, describes the seven walls of Ecbatana as all having coloured battlements; the sixth silvered, the seventh gilt.

xlvi. 1-8. A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 512-3). Cf. DuBartas, *Prem. Semaine* 1. 6. 509 ff.:

Les yeux, guides du corps, sont mis en sentinelle
 Au plus notable endroit de ceste citadelle,
 Pour descouvrir de loing & garder qu'aucun mal
 N'assaile au despourveu le divin animal.
 C'est en las façonnant que ta main tant vantee
 Se semble estre à peu pres soy-mesme surmontee.

xlvii-lx. See Appendix, "Elizabethan Psychology."

xlvii. 1-3. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Genesis 1. 2-6.

xlvi. 1-2. KITCHIN. Socrates, whom the Delphic Oracle declared to be the wisest man alive (*Plat. Apol.* pp. 21, 25). This, he says, was because he knew how ignorant he was.

4. SAWTELLE (p. 105). This is Nestor, whose native city was Pylos. His reputation for sage counsel and remarkable age is due principally to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; for he took an active part in the Trojan War, not only as a warrior at the head of his Pylian forces, but as a wise counselor whose advice was often sought by the Greeks. It was a common tradition that he survived three generations of men. Thus Homer (*Il.* 1. 250 ff.) says, "Two generations of mortal men already had he seen perish, that had been of old time born and nurtured with him in goodly Pylos, and he was king among the third."

5. CHURCH. By "ages," I should suppose Spenser meant what the Greek writers call Generations, "which are successions from Father to Son: as in St. Matt. 1. 17. Indeed sometimes they take the word for other spaces of time, for seven years, for 20, 25, or 30 years. And by that last account they reckoned the years of Nestor." See Bishop Pearson on the Creed, p. 63. Such a method of Computation may be called a contrivance of men; and the Poet seems to use the word contrive in that sense.

xlvi. 8-xlix. 5. M. P. TILLEY (*MLN* 42. 152). These three characters, typifying among them, in Hamlet's words, "that capability" of "looking before and after" and "god-like reason," are introduced in T. Tomkis' *Lingua* (1607) in the same order as they are found in the *Faerie Queene*, in three successive comic scenes, Act 2, Scenes 2, 3, 4, which contain a number of descriptive details supplied by Spenser.

xlx ff. HAZLITT (*Lectures on the English Poets*, p. 38) includes "the account of memory" in his list of "the finest things in Spenser."

[See D. C. Boughner's discussion of these stanzas in Appendix, "Elizabethan Psychology."]

1. 8-9. UPTON. There is something humorous in Spenser's grouping these fantastical beings thus together.

8. TODD. "Hippodames." Sea-horses. The size of these animals is said to have been enormous. Herodotus (Book 2) describes them as common in Egypt.

li. 8. WINSTANLEY. "Shewes, visions." The difference between these is probably the difference between the "Shew of kings" and the air-drawn dagger in *Macbeth*: the latter would be a vision.

lii. 2. KITCHIN. "Phantastes." Φαντάστης, from Φαντασία, the "fantastic" or imaginative faculty. Note the melancholy side of the quality: what we call the "sadness of youth."

3-7. M. P. TILLEY (*MLN* 42. 153). In *Lingua* Phantastes (the name is the same in both instances), is introduced in a descriptive stage direction as "a swart-complexioned fellow, but quick-eyed." (Hazlitt's *Dodsley* 9. 367. Compare also the last speech of Phantastes on p. 370, and the same character's speech on pp. 401-402, with *Faerie Queene*, 2. 9. 50, for similar borrowing of ideas.) Later Heuresis, Phantastes' page, in a description of his master, repeats the same and other details of Spenser's description of Phantastes. (P. 389: "O yes! If any man can tell any

tidings of a spruce, neat, apish, nimble, fine, foolish, absurd, humorous, conceited, fantastic gallant, *with hollow eyes, sharp look, swart complexion*, meagre face, wearing as many toys in his apparel *as fooleries in his looks and gesture*, let him come forth and certify me thereof, and he shall have for his reward. . . .")

8-9. UPTON. The aspect of Saturn by astrologers was always deemed malignant, "inpio Saturno," as Horace alluding to this opinion, says, Book 2, ode 17. Chaucer in the *Knights Tale*, calls him, "pale Saturnus the cold," 2445; [2461 ff.]:

I do vengauce, and plain correction,
While I dwell in the house of the Lyon—
My loking (i. e. aspect.) is father of pestilence.

KITCHIN cites also Propertius, *El.* 4. 86, and Lucan 1. 651. [Cf. note on 3. 6. 2-3.]

9. KITCHIN. In astrology, "house" is the *τέμενος οὐρανοῦ*, the district of the heavens in which a planet rises. "Agonyes" refers to the belief (alluded to in the *Knights Tale* 1592-3 that under Saturn strife and contention (*ἀγῶνες*) largely prevail. So the almanack called "the Compost of Ptholomeus" tells us that "the children of the sayd Saturne shall be great jangleres and chyders . . . they will never forgyve tyll they be revenged of theyr quarell"; and agayn, "When he doth reygne, there is moche debate." (Quoted by Dr. Morris, on Chaucer's *Knights Tale* 1593.)

lv. EDITOR. Cf. Sir Philip Sidney (*Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. J. C. Collins, p. 37): "Euen they that haue taught the Art of memory haue shewed nothing so apt for it as a certaine roome deuided into many places well and thoroughly knowne."

8-9. M. P. TILLEY (*MLN* 42. 153). In *Lingua* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley* 9. 374), Memory, "an old decrepit man," can also "remember, in the age of Assaracus and Ninus, and about the wars of Thebes and the siege of Troy."

lvi. 9. KITCHIN. "old Assaracus." Mythical king of Troy, son of Tros, father of Capys, great-grandfather of Aeneas.

lvii. 2. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Genesis 5. 27.

lviii. 5-9. M. P. TILLEY (*MLN* 42. 154). In *Lingua*, Memory's page of the same name, Anamnestes, has the similar task of waiting on his master and of finding misplaced or lost articles. In the scene in which we are introduced to Memory and Anamnestes, Act 2, Scene 4, the latter is sent by his master to look for his lost purse.

8-9. UPTON. These two are known "by their properties," the old man being of "infinite remembrance," was hence called Eumnestes, from εὖ "bene," and μνήμη, "memoria," *μνησθῆναι*, "meminisse." And the boy that attended on this old man was called Anamnestes, from ἀναμνάω or ἀναμνησκω "reminiscor, recordor." How then does the servant differ from his master? But this servant was to attend on his master; and I am apt to believe that our learned poet gave the old

man of most excellent memory, a servant whom the ancients called Anagnostes, Ἀναγνώστης, whose office was to read, and to be employed about literary affairs. . . . Cicero, *Ad Attic.* [1. 12]: "Puer festivus Anagnostes noster." Cornel. Nepos [*Atticus* 13]: "In ea [familia] erant pueri literatissimi, Anagnostae optimi."

8. KITCHIN. But Spenser knew well that aged Memory always does need a "reminder," to bring out hidden stores of knowledge.

lix. 8. UPTON. I. e. independent governments: Caesar tells us that Britain was divided into various provinces, and ruled by various petty kings.

9. UPTON. He means here prince Arthur. See 2. 10. 49. Jeffry of Monmouth gives an account of Arthur's reigning sole monarch in this island; to say nothing of the more fabulous Romance History of prince Arthur.

CANTO X

HUGHES (1. lxxxii). The Canto, in which the Author has made an Abridgment of the old British History, is a very amusing Digression; but might have been more artfully introduc'd. Homer or Virgil wou'd not have suffer'd the Action of the Poem to stand still whilst the Hero had been reading over a Book; but wou'd have put the History into the Mouth of some proper Person to relate it. But I have already said, that this Work is not to be examin'd by the strict Rules of Epick Poetry.

COLERIDGE (*Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare . . . with other Literary Remains* 2. 35-6). In Spenser we see the brightest and purest form of that nationality which was so common a characteristic of our elder poets. There is nothing unamiable, nothing contemptuous of others in it. To glorify their country—to elevate England into a queen, an empress of the heart—this was their passion and object; and how dear and important an object it was or may be, let Spain, in the recollection of her Cid, declare! There is a great magic in national names. What a damper to all interest is a list of native East Indian merchants! Unknown names are non-conductors; they stop all sympathy. No one of our poets has touched this string more exquisitely than Spenser; especially in his chronicle of the British Kings, and the marriage of the Thames with the Medway (4. 11), in both which passages the mere names constitute half the pleasure we receive.

KITCHIN. This Canto, by far the dullest of all, has for its real aim the praises of Elizabeth. It is, however, interesting as shewing the attention given at that time in literary circles to archaeological questions; an attention altogether uncritical, but giving evidence of the newly-aroused national life and feeling. Men were moved to study the origines of their race. Holinshed's *Chronicle* had not long been published (first ed. [2nd ed.] is dated 1587): Camden's *Britannia* was also new (first ed. 1586), and Stowe had appeared in 1574.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Spenser in devoting a canto to the ancestry of Elizabeth is following the precedent of Ariosto, who in various ways and at different times celebrates the genealogy of the Estes. This canto is linked with canto 3 of Book 3. Both together find their closest counterpart in canto 3 of the

Furioso. As exordium to this pair of cantos Spenser adopts the stanzas which open Ariosto's canto (*F. Q.* 2. 10. 1-4: *Orl. Fur.* 3. 1-4 [quoted in Upton's note on stanza 1]). Here, as in several other imitations, Spenser directly translates the first few lines, and then drifts into an entirely original rendering of the theme suggested.

HARPER (p. 184). On the whole, however, this investigation has brought out a different aspect of Spenser's use of his sources. Spenser's freedom has been seen manifesting itself, not in the invention, but in the selection and combination of details. He does not treat with imaginative freedom a hint from some previous writer. He seldom, if ever, gives an "entirely original rendering of the theme suggested." (A possible exception to this statement is Spenser's treatment of the history of the first few kings after Arthur. It is doubtful if even this could be called "entirely original.") On the contrary, he keeps curiously close to his authorities. First from one author, and then from another, he extracts some minute detail, a peculiar form of a name, an unimportant variation from the usual form of the story. While apparently following Geoffrey of Monmouth in the main, he also draws from Hardyng, Holinshed, and Stow, and from the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and to the material gathered from these sources he adds now and again statements that he bases on still other authorities. In short, we see Spenser, not solely as a poet, but also as a historian and chronicler and as an antiquarian. [See Appendix, "Background in Chronicle and Legend."]

[In the notes from Miss Harper distributed through the Commentary on this Canto, references are to the following editions:

Brut Tysilio. Translated by Peter Roberts, 1811, under the title, *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain*.

Camden, William. *Britannia*, 1590.

Fabyan, Robert. *The New Chronicles of England and France*. Ed. by Sir Henry Ellis. London, 1811.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Ed. by San Marte. Halle, 1854.

Grafton, Richard. *Chronicle at Large*. . . . Ed. Sir Henry Ellis. London, 1809.

Hardyng, John. *Chronicle*. Ed. by Sir Henry Ellis. London, 1812.

Higden, Ralph. *Polychronicon*. Ed. in the *Rolls Series*, vols. 1 and 2 by C. Babington, vols. 3-9 by J. R. Lumby. 1865-1886.

Holinshed, Raphael. *Chronicles*. 1577 (unless otherwise noted).

Layamon. *Brut*. Ed. by Sir Fred. Madden. 3 vols. London, 1847.

Mannynge, Robert of Brunne. *Chronicle*. Ed. by Furnivall. *Rolls Series*. 2 vols. 1887.

Mirror for Magistrates. Ed. by Joseph Haslewood. 3 vols. London, 1815.

Stow, John. *Annales*. . . . Augmented by Edmund Howes. London, 1631.

Warner, William. *Albions England*. London, 1612.]

WINSTANLEY (2nd ed., pp. xxvii-xxviii). An interesting and rather difficult problem is suggested by the question why Spenser introduced this Chronicle material at all; the canto containing the list of British kings is one of the longest and certainly one of the duller in *The Faerie Queene*, and it has not the least bearing on the subject of the legend—the virtue of Temperance—while in all other respects the book is admirably planned and keeps very carefully to its main theme. Why did Spenser introduce such a tedious digression? The answer can only be in the form of surmise.

It is almost certain that some portions of *The Faerie Queene* were written before

the composition of the poem as a whole and afterwards included. Thus in the correspondence with Gabriel Harvey we have mention of an "Epithalamion Thamesis" which is, almost certainly, the Marriage of the Thames and Medway, and we hear also of certain "Legends." These "Legends" may well have treated of the history of the British kings—at any rate that is the only portion of Spenser's existing work to which such a description seems appropriately to apply. There was a good reason why he should treat such a subject, for it was a part of Elizabethan patriotism to glorify England and its history; Shakespeare exalted his country in his historical dramas, and Drayton's *Polyolbion* is a veritable treasure-house of legends. Spenser's original poem may easily have been of a patriotic intention similar to these. [See Appendix, "Date of Composition."] But we may still enquire why Spenser introduced it into *The Faerie Queene* and in a situation where it has so little real place. The probability is that it was meant originally to have a much greater bearing upon the main theme. There is little doubt that Prince Arthur was intended to represent Leicester; Britomart is one of the types of the Queen. Probably Spenser meant to show in his poem the marriage of Leicester and the Queen as shadowed in their prototypes; the course of actual events must have effectually prevented the fulfilment of this plan and caused an alteration in the later part of the poem, but it would supply a very good reason for including the genealogy of Arthur at such disproportionate length and would also explain why Spenser felt himself compelled to introduce it at an early stage in the poem, whether appropriate or not. Further it is quite probable that Spenser had to condense his former poem—the "Legends"—and, if so, we can understand why the chronicle is bald and uninteresting. This is only surmise, but it is practically certain that the Chronicle material was originally meant to play a larger part in the structure of *The Faerie Queene* because, in the introductory stanzas to the first book, Spenser mentions these Chronicles as one of his most important subjects:

Lay forth out of thine everlasting scryne
The antique rolles, which there lye hidden still,
Of Faerie knights and fayrest Tanaquill.

Tanaquill is the name given to Elizabeth in the "records." [See GREENLAW'S remarks in the Appendix, "Historical Allegory."]

- i. 1-5. JORTIN. This solemn invocation is somewhat like that in Ovid, *Fast.*
2. 119:

Nunc mihi mille sonos, quoque est memoratus Achilles,
Vellem, Maeonide, pectus inesse tuum. . . .
Deficit ingenium, majoraque viribus urgent.
Haec mihi praecipuo est ore canenda dies.

- UPTON. Spenser very apparently has translated Ariosto, [*Orl. Fur.*]
3. 1. where he, in compliment to his patron Cardinal Hippolito of Este, mentions the descendents from Bradamante:

Chi mi darà la voce, e le parole
Convenienti à sì nobil soggetto?
Chi l' ale al verso presterà, che vole
Tanto ch' arivi à l' alto mio concetto?
Molto maggior di quel furor, che suole,
Ben or convien, ch'è mi riscaldi il petto.

ii. 6. WINSTANLEY. Cf. 1. Proem 4. 4-5.

iii. SAWTELLE (p. 23). Again this god of song essays a mightier theme—the triumphs of Phlegraean Jove. Statius (*Theb.* 6. 336) pictures Apollo upon the heights of heaven, charming the Muses with his song, the oft-repeated theme of which is Jove and Phlegra.

1. See JORTIN'S note on 1. 1-5 above.

UPTON. The quill was an instrument which they used to strike the chords of their harp or lyre, called in Greek *πλῆκτρον*, in Latin "plectrum," or "pecten." See 7. 6. 37. This manner of expression is frequent among the Latin poets.

KITCHIN. The pen of Homer, who was called Maeonian, or Maeonides, from the ancient name of Lydia, to which country he was supposed by some to belong.

3. KITCHIN. The assault of the giants upon heaven, and their defeat by Zeus (*Virg., Georg.* 1. 281).

4. KITCHIN. "Phlegraean Jove." Rightly so styled in this place, as the conflict between him and the giants was said to have taken place at Phlegra (Pallene).

v. HARPER. This stanza is little more than an expansion of one of Holinshead's opening sentences, although the phrasing of the last two lines seems to show also the influence of Camden. *Hol., Hist.*, p. 1: ". . . it semeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger y^t in the beginning, when God framed the worlde, and diuided the waters aparte from the earth, this Isle was then a parcel of the continent, & ioyned without any separation of sea to the mayne lande"; *Camd., Brit.*, p. 1: "Inter Cantius enim, & Caletum Galliae, ita in altum se euehit, & adeo in arctum mare agitur, ut perfossas ibi terras antea exclusa admississe maria opinentur nonnulli, opinionisque suae assertores adferunt Virgilium in illo versu,

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos:

Quia, inquit Servius Honoratus, olim juncta erat continenti Britannia."

4. CHURCH. This alliteration, as it is called, is frequent in our Poet. *So F. Q.* 7. 7. 46. 5:

Unbodied, unsoul'd, unheard, unseene.

Milton has copied it, *P. L.* 2. 185:

Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd.

And 5. 896:

Unshaken, uneduc'd, untterrify'd.

And again, in his *P. R.* 3. 429:

Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd.

vi. HARPER (pp. 41-2). Spenser could have taken from Geoffrey (1. 16. 1), in this passage, only the name Albion, but he could have found elsewhere, in many places, the statement that this name was given to the island because of the

white rocks on the sea-shore. In Holinshed (p. 6), however, a different story is told to account for the name, and only in the second edition is even a passing reference made to the derivation of Albion from "alb," white. Among the authorities in which Spenser's story appears is Grafton (p. 25), who restricts these rocks to the Eastern and Southern shores, and suggests also the point of view of "them that come by Sea." This thought is even more fully expressed by Hardyng (Ch. 6, p. 30), who says that the white banks are seen from afar as the ships come sailing by, and the shipmen find in them "greate gladnesse and delyte." From this may easily have developed Spenser's idea that the "white rocks" served as a sea-mark which guided the mariner to safety. Such service would account for their being "gladnesse and delyte." Grafton and Hardyng, confirming each other, may both have influenced Spenser, though the influence of Grafton would have been in itself slight. Hardyng, indeed, may conceivably have been the sole source of the material in Spenser's stanza.

Beside the source of the material there is, as regards this stanza, another consideration. The derivation that Spenser gives is in most chronicles only one of several possible derivations. In stating it authoritatively and alone Spenser is at variance with Grafton, who mentions it only to reject it, from Hardyng, who adds the story of Dame Albion and, unable to give up either, suggests that "both two might be together." He is in accordance, however, with the older authorities, such as Bartholomew (Bk. 15, Ch. 14) and Caxton (Ch. 3). Whether he was intentionally reverting to them, or merely rejecting the other derivations as improbable or inartistic, it is impossible to decide.

We may conclude that Spenser used neither Geoffrey nor Holinshed as a source for this stanza, but drew from Grafton and Hardyng, or from Hardyng alone, and was either independent in handling the material he borrowed, or was further influenced by still older authorities, such as Bartholomew and Caxton.

- vii. WARTON (2. 149). Speaking of Albion,
 But farre in land a salvage nation dwelt
 Of hideous giants.

This puts me in mind of Geoffry of Monmouth's account of the original state of Albion. "Erat tunc nomen insulae Albion, quae a nemine nisi a paucis gigantibus inhabitabatur." A few giants in that historian's opinion were but of little consideration.

HARPER. Geoffrey's statement that the island of Albion was inhabited by giants was quickly elaborated. (See Ward, *Cat. of Romances*, I, pp. 109-203. Ward catalogues six Latin MSS. *De Origine Gigantum*. Three are bound with Geoffrey's *Historia* and a fourth is written as an introduction to it.) Spenser followed the later accounts. In describing the giants as

- half beastly men
 That never tasted grace, nor goodnes felt,

he apparently took a hint from Holinshed (p. 5 f.), who says that "they seemed little or nothing to differ from brute beastes," but the rest of the stanza, which compares the giants to beasts for another reason, namely, the wildness of their lives,

seems to have been suggested rather by the Latin verses which Camden quotes (*Brit.*, p. 115). Although Spenser's giants differ from those of the Latin verses in going naked, instead of wearing clothes of skin, like them they dwell in caves and live by hunting. Spenser's description of the giants seems, therefore, to have been based on Holinshed, and on the Latin verses quoted by Camden, which Spenser may have known in their original form, or only through Camden.

8. SCHOENEICH (pp. 70-1). Cf. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 454: "Of stature tall, and straightly fashioned."

viii-ix. 5. HARPER. The account of the giants is continued in these two stanzas with details in no way suggested by Geoffrey. The wonder as to the origin of the giants expressed in the beginning of the eighth stanza and the reference in the ninth stanza to the one mother from whose "owne native slime" they were born, both seem to refer to the theory that they were "sons of the earth," and to originate in Holinshed's repeated assertions to that effect (*Hist.*, pp. 5, 6, 9, 10). From Holinshed may have come, also, Spenser's doubt as to the story of Dioclesian's daughters. But the influence of Holinshed on the story itself is less certain, for Spenser has retained the name Dioclesian, which Holinshed insists is a mistaken substitution for Danao. There seem to have been two stories in existence, one the story of Danao's fifty daughters, the other the story of Dioclesian's thirty or thirty-three daughters. Both are given by Hardyng (pp. 25 ff.), but only the story of Dioclesian's daughters appears in the English *Brut* (see *The Brut*, E. E. T. S., pp. 1-4). This was apparently the older of the two. So in retaining the name Dioclesian Spenser was deliberately rejecting the newer story. A significant fact is that he did not at the same time change the number of the daughters from fifty to thirty or thirty-three. It is probable that he was following Holinshed except in refusing to substitute Danao for Dioclesian. In one respect, however, Spenser shows the influence of the same authority. His account of the spirits that became the fathers of the giants is certainly based on the account that appears both in the English *Brut* (p. 4) and in Hardyng, from either of which sources he may have taken it. In these stanzas, then, Spenser seems to have followed Holinshed in the main, but to have been influenced also by the older versions of the story of Dioclesian's daughters, particularly by the one that appears in the English *Brut* and in Hardyng.

viii. 3. UPTON. "That monstrous error." So Camden calls it in his *Britannia*: and Milton [*Prose Works*, Bohn ed., 5. 166-7] says 'tis a story "too absurd and too unconscionably gross."

EDITOR. This story does not occur in Camden before the edition of 1607. The account in that edition, p. 18, is as follows:

Fabellam illam, quod Albion sit dicta ab Albina vna e triginta filiabus Dioclesiani Regis Syriae, quae in ipsis nuptiis maritos occiderunt, & naue sine remige huc delatae, insulam primum occuparunt, daemanumque compressu prolem Giganteam propagarunt, vt improbi hominis impudentissimum mendacium sine stomacho quis audiat?

ix. 6-9. WARTON (2. 65-6). "Driven by fatall error," is driven by error ordained by the fates. So, in *F. Q.* 3. 9. 49. "At last by fatall course they driven

were." See also *F. Q.* 2. 8. 24; 3. 3. 15; 4. 12. 27. "Fatalis" has sometimes the same signification as Spenser's "fatal"; as in Virg., *Aen.* 11. 232, and in other places of the *Aeneid*.

UPTON. Brutus was descended from Aeneas, "Assaraci proles," Virg., *Georg.* 3. 35. This story is all taken from Jeffry of Monmouth. It may be a question whether Spenser meant by "driven by fatal error," that Brutus was banished for killing his father by a fatal mischance: or whether he meant that he was a fugitive hither by the will of the fates and the oracle of Diana.

7. CHURCH. Assaracus was the Father of Capys, who was the Father of Anchises, the Father of Aeneas, the Father of Ascanius, who was supposed to be Grandfather to Brutus the Son of Sylvius.

This happen'd about the year of the World 3083, and 1132 years before the Birth of Christ, according to our oldest Chronicler, who liv'd in the Reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. above 500 years agoe. . . . See Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (publish'd by Mr. Thomas Hearne, 1724), p. 20.

x. UPTON. This giant is named Goëmagot; and the place where he fell Lam-Goëmagot, i. e. Goemagot's leap. See Jeffry of Monmouth in his British History, 1. 16. Compare Carew in his *Survey of Cornwall*; and Drayton's *Polyolbion*, p. 12. Corineus, Debon, and Canutus, were the chief captains whom Brutus brought with him into Albion, and divided the conquered country among them.

1-5. HARPER. A more probable source [than Geoffrey's (1. 16. 18) or Holinshed's (p. 15)] is Hardyng's declaration (ch. 11, p. 39) that Brutus slew the giants "through all the lande in bataille," which is as downright as Spenser's. Hardyng, therefore, seems to have been Spenser's source.

6-9. HARPER. In Geoffrey (1. 16. 18 f.) the giant's name is Goemagot. In other versions of the story the invariable form is Gogmagog. Spenser's form Goëmot is closer to Geoffrey's form than to Gogmagog. Geoffrey is also the probable source of the detail about the giant's blood, which in Spenser's verse bespatters the cliff, and in Geoffrey's Latin stains the flood. But in locating the fight at the "western Hogh," that is, at Plymouth, Spenser is at variance both with Geoffrey, who places it at Notnesse, and with Holinshed (p. 15), who connects it with Dover. He agrees, however, with Camden (p. 129), and with local tradition, evidence of which has been preserved in Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* (Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, with notes by Thomas Tonkin: London, 1811; p. 4. This work, although not printed until 1602, is said to be referred to by Camden in the first edition of the *Britannia*, 1586.). Carew described "the portraiture of two men, one bigger, the other lesser . . . (whom they term Gogmagog)," which was cut upon the ground at the Hawe in Plymouth, and renewed by the townsmen when necessary, "which should infer the same to be a monument of some moment." The Receiver's Accounts of the borough of Plymouth records expenditure for renewing a Gogmagog figure as early as 1494-5, and at intervals afterward (R. N. Worth, *The Myth of Brutus the Trojan*, in the *Trans. of the Devonshire Ass'n* 12. 566). By this local tradition, whether it reached Spenser through Carew's *Survey* in manuscript, through Camden, or through some other

source (Spenser's spelling, "Hogh," makes another source the most probable), Geoffrey's story was modified. In other respects Spenser here followed Geoffrey.

9. CHURCH. "Corineus." It must be pronounc'd as a Trisyllable, and again St. 12. 2. But St. 18. it is to be pronounc'd as having four syllables. Corineus was General to Brute.

xi-xx. RUDOLPH BROTANEK (*Beiblatt zur Anglia* 11. 206). Aus dem zweiten buch, wo die geschichte des Brutus und seiner söhne erzählt wird, dürfte der verfasser des *Locrine* die anregung zur dramatisierung des stoffes empfangen haben.

THEDOR ERBE (*Die Locrinesage*, pp. 67, 71). Nach allen Quellen ausser Spenser und Warner findet diese Vermählung erst nach dem ersten Versuche Locrines, Estrild zum Weibe zu nehmen, auf die Drohung des Corineus hin statt. Der erste Versuch des Königs, Estrild zu erlangen, ist also in unserem Drama, bei Warner und Spenser Untreue des Ehegatten, in den anderen Bearbeitungen dagegen nur Treulosigkeit des Verlobten. . . .

Aus diesen drei Quellen [Geoffrey of Monmouth, Holinshed, Caxton] lassen sich also alle in den Quellen überhaupt erwähnten Vorgänge erklären ausser der Vermählung Locrines mit Guendolen vor dem Auftreten der Estrild, wovon nur Warner und Spenser wissen.

xi. 1-4. HARPER. Spenser refers to the story of Debon and Coulin a second time in the *Faerie Queene* 3. 9. 50, where he links it, as here, with the story of Goemagot. This connection with such a well-known incident, and the description of the ample "far renownd" pit across which Coulin leaped, both suggest that the story existed before Spenser's time and was not of his invention. As yet, however, no source has been found.

HARPER (*MLR* 8. 369-371) suggests that the author of the play *Locrine* borrowed the character of Debon from Spenser.

5-9. HARPER. The incidental allusion to the fight between Albion and Hercules in France seems to be based on Holinshed's (pp. 5-6) long account, which is also, apparently, the source of Spenser's version of the story in the *Faerie Queene*, 4. 11. 16.

LOTSPEICH. Boccaccio, *De Geneal.* 10. 12 and 13. 1, also mentions Hercules' victory over Albion in France.

xii. 1-5. HARPER. The source of these lines may have been Geoffrey's *Historia* (1. 16. 18), which may even have influenced Spenser's wording slightly, inasmuch as Spenser's statement that the province of Cornwall was assigned to Corineus "for his worthy lott" seems to echo Geoffrey's statement that the province "sorti suae cesserat."

6-9. HARPER. For these particular facts, as for the story of Canutus in general, no source has been found.

xiii. 2. CHURCH. Hardyng thinks 60 years.

5. HARPER. Although the form of the name Inogene is closer to Holinshed's Innogen (p. 12) than to Geoffrey's Ignogen, Spenser's story seems in the

main based on Geoffrey's account (2. 120), and shows a slight verbal similarity to it. In one detail, however, there is a difference. According to Spenser Inogene came from Italy, not Greece. For this statement he apparently had no authority. Either his memory failed him—a possibility, inasmuch as Geoffrey does not mention Ignogen's native country in the passage which Spenser seems to be paraphrasing—or he deliberately substituted Italy for Greece for the sake of alliteration and rhyme (the omission of any reference to Greece in Spenser's account of the journey of Brutus from Italy to Britain, *F. Q.* 3. 9. 48, should be noted).

xiv. UPTON. Locrin (as Jeff. of Monmouth writes, 2. 1) had the middle part of the island, called afterwards from his name, Loegria. Kamber had that part lying beyond the river Severn, now called Wales, but which was called a long time Kambria—Albanact, the younger brother, possessed the country he called Albania, now Scotland.

HARPER. In this portion of the story the later chroniclers, such as Caxton (ch. 5), Hardyng (ch. 15), and Holinshed (p. 16), differ from Geoffrey in two particulars. They state (1) that Brutus divided his kingdom during his lifetime, and (2) either that Brutus named Albania or that it was so named by posterity. According to Geoffrey, the sons themselves divided the kingdom after the death of their father, and Albanact gave his own name to the province that fell to his share. In both these particulars Spenser agrees with Geoffrey. Nevertheless the later chroniclers evidently had some influence. Spenser's "all the Northerne part" echoes Holinshed's "all the North parte," and his description of Cambria as divided from Logris by the Severne is like Holinshed's "Cambria, deuided from Loegria by the riuer of Seuerne." At the same time Spenser's first line seems to have its source in Hardyng, who, like Caxton, and unlike Geoffrey and Holinshed, throws Locrine's overlordship into prominence. Spenser's "soveraine Lord of all" is practically the same as Hardyng's "Of all Britayne hauing ye souerante," and his "lorde souerayne" a few lines below. From Hardyng, too, Spenser apparently took the form Logris, instead of Geoffrey's Loegria or Holinshed's Logiers. The natural conclusion from these facts is that Spenser followed Geoffrey in the main outline of his story, but also was influenced, especially in phrasing, by both Holinshed and Hardyng. The fusing of the three authorities is of such a nature as to suggest that Spenser may have had all three books, or notes from all three, before him at once.

xv-xvi. HARPER. Spenser, in these stanzas, has dwelt on the story of Humber (again mentioned in *F. Q.* 4. 11. 37-8) . . . without either following Geoffrey (2. 1-2. 20) very closely or differing from him in any essential detail. His "chaste so fiercely" recalls Holinshed's "chased him so egerlie." His Abus is like the "Aby streame" in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1. 55), and his "forst their chieftain" may be more than a casual resemblance to the "forst the king" in the same poem. But as these points of resemblance are slight, the influence of Holinshed and the *Mirror for Magistrates* is a conjecture resting on trivial evidence only. In the name Abus, however, we have certainly from some source an addition to Geoffrey's story. (The addition of the forms of the name, Abie and Aber, in the 1587 edition of the *Descr. of Br.* should be noted.)

xv. 5. TODD. Compare Petrarch, *Canz.* 16:

O diluvio raccolto
Di che deserti strani
Per inondar i nostri dolci campi.

See also Milton, *P. L.* 1. 354. But the simile of all these poets owes its origin perhaps to Holy Writ. See Isaiah 59. 19: "When the enemy shall come in like a flood."

9. WARTON (2. 34-5). By munificence our author signifies "defence," or "fortification"; from "munio" and "facio." This is a word injudiciously coined by Spenser, as the same word in our language signifies quite another thing.

xvii-xix. HARPER. The liveliness of style that characterizes Spenser's treatment of the story of Humber is continued in the story of Estrild and Sabrina. Moreover, there appears the same freedom in the use of authorities (both stories are connected with British rivers, and therefore probably had been in Spenser's mind since 1580). The story agrees in most respects with Geoffrey's (2. 2-5. 20 ff.), and yet shows in phrasing slight traces of later versions. Guendoline cannot endure to be "disdained" in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1. 58) or in Spenser. The "disloyalty" of Locrinus, according to Holinshed's *Description* (pp. 25b, 26), is to be perpetuated by the naming of the river Severne, and in Spenser, the statement that the river was named from Sabrina is followed by the reflection, "Such was the end that to *disloyal* love did fall." At the same time, in this very passage, Spenser varies from the *Description*. Instead of having the river named by the injured Guendoline, he says that men *now* call the river Severne, which echoes Geoffrey's "*in hunc diem appellatum est flumen . . . Sabren.*" Yet here Spenser also comes close to Stow's wording, "a riuer, that after the yong maidens name is called Seuerne," and agrees with him in not troubling about the method of deriving Severne from Sabrina, a point which Geoffrey, Holinshed, and others found vexatious. Two points in Spenser's story, however, are independent of all known authority. First Spenser describes the capture and imprisonment of Locrinus, who both in Geoffrey and in the later chroniclers is invariably killed by an arrow in battle. Secondly, he says that Guendoline was killed at the moment of capture, and Sabrina alone drowned in the river. We have in the story of Locrinus, then, an interesting situation. Spenser has repeated a story which he could have found in Geoffrey and in other authorities—although Holinshed's *History* is not among them—and shows traces of possible influence from the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Holinshed's *Description*, and Stow's *Chronicle* (p. 9), but at the same time in two important points varies from previous authorities and gives what is apparently an independent version.

xvii. 6. CHURCH. A Scythian Princess who came over with Humber, and was taken prisoner by Locrine.

xx-xxi. 1-2. HARPER. The story of Guendoline and her son Madan breaks into two parts, her regency and his reign. The first part, which is treated in full by Spenser, may show the influence of Holinshed (p. 17) and Stow (p. 9) in the statement that Madan was too young to rule, although this might be inferred easily enough from Geoffrey's statement (2. 6. 22) that Guendoline surrendered the

scepter when her son reached manhood. The second part of Spenser's story, however, very clearly follows late authorities. Although Geoffrey, Caxton (ch. 7), and Hardyng (ch. 20, p. 47) agree that Madan was a good ruler, Fabyan (p. 12), Holinshed, and Stow, on the other hand, say that Madan "vsed great Tyranny among his Brytons," and the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1. 86 ff.) likewise represents Madan as an evil ruler. So, too, does Spenser. In this case, therefore, Spenser has varied from Geoffrey to follow later versions of the story.

xxi. CHURCH. From his severity in putting the Laws in execution, He was esteem'd a Tyrant; and after he had reigned 40 years, was devoured by wild beasts. He left two sons Memprise and Manild, i. e. Mempricius and Manlius. See Sammes, p. 161.

3-5. HARPER. The transition from Madan to Memprise emphasizes the evil rule of Madan, and so brings into this portion of the story also the influence of the later chroniclers. But the reason why Memprise killed Manild—"for thirst of single kingdom"—is more clearly and forcibly given in Geoffrey's "quia uterque totam insulam possidere aestuabat" than elsewhere. We have in these three lines, therefore, evidence of the use of both Geoffrey (2. 6. 22) and some one of the later chroniclers, possibly Holinshed (p. 17).

xxi. 6-xxii. HARPER. In his account of Ebranck Spenser has introduced so many variations based on the later chroniclers as to lead to the supposition that Geoffrey was entirely superseded at this point. Spenser has added to Geoffrey's story (2. 7-8. 23) three important particulars—the derivation of the name Germany, the name of Brunchild of Henalt, and the final defeat of Ebranck in Gaul—and while retaining the number of the sons as in Geoffrey, he has changed the total number of the children from fifty to fifty-two. The three additions to Geoffrey's story seem all to be based on Stow (p. 9). Holinshed (pp. 17-8) does not mention the naming of Germany, or the defeat of Ebranck, and his reference to Brunchild does not occur in his account of this reign. Holinshed, therefore, cannot be Spenser's source. But the manuscript *Chronologie* by William Harison, to which Holinshed refers, or Stow's source, Jacobus Lessabeus, might conceivably have furnished Spenser with the material he used. Yet even if this were the case, the coincidence in the selection of details would indicate that Stow's account was not without influence. But Spenser's account of the twenty sons who subdued Germany is independent of Stow's confusing statement that "Assaracus, the second son of Ebrancke, with the rest of his young 18 at the least by the ayde of Alba Siluius, conquered all Germany." Spenser had evidently in mind the usual statement that there were twenty brothers. In his count of all the children, however, he may have been influenced by Caxton (ch. 7), who changed the familiar fifty to fifty-three, although it is quite possible that in saying that Ebranck had as many children as there were weeks in the year, Spenser sought merely to substitute a poetical expression for the round number. Nevertheless, even in this case, the variation in Caxton would have had its effect in justifying the liberty he was taking. Spenser's account of Ebranck, then, seems to show in a minor degree the influence of Caxton, and in the main the influence of Stow.

xxi. 6. CHURCH. Son to Memprise. [Quotes Hardyng.]

xxiii-xxiv. HARPER. Spenser's account of the victory won by the second Brutus, with its reference to the Scaldis, the Hania, and Esthambruges, may be based chiefly on Stow's chronicle (p. 9), which it closely resembles, even in the order in which it gives the proper names. Holinshed, however, may have had some influence on Spenser's account of the "green shield" which Brunchildis saw dyed in "dolorous vermill," for Holinshed (p. 18) alone refers to the fact that "Brutus bare alwayes in the field a greene shielde, whereof he toke hys surname." Spenser may also have had access to the *Description of Henalt* by Jacobus Lessabeus or to the *Chronicles* by Jacobus Bergomas, the first of which Stow names as his authority, and both of which are referred to by Holinshed (Holinshed says also that William Harison, in his *Chronologie*, gives the same at large). Certainly he added something to what he found in Stow and Holinshed, for neither authority gives the Welsh words for green shield and red shield, or mentions "the moore twixt Elver-sham and Dell." We may conclude, then, that Spenser, in this vigorous and poetical account of the second Brute, departed entirely from the brief and dry account in Geoffrey (2. 9. 24), and followed Stow, or Stow's original, with perhaps some reference to Holinshed, and certainly with some knowledge of another authority as yet undiscovered.

xxiii. 2-3. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 768:

Et qui te nomine reddet
Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis
Egregius.

xxiv. Milton quotes this stanza in his *History of Britain* (Bohn ed. 4. 175) and comments: "But Henault, and Brunschild, and Greenshield, seem newer names than for a story pretended thus ancient."

1. CHURCH. The River Scheld in Hania or Hannonia, i. e. Henault in the Low-Countries.

6. CHURCH. Brunchild was Prince of Henault. See St. 21. 7.

7-9. UPTON. Ebrank had twenty sons, and these twenty brothers or Germans conquered, and gave name to Germany; and thirty daughters, who went into Italy. His eldest son was Brutus, surnamed Greenshield. See Jeff. of Mon., 2. 8.

8-9. C. B. MILLICAN (*Spenser and the Table Round*, p. 202). It cannot . . . be confirmed . . . that Spenser could read Welsh. But Spenser's interest in Welsh is attested to by the five Welsh words in the account of Brutus Greenshield. The words, which do not appear in either the *Brut Tysilio* or the *Brut Gruffyd ab Arthur* and which are wanting in some copies of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene* . . . , were supplied either by Spenser or by some one with a sufficient knowledge of Welsh pronunciation to suit them to the metre. Whoever added the words to the later issue was attempting to give in their phonetic English equivalents the quality of the Welsh vowels and consonants involved. Spenser introduced these Welsh words obviously to give local color to the chronicle history, which places chief stress on the Welsh descent of the Tudors.

[See "Critical Notes on the Text."]

xxv. UPTON. Leill the son of Brute Greenshield being a lover of peace builded Carleile and repaired Carleon (Stowe, p. 14). And see Ross, p. 22 and Holinshed, p. 12. Should we not therefore read,

And built Carleil and rebuilt Cārlēon strōng.

Pronounce Carleon as of two syllables.

1-3. HARPER. Spenser's account of King Leill, brief as it is, differs from Geoffrey's in three respects—i. e. in the name of Leill, in the reference to Cairleon, and in the statement that the reign was peaceful. Spenser is following the later chroniclers with regard to the name, and also apparently in his reference to Cairleon, although he varies the story by saying that Leill built the city, while the chroniclers state only that he repaired it. The chroniclers do not, however, give any authority for the statement that the reign was peaceful. As mere conjecture one may hazard two suppositions, which separately or conjointly might account for Spenser's reference to the "heritage of lasting peace." Spenser apparently was following Stow in his narrative of the two previous reigns. If he continued to read in Stow (p. 9) he would have found in the first sentence of the paragraph about Leill the main facts. Then he would have been confronted with twenty-nine lines given over to an account of the Roman legion, and filled with figures. If he followed the reader's natural impulse to omit the digression, his eye might easily have caught only the last sentence of the new paragraph, which deals with Rudhudibras, and he would thus have missed Stow's brief reference to civil strife. Or Spenser may have been influenced by the fact that Caxton (ch. 9) makes no mention of the trouble that came at the end of Leill's reign. Consequently, all three variations from Geoffrey's story, and, indeed, Spenser's whole account of the reign of Leill, except for the building instead of the repairing of Cairleon, can be explained on the supposition that Spenser used Caxton and Stow.

EDITOR. "Built strong" could mean repaired, i. e., made it strong.

3. CHILD. "Cair" is city; "Cairleill," Carlisle; "Cairleon" (City of the Legion), Chester; "Cairbadon" (26. 2), Bath.

4-5. HARPER. As Leill "Enjoyd an heritage of lasting peace" which resulted from his "fathers labour long," it is difficult to see why Hudibras found it necessary to teach the land "from wearie wars to cease." At first it seems as if here Spenser, careless of the discrepancy, had reverted to the story told by Geoffrey and repeated in the later chronicles, according to which the civil strife of Leill's reign was pacified by Leill's successor. But Spenser's first line makes this doubtful, for the statement that Hudibras did not increase his realm suggests that the wars which he did not wage were foreign, not civil, wars. Spenser's lines would then grow out of the account of the second Brutus, and would perhaps be an attempt to explain the facts in Geoffrey's account of Hudibras so as to make them harmonize with the account of Leill to which Spenser had previously committed himself. However this may be, Geoffrey was certainly influential in this passage, for the name Hudibras is not found in the later chronicles, which have Rudhudibras, Ludibras, Lud, and other variations of the name. Geoffrey (2. 9. 24) may therefore be considered the source of this passage.

4. CHURCH. Lud or Lud Huddibras (the son of Leill) is also called Rud and Rudibras, surnamed Cicuber. He compos'd the troubles which arose in the latter part of his Father's Reign, and then applied himself to beautify Britain. He built a City which he named Caer Gaut, or Kaerkin, now Canterbury; likewise Caerquent, now Winchester; and Caer Septon, or Caer Palladur supposed to be Shaftsbury. See Sammes, p. 163.

9. JORTIN. Ovid [*Ex Ponto* 2. 9. 47-8]:

Adde quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

xxv. 6-xxvi. HARPER. The description of Bath, in which Spenser showed much interest, is composed of elements that are common to a number of chroniclers. The virtues of the baths were usually, though not by Geoffrey, ascribed to sulphur, for which brimstone is merely another name. Spenser's exact words, "quick Brimston," occur in the metrical fragment in the Cotton copy of "Robert of Gloucester," and as this fragment seems to have been used in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, the coincidence is especially curious. Some version of the material in the fragment may have been in circulation at the end of the sixteenth century, or Spenser may have seen the fragment itself. But even if so, he was also influenced by accounts more nearly contemporary, as is indicated by his reference to the wealth and health that are derived from the baths. And his form of the old name, Cairbadon, which differs slightly from Geoffrey's, a little less from Caxton's, and much from Holinshed's, agrees with Grafton's. Apart from the details in the description of Bath, Spenser has added to Geoffrey's narrative the story of Bladud's journey to Athens, whence he brought the "artes" to Britain. The usual story is that Bladud brought back four philosophers to teach school. According to some accounts he founded the university of Stamford. See Grafton (p. 35), Hardyng (p. 52), *Mirror for Magistrates*, "Bladud" (st. 6, vol. 1, p. 116), Stow (p. 10). For this journey Spenser had ample authority in Hardyng, Grafton, and Stow, and a poetical example in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (l. 112). The use of the word "artes" to describe Bladud's studies suggests that this last had special influence. Spenser's account of Bladud, we may conclude, shows the influence, not of Holinshed, but of other writers later than Geoffrey. Basing the assertion on what is admittedly slight evidence, we may name among the works from which Spenser may have drawn material (1) the fragment in the Cotton copy of "Robert of Gloucester," (2) Grafton (p. 34 f.) and (3) the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

xxvi. UPTON. Bladud studied magick; and, attempting to fly to the upper regions of the air, fell upon the temple of Apollo, and was dashed to pieces. Geoffrey of Mon., 2. 10. See also the *Mir. for Mag.* fol. 30. 2, where 'tis mentioned that he studied at Athens, and brought with him from thence some learned men, whom he settled at Stamford in Lincolnshire, and there built a college. See Drayton, *Polyolb.* (1613), p. 112, and Selden's notes. Compare *F. Q.* 4. 11. 35.

xxvii-xxxii. W. PERRETT (*The Story of King Lear*, pp. 90-2). Spenser lets Prince Arthur, in the House of Temperance, read "A chronicle of Briton kings, from Brute to Vthers rayne," from "An auncient booke, hight Briton moniments"

(2. 9. 59. 6). Evidently it was Geoffrey's "liber vetustissimus" that "chaunced to the Princes hand to rize." Six stanzas of the canto (27-32), tell of Leir and Cordelia. They were written, it seems, in Ireland. The poet had finished Bk. 1 and part of Bk. 2 before leaving England in 1580. The earliest references to Ireland appear in Bk. 2, canto 9, and that book was probably completed in the early years of his residence in Dublin. Returning to London in Nov., 1589, he lost no time in getting a publisher for what was ready of his work, namely the first three books. It was entered S. R. 1st Dec. 1589, and published 1590 (cf. *DNB*). This supplies a *terminus a quo* for the Old Play (cf. § 53, a 2).

When we attempt to discover the sources of this version, we are confronted with the same difficulties, in a greater degree, as with Warner. It is altogether too compendious, and at the same time too independent, to supply sufficient data for a certain inference. With naïve writers like Higgins and the anonymous dramatist, who without any considerable previous knowledge of the British history compose immediately from authorities to which subsidiary points at once afford a clue, the task is easy. But in Spenser we have to do with an antiquary who had followed the then burning question of the authenticity of the British record with a zeal which it would not repay me, for the purposes of this study, to emulate. I therefore leave unanswered such questions as why he wrote "Aganip of Celtica" when "Gallia" would have given a better rhyme; what was his authority for sending Bladud to Athens (25. 7); whence came his knowledge of the Welsh for Brute Greneshield etc. (24. 6 f.). The names Gonerill, Cordeill, Maglan, Aganip are Englished directly from the original Latin forms, which are all given by Fabian, Grafton, Holinshed. Of these Holinshed alone gives Regan (Fab., Grft.: Ragan) as in Geoffrey, and as much detail of the unkindness of the two daughters as Leir's "going from the one to the other" (drawn from Caxton to eke out Fabian). In *F. Q.* Leyr goes from Gonerill to Regan, but not back again. The intended division, however ("Mongst whom his realme he equally decreed To haue diuided"), cannot possibly have come from Holinshed, where, as we have seen (§ 49), the king purposed giving the whole kingdom to Cordeilla. It agrees only with *Eulogium Historiarum* ("cogitavit regnum inter eas aequis portionibus dividere"), and Polydore Vergil ("opes aequa lance dividendas statuit"), both of which are otherwise out of the question. Geoffrey alone satisfies all demands. The desire for brevity leads in *Eul. Hist.*, Polydore Vergil, and *F. Q.* independently to the intended division in the original, into thirds, being regarded as equal, in comparison with the notorious inequality of the actual division, although there the king, by a lack of mathematical precision, contrives to make the third which he keeps up his sleeve for Cordeilla, larger than either of the two thirds he has already disposed of. (Just as Shakespeare's Lear does if we read "equalities" with Q₁.) But Geoffrey is very laxly followed; and one or two points, especially the title of Regan's husband, "the king of Cambria," suggest that Spenser worked without the book, but from memory aided with notes of Geoffrey. Hardyng, followed by Stow's *Summary*, Grafton's *Abridgement*, and the *Mirror for Magistrates*, adds Camber to Cornwall's territory, but Spenser was probably influenced by the recollection of Brute's division of Britain into Albania, Cambria, and Leogria. He cannot be freed from the reproach of inconsistency. Leir voluntarily divides his realm (29. 3) but does not grieve to be deposed (29. 9) and Cordelia levies an

army "to war on those, which him had of his realme bereau'd" (31. 9), as if his land had been taken from him by force, as in the original.—Rhyme in Spenser's difficult stanza is a powerful factor. It not only produces the meaningless statement that Leyr put his question "with speeches sage," but is responsible for the form Cordelia (cf. pp. 161-2) and for the hanging of the heroine ("herself she hong" to rhyme with "strong" and "long." Cf. 3, § 25).

HARPER. Spenser's story of King Lear follows the outline of Geoffrey's narrative (2. 11-4, pp. 24 ff.) but shows a few changes in details, and such variation in incidents as would naturally result from an endeavor to shorten the story without detracting from its interest. Perhaps to accomplish this Spenser substituted the immediate division of the kingdom for Geoffrey's partial division, which was not to be followed by the gift of the whole ("Totam monarchiam Britanniae") until after the death of Lear (see also Hardyng, Ch. 26). This abridgment would of itself have necessitated a second change, inasmuch as the rebellion against Lear would no longer be a necessary step toward the catastrophe. The same desire for brevity would have led Spenser to omit the particulars of the unnatural conduct of Gonorrilla and Regan, and to assign the whole action to Lear's old age. So far, then, as the choice and the order of incidents go, Spenser's account may well have been based entirely on Geoffrey's. The belief that it was so based is confirmed by the verbal similarity that appears in the beginning of the story.

The possibility still remains that later chronicles influenced Spenser's account in phrasing and detail. The answers of the three daughters at once attract attention. As they stand in the versions of the story that are most likely to have influenced Spenser they may be tabulated as follows:

Gonorrill. Spenser: more than her owne life.

Geoffrey: plus . . . quam animam quae in corpore suo degebat.

Hardyng: more then myself ay.

Caxton: better than hir owne lyf.

Holinshed: more than her owne life, which by right and reason should be most deere vnto hir.

Warner: The elder did esteem her life inferior to her love.

Regan. Spenser: Greater love to him profest
Then all the world.

Geoffrey: super omnes creaturas.

Hardyng: more then all this world so fayre.

Caxton: more and passyng all the creatures of the world.

Holinshed: far aboue all other creatures of the world.

Cordelia. Spenser: she lov'd him as behoov'd.

Geoffrey: Begins with a question and is long.

Caxton: I loue yow as moche as I ought to loue my father.

Holinshed: loue you as my naturall father.

Warner: The youngest said her loue was such as did a childe behoue.

This tabulation shows that in the wording of the first answer Spenser agrees with Holinshed, in that of the second with Hardyng, and in that of the third with Warner. The coincidence in the first case might result from independent transla-

tions of Geoffrey's Latin, but in the second case this seems less likely, and in the third case impossible. The closing sentence of Cordeilla's answer in Geoffrey, "Etenim quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque diligo," is repeated in all the versions of the Lear story that are at all full, except Warner's and Spenser's. This, when taken in connection with the use of the word "behooved" by both poets, seems to be more than the result of chance. It is possible that both Spenser and Warner were influenced by Caxton's simple, "I loue you as moche as I ought to loue my father." Yet the coincidence may be due to the fact that both poets needed a word to rhyme with love.

Again an influence from some source later than Geoffrey appears in the titles of the husbands of Gonorilla and Regan. According to Geoffrey, Holinshed, and most of the other writers they are dukes; in Spenser they are kings. Furthermore, according to most versions, Regan marries the ruler of Cornwall, but according to Spenser she marries the ruler of Cambria. To explain both these changes Perrett has suggested that Spenser had in mind the original division of the kingdom among the sons of Brutus (see Perrett, *Story of King Lear*, p. 92). This explanation, however, loses sight of the fact that Spenser made Locrine "the souveraine Lord of all" and never applied the title of king to the other two brothers. It neglects also the very probable influence of the writers who preceded Spenser. In Hardyng we have Regan married to

Euin of Walis, and of Cornwayne ther by
That duke was of those twoo landes stoute.

And Lear

gave rule and governaunce
Of all Briteine

to his two sons-in-law. Following Hardyng alone, then, Spenser might by anticipation have named the two men as kings, because of the royal power that immediately became theirs, and not wishing to mention both Wales and Cornwall, he might have retained Wales as the more important division of Britain in his own day. The name he would naturally have changed to Cambria, especially as Hardyng later speaks of Regan's son as "king of *Cambre y^t Walis is now*." A tendency to do this would have been strengthened by a recollection of the lines in the *Mirror for Magistrates*:

And eke my sister Ragan to Hinniue to haue,
And for her dowry Camber and Cornwall.

Finally we have the fact that Caxton calls Maugles "kyng of Scotland." The united influence of these statements in Hardyng, Caxton, and the *Mirror for Magistrates* is sufficient to account for Spenser's details.

We may conclude, then, that Spenser's version of the Lear story is in general outline based directly on Geoffrey's, which by condensation, however, is somewhat modified, and that it is influenced in phrasing and detail by Holinshed, Warner, and Hardyng, and perhaps also by Caxton and the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

xxix. UPTON. According to Jeff. of M. the two eldest daughters were married to the dukes of Cornwal and Albania (i. e. Scotland) and the youngest, Cor-

deilla, was sent to Gaul (Celtica) and married to Aganippus. Compare Holinshed, p. 13.

5. CHURCH. Aganippus King of France, who upon hearing of Cordelia's Beauty (according to Jeffrey of Monmouth) or rather Wisdom and Goodness (as Robert of Gloucester says), sent and demanded Her in marriage without any Portion.

xxxii. HARPER. The only variation from Geoffrey in this part of the Lear story is Spenser's statement that Cordelia hanged herself. Layamon says that she killed herself with a knife (*Brut* 1. 160, lines 3776-7), with which weapon also she is slain by Despair in the *Mirror for Magistrates*. The usual statement is the simple "she slew herself." Spenser may have varied the mode of death because hanging seemed to him more tragic, or through the influence of Greek tragedy, or because he had in mind the *Mirror for Magistrates*, where a long passage that describes Cordelia's death is devoted to an account of the temptation of the imprisoned Queen by Despair, an account in which hanging is curiously emphasized. (This is not the only case where Spenser has substituted hanging for some other death. In the *Faerie Queene*, 1. 5. 50, we have

Faire Sthenoboea, that herself did choke
With wilful cord, for wanting of her will.

According to classical story she drank poison—Aristoph., *Ran.*, 1082. In the *Faerie Queene* 3. 3. 36, Pellite was hanged, although according to Geoffrey, Holinshed, and others, he was stabbed.) Sir Terwin, when he appears, has around his neck a rope which Despair has given him. Then Despair offers to the Red Cross Knight "swords, ropes, poison, fire." In the end, disappointed of his prey, Despair

chose an halter from among the rest,
And with it hong himselfe, unbid, unblest.

Since death by hanging is so conspicuous in a passage suggested at least in part by the temptation of Cordelia in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, it may well be that the rope which was there offered to her remained in Spenser's mind and led him to say that Cordelia hanged herself. The *Mirror for Magistrates*, then, with Geoffrey's *Historia*, would seem to have been the source of Spenser's stanza.

xxxiii. HARPER. Spenser agrees with Geoffrey (2. 15. 29) in the sequence and form of the two statements, (1) that a country in Wales was named after Morgan, and (2) that Cundah, after the defeat of his brother, reigned alone. (Stow has a similar sequence and phrasing, but does not give authority for Spenser's first line.) But the names of both brothers show the influence of later chronicles, as does also the name Glamorgan. Cundah seems to be a shortened form of the Cunedag of Holinshed (pp. 20, 27-*sic*), or of the Conedage of Caxton, or of the Condage of Hardyng, while Morgan is to be found in Caxton (Ch. 14), and Grafton (p. 37), and both Morgan and Glamorgan are given in Hardyng (Ch. 29), the *Polychronicon* (p. 41), the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1. 146), and Stow (p. 10). As Geoffrey does not give the name Glamorgan in any form, and as Holinshed renders it Glau Morgan, Spenser has clearly modified Geoffrey's account

without following Holinshed. His modification may have come from any one of several sources, or from the combined influence of them all. At the same time, the foundation of the story remains the narrative in Geoffrey.

1. CHURCH. As all the Historians, I have met with, say they were Cousins; I incline to think Spenser here uses "Brethren" (and in the third line "Brother") for Relation in general. He calls Octa and Oza, who were Cousins only (3. 3. 52): "the Paynim Brethren."

xxxiv. UPTON. Cunedagius was succeeded by his son Rivallo—in whose time it rained blood three days together. Jeff. of Monm., 2. 16; Stowe, p. 15; Holinshed, p. 14.

1-2. HARPER. These two lines bear a strong resemblance to Stow's account (p. 10) of the reign of Rivallus, and both Stow and Spenser reproduce Geoffrey's account. Spenser's "sad time" may, however, reflect Hardyng's "the land to mykell woo" (Ch. 30). Yet the facts in Geoffrey would be in themselves a sufficient justification for Spenser's adjective. It is not necessary to assume any other source than the *Historia*.

2. JORTIN. A prodigy not unfrequent, if you will believe ancient poets and historians.

CHURCH. See Derham's *Phys. Theol.*, p. 23. The Curious readers may there find a remarkable Instance of this nature.

3. CHURCH. Hardyng and Slatyer call him Iago. . . . Milton says "Iago or Lago," p. 28.

3-6. HARPER. Spenser's account of the five kings who ruled after Rivallo seems to be nothing more than a rephrasing of Geoffrey's (2. 16. 29). Three of the names, Gurgustus, Caecily, and Gorbogud, are slightly different from what we should expect from Geoffrey's Latin (Gurgustius, Gorbodug, Sisillius), yet do not seem to have been affected by the later chroniclers, except for Caecily, which is noticeably similar to the Cycilly in Robert Manning of Brunne, a form which may have been preserved in some of the chronicles which Spenser knew. At least Spenser must have been influenced by the spellings in older chronicles such as Fabyan's (p. 17). The three syllable form, however, and likewise the names Gurgustus and Gorbogud, may result from Spenser's changes for euphony and for convenience in versification.

xxxiv. 7-xxxv. HARPER. Spenser reproduces in a brief form the essential points of Geoffrey's account (2. 16. 29 f.) of Ferrex and Porrex [first noticed by CHURCH]. His only variation is the apparently unauthorized statement that the two sons imprisoned their father. They quarreled, according to Geoffrey, during the lifetime of their father, but according to Holinshed (p. 22), after his death. Spenser's story is manifestly nearer to Geoffrey's than to Holinshed's. Indeed, his variation may be an inference to explain the fate of the father, which Geoffrey leaves in obscurity. There is no evidence that Spenser was influenced by any authority other than Geoffrey.

xxxvi. UPTON. He says "sacred progeny," because descended from the Trojan kings and heroes, who claimed kindred with the gods.

HARPER. Here Spenser has made two additions to Geoffrey's narrative (2. 16. 30): the first, that the line of Brutus ended with Ferrex and Porrex, and the second, that the progeny of Brutus ruled 700 years. The first statement has ample authority in Holinshed (p. 22) and Stow (p. 10). The second seems to be based on the figures in the *Polychronicon*, quoted by Holinshed, according to which the accession of Dunwallo was 703 years after the arrival of Brutus. Spenser may have identified the accession of the new line with the end of the old, and so have spoken of the 700 years that the line of Brutus reigned. But, while both additions to Geoffrey's story may thus be accounted for by Holinshed, Spenser's expansion of this part of his story and his emotional treatment of it, in strong contrast with Warner's brevity (p. 68), suggest an influence from the lament of Eubulus in the *Tragedy of Gorboduc* (5. 2. 180 ff.). To this lament Spenser's lines bear a decided resemblance. For this reason the *Tragedy of Gorboduc* as well as Holinshed should be counted as a source of this stanza.

xxxvii-xxxix. HARPER. Spenser, in his account of Dunwallo, closely follows Geoffrey's *Historia* (2. 17. 30-1), and yet in three points shows the influence of the later chroniclers. He agrees with Holinshed (p. 23) in his reference to the special laws against stealing; he accepts the statement in Caxton (Ch. 20), Hardyng (Ch. 31), and Holinshed (p. 23) that Dunwallo was the first king in Britain who ever wore a crown of gold; and like Hardyng, and the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1. 173), he gives Ymner an evil reputation. Spenser also adds details, such as the gathering of the princes to choose Dunwallo, and Dunwallo's title, the "Numa of great Britany." Such details, however, are of a nature to give vividness to the narration, and may well be of Spenser's invention, stimulated by his interest in this king, whose reign he describes in unusually vigorous stanzas. For this reason the only sources outside of Geoffrey which we need to assume are Hardyng or the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and Holinshed.

xxxvii. UPTON. Let me desire the reader to stop a moment, and consider, with what poetical art Spenser raises the expectation; and how he keeps you in suspense and delay—"Then up arose a man"—You know not who this man is; in the next Stanza you hear his achievements; after that you hear of him as a law-giver; then to satisfy your curiosity, and with the finest pathos he adds, "Dunwallo dide." This hero, on whom Spenser so finely expatiates, was Dunwallo Molmutius. See Jeff. of Monmouth, B. 2. C. 17. And Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1613), p. 113.

xxxviii. 4. CHURCH. I. e. Scotland.

xxxix. 3-4. HARPER. He agrees with Holinshed, p. 23:

Moreouer, this Mulmutius gaue priuileges to Temples, to ploughes, to Cities, and to high wayes leading to the same, so that whosoever fled to them, should be in safegard from bodily harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrey he would. . . . And further he deuised sore and streight orders for the punishing of theft.

xl. HARPER. In Spenser's brief but appreciative account of Brennus and Belinus there is again evidence of the fusion of the *Historia* (3. 1-10. 31 ff.) and the later chronicles. Only in Geoffrey is the story of the broken treaty told at length and with sufficient detail to suggest Spenser's lines,

That sacked Rome too dearly did assay,
The recompense of their perjured oth.

And only in later writers is there any mention of the conquest of Greece. This Spenser could have found in Fabyan, Grafton, the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and Stow (p. 11). Holinshed (p. 27) also speaks of it, though in so argumentative a manner as to make his influence doubtful. Probably the agreement of these writers, rather than the influence of any single one of them, accounts for Spenser's inclusion of the non-Galfridian material in a stanza which of necessity omitted much of the original story.

xli. HARPER. Spenser's account of Gurgiant closely follows Geoffrey's (3. 11-12) even in phrasing, but adds the conquest of Easterland and the statement that Ireland was to be held "as subject to Britayne." For the conquest of Easterland there seems to be no authority. The name itself may be derived from the name of the people mentioned by Holinshed (p. 21), "the Ostomanni or . . . Easterlings" (mentioned by Spenser, st. 63). The statement that Ireland was to be subject to Britain seems certainly based on Holinshed. (The resemblance has previously been pointed out by Kitchin.) Holinshed and Geoffrey, therefore, were apparently Spenser's sources for everything in this stanza except the reference to Easterland.

1. CHURCH. Sammes: "Gurguint surnamed Brabtrue (Borlase calls him Gurgwintus Barbrucus) according to others Barbarous, i. e. The Red-Beard. The English Chronicle calleth him Corinbratus. He was the Son of Belin, and succeeded him, in the year of the World, 3596." Spenser perhaps gave "Gurguint."

xl.ii. HARPER. Spenser's account of Guitheline and Mertia shows in its phrasing such a strong resemblance to Hardyng's as to make the influence of Hardyng (Ch. 35) a certainty. (Kitchin has pointed out the resemblance, but has overlooked the fact that only in Hardyng is there precedent for Spenser's adjective "just.") Spenser's form of the king's name, however, differs from that used by Hardyng and the other later chroniclers, and likewise from that in the early printed editions of Geoffrey. But Spenser's form appears in the San Marte edition of Geoffrey, so it seems probable that Spenser may have taken it from some manuscript of the *Historia*. The comparison of Mertia to Aegeria, like the reference to Numa in the account of Dunwallo, is not suggested by the chroniclers. Spenser's sources for this stanza seem to have been Geoffrey (3. 13) and Hardyng.

8. SAWTELLE (p. 17). With this compare Ov., *Fast.* 3. 263 and 275.

xl.iii. UPTON. Upon the death of Guithelin the government remained in the hands of queen Martia and her son Sisilius, then but seven years old; next reigned Kimarus, to whom succeeded Danius his brother. He dying, the Crown came to Morvidus (Morindus in the *Mirror of Magistrates*, fol. 61. and in Dray-

ton's *Polyolbion*, 1613, p. 114), who had made an excellent prince, had he not been addicted to cruelty—Jeffry of Monmouth, 3. 13-4.

HARPER. The name Sisilius underwent many changes at the hands of the chroniclers. Spenser's form is to be found in Grafton (p. 46) and Bale (ed. 1557, p. 13). The name Kimarus shows no variation. Spenser's form Danius appears in the San Marte edition of Geoffrey (3. 14-5), but in the early printed editions we have Elanius, which is also the preferred form in Holinshed (p. 29). Spenser's Morindus, on the other hand, agrees with the form in the early printed editions of Geoffrey, and not with that reproduced in the San Marte text. The form Morindus is also found in Grafton, Ponticus Virunnius (ed. 1585, p. 14), Holinshed, and Stow (p. 12). The description of the character of Morindus seems based on Geoffrey. The evidence of the names is not decisive, but on the whole the main source of the stanza appears to be Geoffrey.

One point remains inexplicable. Spenser goes out of his way to say that the body of Morindus sleeps in rest, although other chroniclers agree that Morindus was devoured by a sea-monster. No version of the story is known which warrants this contradiction, as it were, of the usual account.

3. CHURCH. Bastard son to Danius. In his days the Morands, i. e. the Moriani, or rather Morini, a people of Gaul (Milton calls them Picards) landing in Northumberland, with fire and sword wasted that country, but were at last utterly defeated by Morindus.

xliv-xlv. HARPER. Spenser has compressed the account of the five sons of Morindus and their thirty-three successors into two stanzas, which reproduce the general outline of the story in Geoffrey (3. 16-20), and yet show also the influence of the later chroniclers. From the form in the early printed editions of Geoffrey, or more probably from Fabyan's "Archigallo" (p. 29) and Holinshed's "Archigallus" (2nd ed., p. 20), Spenser made the name Archigald. From Fabyan, Grafton (1. 47), or Stow (p. 12), or less probably from the one occurrence of the name in the first edition of Holinshed, he took the name Gorboman. The description of Gorboman as "a man of vertuous life," seems due to Holinshed's adjective "devout" rather than to Geoffrey's account of the king's justice. According to Kitchin, Spenser's adjective "pitteous" applied to Elidure is the result of Hardyng's statement that he "was so full of all pytee." To this it may be added that the heading of the chapter in Hardyng's chronicle states that Elidure "of pure pytee" crowned his brother. Caxton likewise emphasizes the word pity, in this sense of "evincing pity." If the adjective be understood in its other meaning, "fitted to excite pity," one might refer to Hardyng's description of how Elidure's brothers

prisoned hym full sore and wrongfullye
All in the towre of Troynouant for thy.

The meaning of "evincing pity," is, however, the more probable, and might easily come from Geoffrey's statement that Elidurus was surnamed Pius because of his pity for his brother ("propter misericordiam"). The influence of Hardyng, therefore, need not necessarily be assumed, although it is a possibility. Neither is it necessary to assume the influence of Fabyan, Grafton, and Stow, as Geoffrey and

the first edition of Holinshed could have furnished Spenser with all his material. It is significant, however, that except for the description of Gorboman the points which seem to show the influence of the later writers are all to be found in more than one chronicle.

xliv. 4. CHURCH. Or Archigallo. Hardyng calls him Arthegall. He endeavoured to depress the Nobility.

6. CHURCH. He was called "Elidure the meek."

xlv. 1. CHURCH. He was confin'd for seventeen years in the Tower of London, during the successive Reigns of Vigent and Peridure; after whose deaths he resum'd the Throne a third time, reigned four years with great applause, and was buried at Caerlisle.

8. CHURCH. Jeffrey of Monmouth, Sammes and Borlase, give the names of thirty-three Princes between Elidure and Hely or Heli. But the Poet has judiciously pass'd over this Period, as there is great difference (as Sammes observes) in the Historians, not only concerning the names of these Princes, but the number of them, and the times of their Reigns, and thereby great confusion is made in the British History.

9. CHURCH. See Borlase:

Hely, alias Bely, reign'd according to Hardyng, sixty, to Geoffry of Monmouth, forty years. The Britains call him Beli Mawr, that is, Beli, or Belinus the Great; and the Welsh Bards in tracing all Genealogies, have nothing more to do, than to rise as high as this Belinus the Great, because thence (as Dr. Powel says, note on Girald. Camb., p. 246), quite up to Aeneas, the pedigree of the Britans is sufficiently known, and allow'd. Henry VII. sent into Wales purposely to enquire into the Pedigree of Owen Tudor his grandfather, and it was trac'd up to this Belin the Great, and no higher; a Copy of which Pedigree Powel was then posses'd of.

This Pedigree is printed in the Appendix to Wynne's *History of Wales*, 8vo. 1702.

xlvi. UPTON. Jeff. of Monmouth reckons thirty-three success^r of Elidure, after whom succeeded Hely and reigned forty years. He had three sons, Lud, Cassibellaun and Nennius—3. 19-20. Lud left behind him two sons, Androgeus and Tenuantius.

HARPER. In saying that Lud rebuilt the walls of London, Spenser is closer to Geoffrey (3. 20) than to any of the later chroniclers, all of whom, except Stow, agree that he built the walls. Stow (p. 13) says that he "repaired" the city "with fair buildings and walls," but Geoffrey wrote "renovavit muros," which might well be translated by Spenser's words.

The . . . wals he did re-aedify.

Therefore Geoffrey seems to have been Spenser's source. The rest of the stanza offers further correspondences in phrasing, and practically repeats Geoffrey's story. There is only one important variation. Geoffrey says that Hely had three sons, and Spenser says that he had two. The change may possibly be accounted for by the fact that only two of the sons, Lud and Cassibalane, play a part in later events,

and by the additional fact that no third son is mentioned by Grafton in his *Abridgement*, by Lanquet in his *Epitome*, or by Stow in either *Summary* or *Chronicle*. In this change the later chronicles may have influenced Spenser slightly. For the stanza as a whole, however, Geoffrey was apparently the main source.

xlvii-xlix. HARPER. Spenser's account of Cassibalane and of Caesar's invasion is, on the whole, up to stanza forty-nine, an accurate summary of Geoffrey's narrative (3. 20 and 4. 1-10). The death of Nennius, however, is there described as if it occurred in the third invasion, though Spenser may not have meant to be so understood, as his "Through great bloodshed and many a sad assay" may refer to all three invasions, instead of to the third exclusively. Yet even if this line were meant to carry the time back to the first invasion, the story of Nennius occupies an odd position, which curiously enough is identical with its position in Hardyng (chs. 42-4), so that Hardyng seems to have had some influence.

In spite of its compression of many facts into a small space, this passage is characterized by grace of style, a distinctly rapid, easy method of narration, and an appeal to the emotions. As a result, Spenser adds to the usual story of the sword of Nennius that it is "yet to be seen this day," and ends with an exulting reference to Arthur. For these additions, as for the general character of the narrative, he seems to have had no source or example. We may say, therefore, that Geoffrey was his main source, and that from Hardyng came the only additional influence that we can discover.

xlix. UPTON. According to our old British historian, Caesar and Nennius fighting in single combat, the sword of Caesar fastned so hard in the shield of Nennius, that he could not draw it out again. Nennius however was mortally wounded in this battle; and his exequies were royally performed by Cassibellaun; and Caesar's sword was put into his tomb with him. See likewise the *Mirroure of Magistrates*, Fol. 70.

5. CHURCH. Robert of Gloucester says it was buried with him.

l-li. UPTON. Cassibellaun was succeeded by Tenuantius: after him reigned Kymbelinus his son, a great soldier, and educated by Augustus Caesar. He freely paid the Romans tribute, when he might have refused it. This prince had two sons, Guiderius and Arviragus, after whom the elder, Guiderius, reigned; who refused to pay tribute to the Romans, for which reason Claudius, the emperor, invaded Britain. In the battle between the Romans and Britons, Guiderius was slain through the treachery of a Roman named Levis Hamo disguised as a Briton. . . . See the *Mirroure of Magistrates*, Fol. 87, 88: "How Guiderius king of Britayne, was slain in battle by a Roman Laelius Hamo." But Arviragus, his brother, seeing him slain, dressed himself in his brother's armour, and thus encouraging the Britons, routed the Romans, and at length slew the treachetour Hamo. Jeff. of Monm., 4. 13; *Mirroure of Magistrates*, Fol. 88. The reader may see that Spenser omits Guiderius, and confounds the actions of Kimbeline with Guiderius. . . . For 'twas Guiderius, Cymbeline's son, that refused to pay tribute; but Cymbeline himself, or, as others call him, Cuno-belin, king of the Cattivellauni, kept fair with the Romans, and freely paid them tribute. He even coined money, some of

which now remains in the cabinets of the curious, with the letters CUNOB on one side; on the reverse is seen a man stamping money with these letters, TASCIA, by which the antiquarians guess 'twas designed for the payment of a tribute. See Cambden's *Britannia*.

l-li. 5. HARPER. The lines on the birth of Christ that immediately follow the mention of Kimbeline appear to have been suggested by Hardyng's lines on the same subject (Ch. 45). The statement that comes next, namely, that the Romans made war on Kimbeline because he refused to pay tribute, may possibly have some foundation in a sentence in Holinshed (p. 47), where it is said that the war with Rome in the time of Tenantius was due to the refusal of tribute by "Kymbeline or some other Prince of the Brytaines." More probably, however, these lines, like the following, are due to Spenser's omission of Guiderius, whose story is transferred in its totality to Kimbeline. According to Holinshed, Harison omitted Guiderius. Perhaps Harison also transferred the story of Guiderius to Kimbeline and is the source of the passage in Spenser. Certainly, in the face of Holinshed's evidence about Harison, one hesitates to assume that Spenser has here merely made a mistake. Apart from this possible influence of Harison's *Chronologie*, the sources of Spenser seem to have been only Geoffrey and Hardyng.

l. 2-4. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. John 1. 14.

3-4. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. 1 Corinthians 15. 22.

8. CHURCH. As Kimbeline is last mentioned, it should seem that he was the Person whom the Romans invaded for refusing to pay tribute, but he was not. The King then reigning was Guiderius, Elder Brother to Arvirage (see next Stanza) and Son to Kimbeline.

li. 1. CHURCH. He means that Claudius was the next Emperor (after Julius Caesar) that invaded Britain. But why does he call him "Good"?

li. 6-lii. HARPER. Although the opening lines in Spenser's account of Arvirage seem to echo Hardyng's (Ch. 46), the rest of the story follows Geoffrey (4. 13-6) closely. Not only is it the same in general outline, but also it shows the influence of Geoffrey in the wording of the reference to Arvirage's reputation. Both Geoffrey and Hardyng seem to have been used by Spenser.

lii. UPTON. Claudius, emperor of Rome, married his daughter Genuissa to Arviragus—Jeff. of Mon., 4. 15. See Holinshed.

CHURCH. As no mention is made, in the Roman Histories, of the several circumstances in this Stanza, Sammes suspects the whole to be fabulous. Unless, says he, we may take Hollinshead's word, that Arviragus was the same with Prasutagus mentioned by Tacitus. Milton likewise treats the whole as fabulous.

liii-liv. 5. HARPER. Spenser, in his account of Marius, omitted the war with the Picts which is described by Geoffrey (4. 17-20 and 5. 1-2), Holinshed (pp. 52 ff.), and all the other chroniclers. This is the more surprising as the war ended in a British victory which was commemorated by a stone in Westmoreland,—just the kind of material that should have appealed to Spenser. He may have rejected

it, however, because in many accounts, such as Caxton's (Ch. 40), the king who waged the war is called, not Marius, but Westmer, presumably as a result of Geoffrey's having said that the province of Westmoreland was named from him. Any mention of the war would have suggested to the well-informed reader this troublesome disagreement among authorities. So Spenser, keeping the name of the king as he found it in Geoffrey and Holinshed, simply used Holinshed's words, "in great tranquillity," to describe the whole of the reign, instead of its conclusion. From the phrasing we infer the use of Holinshed at this point.

In the description of the reign of Lucius the reference to Joseph of Arimathy shows again the influence of Holinshed, the only writer who speaks of him at this point, although reference to him in the reign of Arviragus is common. No where in the chronicles, however, does there seem to be mention of the grail. This Spenser apparently added from the romances. Holinshed, therefore, remains the only chronicler whose influence we can trace in Spenser's account of Marius, Coyll, and Lucius.

liii. WARTON (1. 34). Our author has taken notice of a superstitious tradition, which is related at large in this romance (*Morte Arthur*). . . .

The Holy Grale, that is, the real blood of our blessed Saviour. What Spenser here writes grayle, is often written "sangreal," or "St. grale," in *Morte Arthur*; and it is there said to have been brought into England by Joseph of Arimathea. Many of king Arthur's knights are in the same book represented as adventuring in quest, or in search of the sangreal, or "sanguis realis." This expedition was one of the first subjects of the old romance.

1. CHURCH. Son to Aviragus.

3. CHURCH. Coyll the Second, Son to Marius. Coyll the First is of the number of the 33 Princes spoken of St. 45.

7-8. UPTON. "They say," i. e. 'tis the general opinion, "ita aiunt," Terent. *Andr.* Act 1, Sc. 2. See Donatus: and the ingenious Broukhous: in his notes on Propert., p. 163. — Stillingfleet in his antiquities of the British churches thinks, with good reason, that this tradition of Joseph of Arimathea, was an invention of the Monks of Glassenbury to advance the reputation of their monastery—and in pag. 13. he mentions a book entitled, the Acts of K. Arthur, and the Inquisition of Lancelot de Lac—with the tradition of the holy graal about the six hundred companions and the prince of Media—"But I can find no better authority (says Stillingfleet) for one part than for the other; and for all that I can see, the holy graal deserves as much credit, as the book taken out of Pilat's palace, or Melkinus Avalonius—Helinandus takes notice of the vision to the British Eremit about that time concerning Joseph of Arimathea, and the dish, wherein our Saviour ate the passover with his disciples, which sort of dish, he saith, was then called in French graal; but others think the true name of sangreal, being some of Christ's real blood, which he shed upon the cross, which was said to be somewhere found by king Arthur: and to confirm this, it is said in the authentic writing of Melkinus, that in the coffin of Joseph were two silver vessels filled with the blood and sweat of Jesus the prophet." Spenser, by holy graal, plainly means the sacred dish

wherein our Saviour ate the passover: this is plain not only from what is cited above from Stillingfleet, but what follows from Menage, "graal ou greal un vaseau de terre, une terrine. Ce mot vient de grais, parce que ces vaisseaux sont fait de grais cuit. Il y a un Roman ancien, intitulé La Conquête du Saingreal (this romance was borrowed or imitated by the compiler of the History of prince Arthur; see Part 3. Chap. 35.) c'est à dire, du S. Vasseau où estoit le sang de Jesus Christ, qu'il appelle aussi le sang real, c'est à dire, le sang royal: et ainsi ces deux choses sont confondues tellement, qu' on ne connoist qu' avec peine quand les anciens Romans qui en parlent fort souvent, entendent le Vasseau ou le Sang."

8. CHILD. At the beginning of the twelfth century it appeared in Genoa, and there it was preserved until Napoleon transported it to Paris. For an account of the word "graal," see Diez, *Etym. Wörterb.*, p. 647. The mistaken derivation from "sang réel" is still given in books.

liv. 6-lvi. HARPER. Spenser's treatment of the story of Bunduca deserves particular attention. In the first place, his mere inclusion of it is significant, as it is non-Galfridian material not incorporated into the mythical history of Britain until after the time of Hardyng. In the second place, Spenser is apparently independent of all his predecessors in choosing the place for inserting this foreign material, and in his method of fusing it with the rest of the narrative. And in the third place, he seems almost equally independent of his predecessors in the details of the story.

The inclusion of the material is what would naturally be expected. The story rested on good classical authority,—Tacitus and Dion Cassius. It was accepted by the best chroniclers contemporary with Spenser,—Holinshed (pp. 60 ff.) and Stow (pp. 32-3). It was discussed by the antiquarian, Camden (*Brit.*, pp. 37-46). It was a good story in itself, and inasmuch as it glorified a woman it was likely to appeal to Elizabeth.

The place where the story is inserted was apparently the result of careful study on Spenser's part. Holinshed and other writers who sought for historical accuracy, following the statement that Bunduca was the wife of Arviragus, introduced her story just before the reign of Marius, where, however, it contradicted Geoffrey's narrative, according to which Marius immediately succeeded his father Arviragus, and Britain was at peace with Rome. Spenser ingeniously transferred the story to the period of civil dissension and Roman warfare following the death of Lucius, when such a leader as Bunduca might well have arisen. After describing her death he could easily return to Geoffrey's narrative with the account of Severus and Fulgenius. By this arrangement, Spenser, without falsifying those portions of Geoffrey's narrative which he kept, contrived to make his own chronicle, in spite of its extraneous material, both plausible and coherent.

The source of Spenser's account of Bunduca remains to be considered. But first we shall do well to notice its general characteristics. It is not a simple and straightforward account. Bunduca takes arms, calls the Britons to her, marches against her foes, surrounds them near the Severne, but in the ensuing battle is defeated because her captains, bribed by Paulinus, desert her. Rallying the remnant of her forces, she fights again, and is again defeated. Then she slays herself. Here,

manifestly, with the fifty-fifth stanza, the story of Bunduca should end. The fifty-seventh stanza would then follow without a break, and the story as a whole would be coherent and free from contradictions. But the unnecessary fifty-sixth stanza causes trouble. Spenser begins with four lines of apostrophizing in which he compares Bunduca to famous women of ancient times. Then suddenly he drops to the level of commonplace,

Her host two hundred thousand numbred is.

He continues with a reference to Bunduca's many victories and then vaguely repeats the fact of her death. On the other two occasions when Spenser mentions Bunduca he refers to her victories. In the *Faerie Queene*, 3. 3. 54, he writes,

The bold Bunduca, whose victorious
Exploits made Rome to quake.

In the *Ruines of Time* (lines 106-112) Verolame is represented as saying,

But long ere this, Bunduca, Britonesse,
Her mightie hoast against my bulwarkes brought,
Bunduca, that victorious conqueresse,
That, lifting up her brave heroick thought
Bove womens weaknes, with the Romanes fought,
Fought, and in field against them thrice prevailed;
Yet was she foyld, when as she me assailed.

The account of Bunduca in stanzas fifty-four and fifty-five gave no opportunity for these victories, as Bunduca is there described as fighting only twice and being defeated both times. The fifty-sixth stanza therefore in part contradicts and in part repeats the narrative in the preceding stanzas.

In a consideration of Spenser's sources we are justified in separating the fifty-sixth stanza from the rest of the story. Its material is sufficiently familiar. The number of Bunduca's host, 200,000, is probably based on Dion's estimate of 230,000, which is repeated by both Holinshed and Stow. All previous versions of the story, so far as we know, represent Bunduca as victorious in her early battles. And finally, the account of her death was so carefully worded that Spenser is not committed either to Dion's statement that she died of disease or to the story in Tacitus that she took poison. Spenser might have based his lines on either version. The material of the stanza as a whole might have come from any of the extant accounts of Bunduca.

With the material in stanzas fifty-four and fifty-five the case is different. Except for the form of the name, which approximates the Bunducia of Stow and the Bunduica which appears in Camden and as one of the variants in Holinshed, and for the statement that Bunduca committed suicide, Spenser's story is entirely independent of any known authority. Yet in localizing the story in the west instead of the east of England, Spenser may possibly have taken a hint from Holinshed, who suggested, on the evidence of Tacitus, that Camalodunum might not be Colchester, with which it was usually identified, but some place farther west, near Wales.

It seems probable, we may conclude, that Spenser inserted a brief version of the Bunduca story in what seemed to him the most convenient place in Geoffrey's

narrative. This version, if not independent, was based on some account as yet undiscovered, although influenced, possibly, by Holinshed and Tacitus. Afterward, perhaps when revising, he realized that he had omitted all mention of Bunduca's victories and was losing an opportunity to glorify a heroine. He therefore wrote and inserted the fifty-sixth stanza, which he based on material familiar in all accounts of Bunduca. It gave him an opportunity to call the British Queen a "famous moniment of womens prayse," and to make even her death a victory. Meanwhile he forgot what he had previously written or was indifferent to the repetition and the implied contradiction.

liv. 6. CHURCH. The same with Bonduca and Boadicea.

9. E. A. STRATHMANN (*PMLA* 48. 624). Cf. Edmund Bolton, *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie Depraved*, London, 1624, p. 161:

The leuell, or plot of ground vpon which the army of *Boadicia*, by the *Romans* forestallment, came to be embatteld, was certainly vpon a *plaine*, of at least fieve, or sixe miles ouer in breadth, betweene *two woods*; at either end of the open field one. . . . But whereabout in these parts of *Britain*, that very place was, vnlesse it were vpon *Salisbury plaine*, where there is a *black-heath*, and scope enough, is not for mee to imagine. *Edmund Spencer*, who was in his time, the most learned poet of *England*, layes it to haue beene further off, for he names *besides Severn*. But without praying in aide of his poems, I seeme to my selfe to haue made it vehementlie probable, that the field was hereabout, by hauing shewed that *Paullinus* was marcht hitherwards. . . .

The allusion is cited by Joseph Hunter (*Chorus Vatum*, Harleian MS. 24490, p. 470), who quotes only "Edmund Spencer who was in his time the most learned poet of England." The allusion is noteworthy for its reference to Spenser as an authority on chronicles. The passage is unchanged in the edition of 1627.

lv. WARTON (2. 243). I forgot to remark before, that in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, there is a very curious and beautiful manuscript, of the History of Arthur and his knights, and their Atchievement of the Sangreal (Cod. Ashmol. fol. 828). It is in folio, on vellum; the initials are illuminated, and the chapters are adorned with head-pieces, expressing the story, painted and illuminated; in which we see the fashion of antient armour, building, manner of tilting, and other particulars. There are the only illuminations of the kind I have seen. They are something like the wood-cuts to an old edition of Ariosto, 1540. Other ornaments are introduced in the margin, and at the foot of the page. This manuscript, I presume, is of considerable antiquity. In the Bodleian library are two other manuscripts, in French, of the history of Arthur and his conquest of the Sangreal. (Viz. Cod. Ken. Digb. 1284, 223. And Hyper. Bodl.—ex Hattonianis—4092, 67.)

4. CHURCH. The Roman General.

lvii. 1-4. HARPER. Spenser, as has been said, returns to Geoffrey's narrative (5. 2) with the account of the conflict between Fulgent and Severus. In a transitional phrase he makes Fulgent the successor to Bunduca, whose "reliques" Fulgent gathers. In the fight between Severus and Fulgent, Spenser introduces material not found in Geoffrey,—namely, the flight of the Romans and the death of Fulgent in pursuit. This appears to have been based on the full account of the

battle in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1. 322-3) which gives the story of Fulgent's pursuit of the enemy and his being killed when the Romans rallied. Spenser's form of Fulgent's name also shows the influence of the *Mirror for Magistrates* or the later chronicles. The *Mirror for Magistrates* seems to have been Spenser's source.

5-6. HARPER. At this point in the story Spenser omits Bassianus and Geta, perhaps to avoid a disproportion in the narrative as a result of his insertion of Bunduca just before. His account of their successor, Carausius, agrees with Geoffrey's (5. 3-4).

5. CHURCH. As the British History is much confused after the Reign of Lucius, who died without Issue, Spenser here seems to use the word "tirannize," as the Greek writers do, and means only that Carausius affected to be called King: Coyll the Third was afterwards made such by the joint suffrages of the Realm. See next Stanza.

6. CHURCH. He had artfully contriv'd to obtain a Commission from the Romans to defend the maritime Coasts of Britain. So Jeffrey of Monmouth.

lvii. 9-lviii. 5. HARPER. Spenser's account of Allectus follows the authorities later than Geoffrey in phrasing and in the statement that Allectus was found naked on the field of battle. The phrasing shows the influence of Stow (pp. 42-3), both in "treacherously slew" and in the "tooke on him the robe of Emperoure," which echoes Stow's phrase as regards Carausius, who "vsurped the robe of an Emperour." Beside Stow, there seems to be no authority for "treacherously" except possibly the line in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1. 380):

His trustlesse trayne did seem to me to yeelde.

Stow, therefore, appears to have been Spenser's source. But the account of the finding of the body of Allectus seems to have been influenced also by the oration of Mamertinus quoted by Holinshed (pp. 83 ff.). In this it is said that the ring-leader (identified with Allectus) had put off the imperiall robes "so as vneth was he couered wyth one piece of apparell." Stow says only that among the dead bodies "lay Alectus himselfe, without any imperiall ornaments, and scantly knowne." Holinshed, therefore, as well as Stow, seems to have influenced Spenser in this passage.

lviii. 5. CHURCH. This was Coyll the Third: Asclepiodate reigned about one year. Robert of Gloucester, after Jeffrey of Monmouth, says ten.

lviii. 6-lix. HARPER. The first part of Spenser's account of Coel differs from Geoffrey's in two points. Spenser says that Coel was the first since Lucius to be crowned king. This directly contradicts several of Geoffrey's statements, as for instance, his statement that Asclepiodotus was crowned and that Coel took his crown from him (G. of M., 5. 5-6). No authority for Spenser's assertion has as yet been discovered. As regards the second point in which he differs from Geoffrey, the case is different. For the founding of Colchester by Coel there is authority in Caxton, Naucerus, and Chambers. Of these three Caxton is the most likely to have been Spenser's source. The first line of Spenser's account of Coel,

Who after long debate, since Lucies tyme,

also shows the influence of Caxton, who wrote, "for after this kyng *lucyes* deth / none of the grete of the land wold suffre another to be kyng, but lyved in werre / and in *debate* amonges hem *L yere* without kyng" (Caxton, ch. 40). It is even possible that this passage suggested Spenser's statement that Coel was the first crowned sovereign since the time of Lucius. The last part of Spenser's account of Coel follows Geoffrey closely in the description of Helena, and in the reference to her skill in musical instruments gives a detail which can be found only in Geoffrey and in two chronicles which at this point repeat his story almost verbatim,—namely, the *Flores Historiarum*, and the *Sex Libri* of Ponticus Virunnius. At the same time, Spenser even here in one important point follows Caxton, Holinshed, and the other later chroniclers in preference to Geoffrey, by representing Coel as giving Helena to Constantius in marriage, although Geoffrey says that Constantius married her after the death of Coel. In his account of Coel, therefore, as so often before, Spenser seems to base his narrative on Geoffrey's, but modifies it according to the statements made by the later chroniclers, in this case apparently according to those of Caxton in particular.

lx. HARPER. Spenser reproduces here the narrative of Geoffrey (5. 6-8). Although the verbal coincidence is by no means exact, the last line in particular seems to have had its source in the *Historia*.

4. CHURCH. Hardyng calls him Duke of Westesex. He was King of North Wales, rebelled against the Roman Proconsuls appointed by Constantine, and having slain them made himself King of Britain.

lxi. HARPER. Before investigating the source of this stanza it is necessary to consider the meaning of the last four lines. Is the Maximinian of the seventh line the same as the Maximian of the second? Professor Child has suggested that Maximinian was "put by oversight for Valentinian." But this would make Valentinian the sovereign who died and left no heirs, whereas that statement seems to refer to Maximian. It is more probable that Maximinian is simply another form of Maximian, and that the line,

During the raigne of Maximinian

is an expansion of the "then" of the preceding line. This interpretation would agree with the facts in Geoffrey (5. 9-16), for according to his story it was during the reign of Maximinianus that the Huns and Picts invaded England, and as no heirs of this ruler are mentioned the natural inference is that he left none. The probability in favor of this explanation becomes a certainty when we note that the two forms of the names are used interchangeably in the first edition of Holinshed, with which Spenser was undoubtedly familiar. Spenser probably without hesitation used the long form when the metre required it.

Accepting the identity of the names, we find that so much of the story as is given agrees with the *Historia* (the omission of the story of the virgins, like the omission of St. Helena's search for the cross, seems due to a desire to confine the chronicle to matters that directly concern Britain), and that the line, "murdred by the freends of Gratian," repeats Geoffrey's statement. This fact is to be found also in Ponticus Virunnius (ed. 1585, p. 41) and in Hardyng (Ch. 63), but not in

Holinshed or in the majority of the other chronicles. Nevertheless Holinshed (p. 93) may be assumed to have had some influence, because of the form Maximinian. Holinshed and Geoffrey together, therefore, seem to have been Spenser's sources.

lxii-lxiii. HARPER. This passage begins with two lines which are practically a translation from Geoffrey's Latin (5. 16). It continues, however, with a story that is very different from Geoffrey's. Spenser omits all mention of Gratianus Municeps and of the assistance sent to the Britons by the Romans. He hastens the accession of Constantine, and ascribes to him the building of the wall. All these changes may have resulted from the peculiarities of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (pp. 96-109), where the story of Constantine is told before the wall is mentioned. Holinshed's narrative is, at this point, so entangled with discussions about the two Constantines and so confused that Spenser may easily have not understood it. Or he may have felt that Holinshed's uncertainty about the facts warranted him in taking liberties with them himself. Spenser's description of the wall may have been based on Holinshed (p. 100), although here the influence of Stow (p. 48) seems to appear in the name Panwelt. Spenser's Easterlings and "forrein Scatterlings" are evidently the same people, and correspond to the Norwegians and Dacians of Geoffrey and Holinshed. The name "Easterlings" is probably due to Holinshed. Finally, Spenser's reference to the four hundred years of war with the Romans seems to come from the statement of Nennius to the effect that the Romans governed the Britons 409 years (Nennius, sect. 28: *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 395). To the making of these two stanzas there went, apparently, material from Geoffrey, Nennius, Holinshed, and Stow. The result is a narrative unlike any of the earlier ones, yet so compounded of familiar facts that the difference almost escapes detection.

lxiii. UPTON. The Picts came originally (as Jeffry of Monmouth, 4. 17, writes) from Scythia, and settled in the north part of Britain; where likewise the Huns settled under their leader Humber, 2. 1. The Easterlings or Osterlinghers, mean the northern nations in general. As to the famous Picts Wall here mentioned, the reader at his leisure may consult Jeffry of Monm. 6. 1; Bede; Cambden's *Britannia*; and Gordon's *Itinerarium septentrionale*. Compare *F. Q.* 4. 11. 36.

lxiv. HARPER. The story of Constans, the monk who was crowned king, Spenser has omitted, perhaps because in Geoffrey it was crowded with incidents, and in the later chroniclers became confused, was continually a subject for argument, and was often denied, either as a whole or in part. In making the omission Spenser changed the story as little as possible. He retained the statement that Constantinus left three sons, but he said that all three were under age. Presumably all three were taken by their tutors into Armorica. Later, however, we hear only of Ambrose and Uther. The third son has dropped out. No device for brevity could be simpler or less conspicuous. Besides leaving out Constans, Spenser has changed the story of the coming of the Saxons to agree with the account in Gildas (*Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. J. A. Giles, p. 310) and Bede (2. 5), an account which was often repeated in the later chroniclers. The Saxons, instead of coming by chance, are invited by Vortigern. As Geoffrey himself represented Vortigern as

asking aid of the Picts, this other story must have seemed to be in character. Caxton and Holinshed, to mention two extremes in time among the printed chronicles, accept it, although Holinshed mentions (p. 112) in addition Geoffrey's version. The *Mirror for Magistrates* (l. 401) follows the altered form. Spenser is therefore in harmony with several later authorities in this part of his story. There is no way to determine which of the possible sources he followed. It is probable, as we have noted in other cases, that he was influenced by the agreement of the chronicles.

lxv-lxvi. HARPER. Spenser, in his account of Vortiger, Hengist, and Horsa, makes two changes in Geoffrey's narrative (6. 10-7). First, he says that Vortiger was restored to his kingdom by the help of his son, Vortimer, whereas, according to Geoffrey, Vortimerus was made king instead of his father. Secondly, Spenser says that three hundred Lords were slain by Hengist, whereas Geoffrey gives the number as four hundred and sixty. Both of Spenser's statements are authorized by Holinshed (pp. 111-6), who quotes as his authority William of Malmesbury. This account of Vortimer does not occur elsewhere. But the number of the slaughtered guests is given as three hundred by Nennius and much later by Chambers (*Histoire Abregée*, p. 56), and is variously placed between three and four hundred by other writers, although Geoffrey's number is the one most commonly given. We have here, therefore, an unusual situation. Spenser's story differs from Geoffrey's, not to follow the popular story of the later chronicles, but to reproduce a rare form,—in one case, what was to him, perhaps, an unique form. (Spenser's reasons for such a change are not obvious. He may have preferred William of Malmesbury (p. 11 f.) as an authority. He may have thought this story of Vortimer reflected more glory on the British kings. He may have found three hundred a number more convenient to poetry than four hundred and sixty.) There is a possible slight influence from Hardyng (Ch. 70) in the account of Stonehenge. Except for that Spenser's source may have been Holinshed alone. (Spenser's omission of the picturesque incidents of Thong Castle, the drinking of wassail, and Vortigern's marriage to Rowena, is the more remarkable as even the briefest redactions of Geoffrey's story are apt to reproduce these incidents at some length. Spenser must have known them. His statement that the Saxons "got large portions of land" recalls the first to those who are familiar with the story, and his reference to the "faire daughters face and flattering word" which restored Hengist to grace suggests the last. But practically all those parts of the story that throw the Saxons into heroic prominence are omitted,—probably for the very reason that they do glorify the Saxons.)

lxvi. UPTON. Jeffry of Monmouth, 6. 15, tells the story with some little difference: that after the death of Vortimer, Vortegrin was restored to the kingdom: that Hengist, the Saxon, returned to Britain with a vast army; and making a shew of peace, he treacherously slew 460 of the British noblemen, whom he invited to a feast: and that Stonehenge, near Salisbury, was set up by the magician Merlin, at the request of king Ambrosius, as a monument of this massacre. See Jeff. of Mon., 8. 9, 10 ff.; and Stowe, p. 56. . . .

Hengist invited Vortiger to a banquet, and introduced his fair daughter Roxena, or Rowen; who came in with a cup of wine in her hand, and kneeling down said

to the king (as she had been taught) Laforde cynyng wassal, i. e. "Lord king be in health": which the king understanding by his interpreter, answered, drincheil, i. e. "drink in health." 'Tis said that Vortiger was so taken with her "Flattering Word," that he married her. From this address of Hengist's daughter, came the original of the wasselling cup.

lxvii. UPTON. He was not killed in battle; but cut to pieces by Eldol, duke of Gloucester, after the battle—Jeff. of Mon., 8. 7.

HARPER. This stanza is a very brief, but entirely accurate, summary of Geoffrey's story (8. 1-14).

9. WARTON (1. 248-9). It is Aurelius, who was poisoned by a Saxon. "King Edgar, . . . and king Athelstane, . . . are said by approved authors, to be buried in some of the Wiltshire hills. . . . They buried their princes, and peers, and nobles, in hills; making some monuments of earth, or stones heaped up" (*History of Allcheste*, p. 690). . . . Constans is supposed to be buried in the mountains of north-wales (*ibid.*, p. 703.).

UPTON cites Geoffrey of Monmouth, 8. 14.

lxviii. HARPER. There is nothing to fix the source of this reference to Uther. It may have been taken from Geoffrey or from any of his followers.

1. CHURCH. There is great Propriety in breaking off so abruptly at the mention of Uther Pendragon; as he was the Father of P. Arthur, who is supposed by the Poet to have been, at that time, ignorant of his Parentage. See *F. Q.* 1. 9. 3.

lxx ff. WARTON (1. 55-8). As to Spenser's original and genealogy of the fairy nation, I am inclined to conjecture, that part of it was supplied by his own inexhaustible imagination, and part from some fabulous history.

He tells us, (2. 10. 70.) that man, as first made by Prometheus, was called Elfe, who wandering over the world, at length arrived at the gardens of Adonis, where he found a female, whom he called Fay. "Elfe," according to Junius, is derived from the runic "Alfur"; who likewise endeavours to prove, that the saxons called the Elfes, or spirits, of the Downs, "Dunelfen"; of the Fields, "Feldelfen"; of the Hills, "Muntelfen"; of the Woods, "Wudelfen," &c. (See Junius, *Etymolog.* in "Elfe." Etymologists greatly differ about the word.) "Elfe," signifies "quick." Fay, or Fairy, I shall explain hereafter.

The issue of Elfe and Fay were called Fairies, who soon grew to be a mighty people, and conquered all nations. Their eldest son Elfin governed America, and the next to him, named Elfinan, founded the city of Cleopolis, which was enclosed with a golden wall by Elfiline. His son Elfine overcame the Gobbelines; but, of all Fairies, Elfant was most renowned, who built Panthea, of crystal. To these succeeded Elfar, who slew two brethren-giants; and to him Elfinor, who built a bridge of glass over the sea, the sound of which was like thunder. At length Elficleos ruled the Fairy land with much wisdom, and highly advanced it's power and honour: He left two sons, the eldest of which, fair Elferon, died a premature death, his place being supplied by the mighty Oberon; a prince, whose "wide memorial" still remains; and who dying, left Tanaquil to succeed him by will, she being also called Glorian, or Gloriana.

In the story of Elfinel, who overcame the Gobbelines, he either alludes to the fiction of the Guelphs and Gibbelines in Italy; or to another race of fairies, called Goblins, and commonly joined with Elfs. His friend and commentator, E. K. remarks (*June*), that our Elfs and Goblins were derived from the two parties Guelphs and Gibbelines. This etymology I by no means approve. The mention of it however may serve to illustrate Spenser's meaning in this passage. Elfinan perhaps is king Lud, who founded London, or Cleopolis.

In which the fairest Faerie queene doth dwell.

Elfant built her palace, Panthea, probably Windsor-castle. The bridge of glass may mean London-bridge. But these images of the golden wall, the crystal tower, &c. seem to be all adopted from romance. At least, they all flow from a mind strongly tintured with romantic ideas. In the latter part of this genealogy, he has manifestly adumbrated some of our english princes. Elficleos is king Henry VII. whose eldest son, prince Arthur, died, at sixteen years of age, in Ludlow-castle; and whose youngest son Oberon, that is Henry VIII. succeeded to the crown, marrying his brother Arthur's widow, the princess Katharine. This Spenser particularly specifies in these verses (st. 75):

Whose emptie place, the mightie Oberon
Doubly supplide, in spousesall and dominion.

And that the fame of this king was very recent in our author's age, is obvious.

It is remarkable that Spenser says nothing of Edward VI. and queen Mary, who reigned between Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth; but that he passes immediately from Oberon to Tanaquil, or Gloriana, i. e. Elizabeth, who was excluded from her succession by those two intermediate reigns. There is much address and art in the poet's manner of making this omission.

He dying left the fairest Tanaquill,
Him to succeed therein by his last will;
Fairer and nobler liveth none this howre,
Ne like in grace, ne like in learned skill.

F. DELATTRE (*English Fairy Poetry from the Origins to the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 87-8). The fairy mythology of Spenser is, on the whole, highly artificial. It is essentially allegorical, the reader being constantly reminded of the ethical or political meaning which hides behind the romantic scenery. It impresses one as a conventional masquerade, in which the poet has brought together the well-worn decorations, and all the machinery of knight-errantry. It remains confused, unsettled. The heroes are indifferently called elves or fairies, Sir Guyon, for instance, being now "the Elfin knight" (2. 7. 19), and now "the warlike Elfe" (2. 7. 56), or Prince Arthur "the Faery knight" (3. 1. 1). It is purely imaginary, no distinction having been drawn between the "little people" of the folk-belief and the fays of romance, save once or twice when "elf" seems to be taken as a masculine, and "fay" as a feminine word (3. 3. 26):

But that he by an Elfe was gotten of a Fay;
and no allusion, except, may be, when Arthegal (*ibid.*) and the Red Cross Knight

(1. 10. 65) were stolen away from their infant cradles, being ever made to the popular superstitions. The fairydom of Spenser is but a fanciful fabric, a peculiar modification of the common theme, a mere literary device, in short, imitated not only from the romances of Malory or Lord Berners, but from the classical mythology as well, the nymphs of ancient lore being often coupled, as in the Elizabethan translations, with the national fairies (6. 10. 7):

But Nymphes and Faeries by the bancks did sit. . . .

The Shepheards Calender, June [25-6]:

But frendly Faeries, met with many Graces,
And lightfoote Nymphes, can chace the lingring Night.

Though Spenser may have found a precedent in Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, he caused the fairies to be presided over by a Queen only because they had to be ruled by Elizabeth-Gloriana. He went the length of making her one of Oberon's descendants, and identifying Oberon himself with her father, Henry VIII. The following stanzas, in which is given the genealogy-roll of Elfin Emperors, will afford us a typical instance of Spenser's treatment of the fairy-world: [quotes 2. 10. 70-6].

lxx. 5-9. JORTIN. That Jupiter slew Prometheus is a fiction of our Poet

SAWTELLE (p. 102). This account accords with the later rather than the earlier classics. Thus Hesiod (*Theog.* 535 ff.) says that Prometheus tried to practice deception upon Jove in the division of a sacrificial animal, and that Jove, in his anger, denied fire to men. Prometheus, however, secretly stole some sparks from the gods, and, concealing them in a hollow tube, brought them to the earth for the use of man. This so enraged Jupiter that he sent Pandora as a scourge to men, had Prometheus chained to a pillar, and sent an eagle every day to feed upon his never-dying liver; until, after the lapse of years, the hapless Prometheus was released by Hercules.

The *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, also, while not agreeing with the account of Hesiod, does not more nearly accord with this passage from Spenser. Neither knows aught of Prometheus as the creator of man, nor of his stealing fire to animate this creation, although both support Spenser in the matter of the punishment of Prometheus.

It is to Latin authorities of a later period that our poet is indebted for these points: thus Ovid (*Met.* 1. 76 ff.) says that Prometheus made man of earth and water, but says nothing of his creating him from the organs of animals and animating him with fire. Horace, on the other hand, authorizes the first of these statements (*Carm.* 1. 16):

Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho adposuisse nostro.

and Fulgentius, in his treatment of the myth of Prometheus, adds that the creator of man stole fire from the celestial regions to animate his work.

LOTSPEICH (p. 103). Spenser is closest to Natales Comes 4. 6:

Prometheus, in the creation of man, took various portions from different animals. "Qui vero etiam magis fabulose rem aggressi sunt explicare, dixerunt timorem leporis, astutiam vulpis, pavonis ambitionem, tigridem feritatem, leonum iracundiam et magnitudinem animi fuisse hominibus ab ipso Prometheo iniunctas."

lxxiii. 7-9. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 585-[591]:

Vidi & crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas,
Dum flammis Jovis & sonitus imitatur Olympi.
Quatuor hic invectus equis, & lampada quassans,
Per Graium populos, mediaeue per Elidis urbem
Ibat ovans, divumque sibi poscebat honorem,
Demens! qui nimbos, & non imitabile fulmen
Aere & cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.

lxxv. 4. R. HEFFNER (*SP* 27. 143). The first pageant at Elizabeth's coronation was in the form of an arch of three stages, on the first of which were represented Henry VII and his Queen . . . on the second were Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; and on the third was seated Elizabeth herself. Tottel [the publisher of the official account 1558 (-9)] explains the omission of Edward VI and Mary by saying: "forsomuch as she [Elizabeth] is the only true heire of Henrye the Eighth." The verses explaining the pageant make this clear:

. . . Henry the Eighth did spring
In whose seat, his true heire, thou Quene Elisabeth doth sit.

Such, then, is Spenser's authority for the omission of Edward and Mary.

lxxvi. 4-9. J. B. FLETCHER (*JEGP* 2. 210-1). Instead, however, of following the genealogy of the *Huon*, and simply making Arthur, as he was in that, Oberon's direct heir and successor, Spenser indirectly reinstates him by means of Gloriana, Oberon's daughter and Arthur's betrothed. In the *Huon*, Oberon says he is the son of Julius Caesar and Morgan le Fay. Since Morgan is Arthur's sister, Arthur must be Oberon's uncle, and, Oberon being to all appearances a bachelor, therefore his heir. Oberon had in fact promised Arthur his throne, and excuses his altered will by saying Arthur had not arrived in time (Chapter 156, a). The reasons for this change are of course obvious: it placed a central love romance as the pivot of the whole action, and gave an opportunity to compliment Queen Elizabeth and her suitor, his patron—Leicester. (One wonders how Spenser, had he lived to write his sequel, in which Arthur was to have married Gloriana, would have got over the embarrassing fact that Elizabeth did not marry Leicester after all.) The only difference between the functions of Oberon and Gloriana is that Oberon, as becomes a knightly king, generally intervenes in behalf of the distressed knight himself: whereas the Queen of Fairyland sends her deputy Arthur. Indeed Oberon himself deposes Malabron in several instances to act for him.

As to the name Gloriana, Spenser tells us in the Letter to Raleigh that he means by it Glory. Perhaps we should not try to go behind his word: but it is at least striking that the Fairy in the *Huon*, who from the very beginning (Chap. 24) tempers Oberon's severe justice with his own gentle spirit of mercy, bears the name Gloriant.

5. KITCHIN. "by his last will." The will of King Henry VIII, dated 30 Dec. 1546, bequeaths the Crown of England to Prince Edward and his heirs: in default of such heirs, then to any other offspring of himself and "Queen Katherine that now is, or of any other our lawfull wife that we shall hereafter marie." (Indicating that this part of the will was drawn up at a much earlier date than the signature.) In default of such male heirs, then the Crown was to go to Mary and her heirs: "and if it fortune that our said daughter do die without issue . . . we will that . . . the said imperyall crowne . . . *shall wholly remaine and come to our said daughter Elizabeth,*" upon certain stringent conditions as to the marriages of Mary and Elizabeth. The will goes on to leave the Crown conditionally, after Elizabeth, to the "Lady Frances" and the "Lady Eleanor," the two daughters of Mary his sister, widow of Louis XII, and afterwards wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. He passes over his sister Margaret, who in 1501 had married James IV, King of Scotland, and had afterwards been Regent during the minority of James V, 1513-1516; and consequently passes over Mary Queen of Scots, who had been reigning in Scotland since the sixth day of her life in 1542. (King James her father died 14 Dec. 1542; she had been born on the 8th.)

CANTO XI

KATE M. WARREN (p. xiv). Then there is the wonderfully vivid account, in the 11th canto, of the conflict of Prince Arthur with Maleger and all his forces—of "imagination all compact." The vigorous personifications of the enemies of the Five Senses is only excelled by that of their captain, Maleger (Stanzas 20-24). It is a piece of description to marvel at. All the way through this canto we feel the poet's shaping power at its highest strength—it proceeds with full mastery of its material, giving form to thought with the inevitable rightness that only great genius can attain. It is a royal power of "making," easily fulfilling its will, and among its many wonderful shapings not the least are the similes of the flood and the fire.

M. HOFFMAN (*Über die Allegorie in Spensers "Faerie Queene,"* p. 15, n. 13) observes that Guyon does not remain in the House of Alma to participate in Prince Arthur's struggle against Maleger, the strife of the virtues against the vices, because Guyon is already a proved champion of virtue and has yet one quest to undertake. See Hoffman's note on Canto 9 and Appendix, "The Structure."

H. S. V. JONES (SP 29. 203-4). This quotation from Alanus (*De Planctu Naturae*) not only serves to identify magnanimity with the will as the ruling power of the heart, but explains satisfactorily why it is Arthur and not Sir Guyon who defends the House of Alma:

In corde vero, velut in medio civitatis humanae, magnanimitas suam collocavit mansionem, quae sub prudentiae principata, suam professa militiam, prout ejusdem imperium deliberat, operatur. Renes autem tanquam suburbia cupidinariis voluptatibus partem corporis largiuntur extremam, quae magnanimitatis imperio obviare non audentes, ejus obtemperant voluntati. In hac ergo republica, sapientia imperantis suscipit vicem; magnanimitas operantis sollicitudinem; voluptas obtemperantis usurpat imaginem. (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 210, col. 445. C, D.)

[See Appendices, "Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory," "Alanus de Insulis," and "The Structure."]

i. KITCHIN. This stanza sets forth the aim of the Canto—which is, to describe the Soul attacked by the temptations of the five Senses. This idea is worked out in Bunyan's allegory of Mansoul. There the powers of evil beleaguer man, who is rescued by the divine aid of "the Captain of our Salvation." While, however, Bunyan's aim was religious edification, Spenser's was the expression of moral conflict. He as carefully excludes the religious side from this allegory as he had introduced and enforced it in that of the Red Cross Knight.

ii. KITCHIN. A beautiful picture of the soul ruling over a pure and well-ordered body. This is a reminiscence of Spenser's Platonic studies.

4. TODD. This and the following impressive lines are probably indebted to the solemn caution given by St. Paul, Rom. 6. 12: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof." Cf. also Rom. 6. 19, 7. 23-4.

iii. 2. KITCHIN. So Gen. 7. 11.

iv. A. H. GILBERT (*PMLA* 34. 232) notes this as a transition in the manner of Ariosto.

5-6. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 3. 72: "Provehimur portu: terraeque urbesque recedunt."

v ff. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Cf. *Orl. Fur.* 6. 60-6.

v-xxv. M. M. GRAY (*RES* 6. 415-6). When the enemies return to the assault next day, Spenser has wrapped them up more closely in allegory. They wage war in their own fashion, but they are disguised as creatures symbolic of the Seven Deadly Sins. The scene with its "Monstrous Rabblement" owes something to the Munster Rebellion, something to the legend of Circe's Island [sts. 5, 18, 19 quoted]. . . .

But when their captain hears the "sudden horror and confused cry" he comes to their assistance, a horrifying figure of allegory, but perhaps in some particulars like the starving rebel leaders (2. 11. 22):

As pale and wan as ashes was his look,
His body lean and meagre as a rake.

And in the strange impossibility of crushing this hateful enemy there is surely a touch of political as well as moral allegory. Again and again Arthur believes his enemy crushed and dead [st. 35 quoted].

Just the same disconcerting vitality characterised rebellion in Ireland.

v-xv. M. P. TILLEY (*MLN* 42. 154-5). Spenser's account . . . of Maleger's attack upon the Five Senses defending the bulwarks of Alma's castle is alluded to directly in *Lingua* (Dodsley's ed.). This allusion occurs in *Lingua* in a speech of Mendacio's concerning the coming hostility among the angry Senses, in which Mendacio misreports in characteristic manner the outcome of Maleger's attack

upon Alma's castle. In spite of the jumble of fact and fiction in Mendacio's account, the allusion is clear (*Lingua* 2. 1):

I long to see those hotspur Senses at it: they say they have gallant preparations, and not unlikely, for most of the soldiers are ready in arms, since the last field fought against their yearly enemy Meleager and his wife Acrasia; that conquest hath so fleshed them, that no peace can hold them. But had not Meleager been sick, and Acrasia drunk, the Senses might have whistled for the victory.

The same account furnishes *Lingua*, further, in Mendacio's description of the forces gathered by the Senses, with the symbolic animals, insects and birds typifying the enemies of the different senses. Maleger's forces are divided into five troops, each troop being composed of creatures symbolizing the vices of the particular Sense whose bulwark it is to attack. In *Lingua*, similar personifications of the vices of the senses make up the troops of the Five Senses preparing for battle. As an example, Maleger's fifth troop, designed to assault the bulwark of Touch, suggested in *Lingua* the symbolic creatures in Tactus' army. Maleger's "fift troupe" is made up "of fowle misshaped wightes," in the forms of "snailes" "spyders" and "ugly urchines." Similarly in *Lingua*, Tactus is "strongly mann'd with three thousand bristled urchens," "four hundred tortoises," "besides a monstrous troop of ugly spiders" (*Lingua*, p. 380 [2. 5]). In the same way the "houndes," "apes" and "puttockes" in Spenser's account of the enemies of Smell become in *Lingua*, in Mendacio's report of the troops of Olfactus, "great swine," "hounds and hungry mastiffs," and "vultures" (*Lingua*, p. 382 [2. 5]).

v. 5. E. C. HART (Arden ed. of Shakespeare's 2 *Henry VI*, p. xli) notes Shakespeare's use of "lay strong siege" in 2 *Henry VI* 3. 3. 22. The same phrase is used by Spenser again in stanza 9, line 2.

vi ff. RUTH L. ANDERSON (*Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays*, p. 93). Of the power of sense impressions against reason Charron writes:

The Ceremony of taking leave, the Idea of some particular Gesture in a parting Friend, strikes us deeper, and gives us more real Trouble, than all the Reasoning in the World, upon Matters of greatest Moment, is able to do. The Sound of a Name repeated, some certain Words and melancholy Accents pronounc'd Pathetically; nay, dumb Sighs, and vehement Exclamations, go to our very Hearts. . . . And this airy Blast sometimes surprises the most cautious, and transports the most resolved, unless they set a more than common Guard upon themselves (*Of Wisdom*, 3 bks., translated by George Stanhope, D. D., London, 1697, Bk. I, p. 295. Cf. Spenser's description of the attack made upon the soul through the gateways of sense).

vi. 1. UPTON. Why into twelve? "Seven of them," i. e. the seven deadly sins [see Book I, canto 4] attacked the castle gate: "the other five," imaging the vices that attack the senses, he set against the five bulwarks of the castle.

viii. UPTON. This stanza is imitated from *Orl. Fur.* 6. 61:

[Non fu veduta mai più strana torma,
Più monstuosi volti e peggio fatti;
Alcun' dal collo in giù d'uomini han forma,

Col viso altri di simie, altri di gatti;
 Stampano alcun' con piè caprigni l'orma;
 Alcuni son centauri agili ed atti;
 Son gioveni impudenti, e vecchi stolti,
 Chi nudi, e chi di strane pelli involti.]

TODD. And such also is Comus's "rout of monsters, headed like sundry sorts of wild beasts, &c." in Milton's moral Mask [stage direction at line 92].

8. UPTON. 1 Peter 2. 11: "fleshly lusts which war against the soul" (Alma).

xi. 4. KITCHIN. The old conception of vice taking form of different animals. Mediaeval symbolism used animals on both sides—as signs of virtue or of vice; the lion, the dog (he however was both good and bad), the leopard, the eagle, &c. were symbolical of noble qualities; the fox, the ape, the swine, &c. of evil passions. This symbolism culminates in the old satire of Reynard the Fox.

xiii. 4. TODD. Hedge-hogs, which make indeed a considerable figure in the demonologick system.

xiv. 3. WARTON (2. 21-2). Chaucer, in his description of the battle of Antony and Cleopatra, mentions guns, *Leg. of Cleop.*, ver. 58. Salvator Rosa has placed a cannon at the entrance of the tent of Holofernes. But these examples will not acquit Spenser. Ariosto was somewhat more cautious in this particular. For though he supposes the use of fire arms, on a certain occasion, in the age of Charlemagne, yet he prudently suggests, that they were soon afterwards abolished, and that the use of them continued unknown for many years. He attributes the revival, no less than the invention, of these infernal engines to the devil, *Orl. Fur.* 11. 22.

UPTON. Their "ordinaunce" means battering engines; such as are described in Lipsius: these he calls "huge artillery," st. 7. Spenser poetically uses the word in its larger sense: "Tormenta inter ordines militares collocata": so called from "ordinare," being placed in rows. We do not confine its signification to cannon.

TODD. In Barret's *Dict.* 1580, "Ordinance" signifies generally instruments of war. But the word appears to have been particularly applied to cannon in Spenser's time. Thus Sir I. Harrington, in his remarks on Ariosto's guns: "Virgil hath a verse in the sixt Aeneados, which myself have wondered at many times, to see how plainly it expresseth the qualitie of a peece of Ordenance: — 'Dum flammas Jovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.'"

xv. 6. KITCHIN. Prince Arthur and Timias his squire—unless indeed it is a slip, and Spenser was thinking of Sir Guyon as still in the castle.

xviii. 4-9. UPTON. Here are two comparisons; both of which frequently occur in the poets: the first of flights of arrows to flakes of snow, see in Hom., *Il.* 12. 156, 278; and Virg., *Aen.* 11. 610: "fundunt simul undique tela Crebra nivis ritu." The second, of a great water flood bursting its bounds, compared to these impetuous troupes, is likewise frequently to be met with in Homer, *Il.* 4. 452;

Il. 5. 87; *Il.*, 11. 492. and Virg., *Aen.* 2. 305, 496; 12. 523; and other poets: Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 219; Sil. Ital., *Pun.* 4. 522; 17. 122; Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 39. 14; 40. 31; Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 1. 75; 9. 46.

WINSTANLEY (p. xxxiv). Homer was one of Spenser's favourite authors, and the same may be said of Virgil. As we should expect it is the phrasing of Virgil which seems to have impressed Spenser most. There are, literally, scores of recollections. Spenser has not, like Milton, a Virgilian power of coining monumental and unforgettable phrases but he often has a Virgilian delicacy and grace. The long Virgilian simile is not often employed by Spenser but there are a few examples [quotes 2. 11. 18]. This appears to be a combination of two similes from Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 305-8:

Aut rapidus montano flumine torrens,
Sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores,
Praecipitisque trahit silvas, stupet inscius alto
Accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.

and also *Aen.* 2. 496-9:

Non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis,
Exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
Fertur in arva furens cumulo, camposque per omnis
Cum stabulis armenta trahit.

7-8. JORTIN. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 272-3:

Sternuntur segetes, & deplorata coloni
Vota jacent; longique perit labor irritus anni.

Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 224: "anni spem credere terrae."

xix. 8. UPTON. Heroes of old gave names to their horses; as Arion, Cylarus, Xanthus, &c. So Heroes in romance call their horses by particular names, Bayardo, Frontin, Brigliadore. Hence (by way of ingenious irony) you find in Don Quixote how solicitous he was to find a proper name for his horse, which at length he calls Rosinante. The Prince's horse Spumador, seems to have received his name from his froth and foam, shewing his fiery nature. See Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 881:

Seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.

The fierce Spumador born of heavenly seed, "Semine ab aethereo," *Aen.* 7. 281.

LOTSPEICH (p. 77). The idea of Laomedon's horses bred of Phoebus' race seems to represent a blend of the horses of the Sun (*Met.* 2. 153-5) and the horses given by Zeus to Tros and by him to Laomedon (*Il.* 5. 265 f.). Boccaccio, 6. 6, says that Laomedon promised to Hercules his horses "born of divine seed." Spenser may have associated these with Phoebus, thinking of Laomedon's dealings with Phoebus at the building of Troy (cf. *Met.* 11. 200 f.). There is a possibility that the blend arose from a misreading of Spondanus' translation of *Il.* 5. 640-1: "Qui quondam huc veniens gratia equorum Laomedontis Sex solis cum navibus et viris paucioribus."

xx ff. RUSKIN (*Stones of Venice* 2, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 10. 383). Not even in Dante do I remember anything quite so great as the description of the Captain of the Lusts of the Flesh.

CHILD. Maleger signifies badly diseased; and from this and the description given of him, he seems to represent the various diseases which an indulgence in those "fleshy lusts which war against the soul" gives birth to.

xx-xxiii. C. G. OSGOOD (*MLN* 46. 504-6). Maleger has been variously explained as [Passions, Sensuality, Death, Deadly Sin; cf. RUSKIN above.] True, Maleger is captain or leader of a rout of rascal villains who clearly image base affections or desires. But why ignore the obvious label etymologically devised and affixed by Spenser after his usual custom—Maleger, "desperately sick," "sick unto death"? And why reject Child's note? . . . Child is right, except that Spenser would represent disease not as a result of sin, but as a circumstance most favorable to it. Your moral resistance is low when your physical resistance is reduced. Health is most needful to success in the battle with the flesh. Which everybody will accept as good sense. Spenser himself, sickly as a young man, and probably never robust, had full personal authentication for this idea, as for the others in his poetry. This meaning seems to be confirmed by a passage in the *View (Works*, ed. Todd, 8. 408-9): "If you should know a wicked person dangerously sicke, having now both soule and body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable, would you not thinke it evill advertizement to bring the preacher before the phisitian? For if his body were neglected, it is like that his languishing soule being disquieted by his diseasefull body, would utterly refuse and loath all spirituall comfort; but if his body were first recured, and broght to good frame, should there not then be found best time, to recover the soule also?" Maleger, then, is physical disease, and the poet would suggest in this allegory of the human body, that a man can best control his base affections when in best health, but that physical weakness undermines morale. So Maleger is not only captain of the rout, but provokes them "the breaches to assay." The idea is pointed throughout Canto 11, from Alma's banquet, "attempredd goodly well for health," to Arthur's physical weakness and prostration at the end. Maleger is mounted upon a tiger, always cruel, aggressive, violent, bloodthirsty in Spenser. He is seconded by Impatience (low resistance) and Impotence (weakness). He is of "subtle substance and unsound." He fights with many deadly darts, against which there is no salve nor medicine. He is unrelenting, swift, evasive, always resurgent, strangely bloodless and bodiless, with the image and hue of Death about him.

J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 102). Maleger is certainly not the classical Meleager mentioned in Apollodorus and described in Boccaccio's *Genealogia* as "illustrious and beautiful," nor the Meleager of the Ipomedon romance, but is rather a coinage from the adverb "male" and the verb "gero," to behave, i. e., evildoer.

xxi. 5. KITCHIN. This refers doubtless to the North American Indians, whose bows and arrows may have been brought over among the curiosities collected by Raleigh in Virginia.

xxiii. 6. UPTON. That is, her left leg: literally from Homer, *Il.* 2. 217:

["Bandy-legged was he (Thersites) and lame of one foot"]. See the note on *F. Q.* 2. 4. 4.

xxvi. 1-2. H. B. HINCKLEY (*MLN* 24. 125). According to the Pythagorean theory, in sight a visual ray proceeds from the eye to the object of vision, reaching which it doubles back again to the eye, like a forearm outstrect and then bent back again to the shoulder. A somewhat similar theory is stated in the *Timaeus* of Plato to the effect that light issuing from the eye, is compacted with the surrounding daylight into a homogeneous whole, which when it collides with anything in the line of vision causes the sensation of sight. Both the Pythagoreans and Plato seem to give Dryden's sight "by emission," a theory which clearly underlies also the passage from Spenser. (See John I. Beare, *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition from Alcmaeon to Aristotle*, Oxford, 1906, pp. 12, 44; *The Hind and the Panther*, Part II, 74-76.) . . .

Whether the direct source of the theory for any of the above passages of English poetry, may not have been a later Greek writer than Aristotle, I have not inquired. And I doubt whether even Dryden had in mind any of the theories of the science of his own day.

EDITOR. The theory of sight by emission was still current in Spenser's day. It is discussed, with due reference to its origins, in *Batman Vppon Bartholome* (1582), Book 3, Chap. 17.

7-8. UPTON. The sudden attack of the Parthians, and their sudden flight, and when flying, their facing and shooting at their pursuers, is a fact too well known to want any citations to prove. But Spenser chooses at present not to go far back; but takes his simile from the modern stories, told in his time by travelers into Russia, of the Tartars thus fighting with the Russians.

CHURCH. The same manner of fighting . . . is well describ'd by Milton. *Paradise Regain'd*, 3. 322-5:

He saw them in their forms of battel rang'd,
How quick they wheel'd, and fly'ing behind them shot
Sharp sleet of arrowy showr's against the face
Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight.

KITCHIN. The reference to the Russian is less curious than it might seem; for in the reign of Ivan the Terrible, the Cossacks and Tartars ravaged the banks of the Wolga and the shores of the Caspian Sea, and in A. D. 1577 the Czar sent troops against them, whose work in clearing those districts may well have been reported to the English by the merchants. They had been the chief sufferers, and would doubtless have communications with England.

LOIS WHITNEY (*MP* 19. 147). Spenser seems to have made use of either Marco Polo or Mandeville also for an item in his description of Maleger. Maleger, we are told, fled on a tiger [stanza quoted]. Mandeville writes:

And ye shall understand that it is great dread for to pursue the Tartars if they flee in battle. For in fleeing they shoot behind them and slay both men and horses (*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, ed. by A. W. Pollard, London, 1900, p. 196).

And Marco Polo:

When these Tartars come to engage in battle, they never mix with the enemy, but keep hovering about him discharging their arrows first from one side and then from the other occasionally pretending to fly, and during their flight shooting arrows backwards at their pursuers, killing men and horses, as if they were combating face to face (*The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian*, ed. by Thomas Wright, London, 1854, p. 136).

This characteristic is less frequently mentioned in sixteenth-century treatises. It is scarcely possible that Spenser could have seen a reference to the custom in a manuscript copy of Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealith*, a book which was the fruit of a diplomatic mission to Russia in 1588, but which was not however published until 1591.

K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58. 356). Cf. Fletcher, *P. I.* 11. 48:

As when by Russian Volgha's frozen banks
The false-back Tartars fear with cunning feigne.

xxvii. 3-4. K. WAIBEL (*Engl. St.* 58. 356). Cf. Fletcher, *P. I.* 11. 47:

Yet oft they seem'd to slack their fearfull pace,
And yeeld them selves to foes that fast pursue.

xxviii. 1-2. WARTON (2. 149-150). So Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 610:

Fundunt simul undique tela
Crebra, nivis ritu.

Thus again, 5. 4. 38: "Arrowes haild so thick." And in the same stanza: "A sharpe showre of arrowes." And above, 2. 8. 35:

For on his shield as thick as stormy show'r
Their stroakes did raine.

Which two last instances are more like Virgil's "ferreus imber" [*Aen.* 12. 284].

xxx. WINSTANLEY. The strong Puritan tone of this stanza should be observed.

4. KITCHIN. Perhaps an anti-Calvinistic reflection. Man can have no absolute assurance till the end. Even a Prince Arthur may be nearly overcome.

6. UPTON. Perhaps the poet (mingling historical with moral allusions) alludes to some secret piece of service, which Sir W. Raleigh (imaged in Timias) did to the Earl of Leicester.

xxxii. E. KOEPEL (*Anglia* 11. 348-9). Cf. *Ger. Lib.* 7. 107:

Non cessa, non s' allenta, anzi è più fero,
Quanto ristretto è più da que'gagliardi;
Siccome a forza da rinchiuso loco
Se n' esce e move alte ruine, il foco.

6. KITCHIN. The notion of the older physicists that the element of Fire was confined here below, and was ever striving to rise to its natural sphere, the outermost of the four concentric circles.

xxxiii. 3. KITCHIN. An allusion to the then popular sport of bear-baiting.

xxxv. 6-xxxvi. 2. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 12. 896-901:

Saxum circumspicit ingens
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat,
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis.—
Ille manu raptum trepida torquebat in hostem.

WARTON (2. 150-1). Among other instances of the extraordinary strength exerted by antient heroes in lifting huge stones, as described by the antient poets, I think the following in Apollonius (*Argon.* 3. 1364) has never been alleged by the commentators. Jason crushed the growing warriors with a prodigious stone. [Passage quoted.]

But the more delicate critics ought to remember, that Jason was assisted in this miraculous effort by the enchantments of Medea.

xxxv-xxxvii. C. S. LEWIS (*RES* 7. 84-5) finds a parallel in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (3. 2. 48 ff.).

WARTON (1. 206). The difficulty which prince Arthur finds in killing Maleger, seems to be copied from the encounter of Griffin and Aquilant with Orillo, who, like Maleger, receives no injury from all the wounds that are given him: and the circumstances by which Maleger's death is effected, partake much of the fantastic extravagance of those by which Orillo is at last killed. See *Orl. Fur.* 15. 67 ff.

xxxv. 7. UPTON cites *Il.* 21. 404: ["She (Athene) . . . grasped with stout hand a stone that lay upon the plain, black, rugged, huge, which men of old time set to be the landmark of a field; this hurled she . . ."]

xxxix. E. E. STOLL (*Hamlet: an Historical and Comparative Study*, pp. 47-8) cites this stanza, with *F. Q.* 1. 2. 32, to illustrate his thesis that "the doctrine that ghosts were masquerading devils . . . the enlightened Protestant opinion" coincides with one of Hamlet's views.

[It should be noted also that this stanza names four of the five contemporary classifications of apparitions: (1) "Magical Illusion"; (2) "aerie spirit"; (3) "wandering ghost, that wanted funerall" (the Catholic explanation of ghosts); and (4) "hellish feend raysd up through divelish science" (the Protestant belief). Only ghosts that are seen as a result of physiological disorders are omitted from the list. Hamlet adopts in turn the Catholic, the Protestant, and the scientific points of view.]

7. WINSTANLEY. According to Greek and Latin mythology the souls of the unburied could not cross in Charon's boat but remained lamenting by the waters of Hades. Cf. Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 325):

Haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est,
Portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.

8. WINSTANLEY. "aerie spirit under false pretence." Such as the one with which Archimage beguiles the Redcrosse Knight (1. 1. 45):

And fram'd of liquid ayre her tender partes.

xlii. JORTIN. The combat of Prince Arthur with Maleger is taken from that of Hercules with Antaeus. Compare Spenser with Lucan, *Phars.* 4. 593 ff.

xliii. 1-5. SAWTELLE (p. 75). Cf. Horace, *Carm.* 4. 4.

1. KITCHIN. Cf. *Aen.* 1. 394.

xliv. 9. KITCHIN. See Lucan, *Phars.* 4. 615 ff.

xlv. 2. UPTON. Being of the earth, he was gloomy and earthly (John 3. 31; 1 Cor. 15. 47) and gloominess is to be destroyed by a chearful raising your thoughts above muck and durt and earthly things, and by a spiritualizing exaltation. Virgil, *Georg.* 3. 8:

Tentanda via est, qua me quoque possim
Tollere humo.

Compare Fulgentius, 2. 7, who allegorizes the fable of Antaeus and Hercules: "Antaeus in modum libidinis ponitur: unde et ἀντίον Graecè contrarium dicimus Ideo et de Terra natus, quod sola libido de carne dicitur. Denique etiam tacta terra validior exsurgebat. Libido enim quanto carni consenserit, tanto surgit iniquior." When ever this miscreant touch'd the earth, he arose more vigorous. See St. 42-44. Ariosto, 9. 77:

Quale il Libico Anteo sempre più fiero
Surge solea da la percossa arena.

For which reason he caught him up from the ground in his arms, and squeez'd the life out of his carrion corse. Tasso, 19. 17:

Nè con più forza da l'adusta arena
Sospese Alcide il gran gigante, e strinse.

Statius (*Theb.* 6. 893) calls him "the Earth-born Libyan":

Herculeis pressum sic fama lacertis
Terrigenam sudasse Libyn, cum fraude reperta
Raptus in excelsum, nec jam spes ulla cadendi,
Nec licet extrema matrem contingere planta.

Milton says (more particularly) that they strove in Irassa, a city of Libya . . . P. R. 4. [564].

LOTSPEICH. Spenser's use of the myth was probably influenced by the moral allegory which he found read into it by Boccaccio, 1. 13, who follows Fulgentius 2. 7, saying: "Fulgentius quidem moralem sensum fictioni subesse demonstrat, dicens Antaeum de Terra natum libidinem esse quae sola ex carne nascitur, qua tacta et si in vires resurgit."

xlvi. 6. KITCHIN. The deadly faintness which ensues after a terrible wrestling with temptations. The human soul comes out victorious, but with suffering.

We are reminded of Him, to whom after the great victory over the tempter, angels came and ministered.

xlix. 5. TODD. This is an usual mark of attention paid by heroines, in romances, to wounded heroes. So, in *Bevis of Hampton*:

He said, Faire daughter Josian,
Heale Bevis wounds if you can:—
Josian did Bevis to chamber lead,
To stop the wounds they should not bleed;
With salves and drinks shee healed him soft, &c.

And in *Palmerin of England*, p. 1, Ch. 36: "The wounded Knight of Fortune departed with the gentleman his host to his house againe, whither being carefully brought in a chariot, such prouision was ordained for him, that by the helpe of the gentlemans daughter, who was marvailous expert in the art of medicine, his weake estate was relieved. . . ."

CANTO XII

UPTON. 'Tis plain that during the whole voyage of this knight, and his sober conductor, our poet had in view the voyage of Ulysses; especially the 12th book of Homer's *Odyssey*, where the wise hero meets with the adventures of the Sirens, Scylla, and Charybdis; soon after follows his shipwreck, and his arrival at the island of Calypso.

[Among the various precedents for Spenser's allegorical voyage cited by the commentators, that cited by Lotspeich below seems the most likely to have been used by him. They should include the traditional allegorical interpretation of the voyage of Aeneas from Fulgentius down. See Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry*, p. 174.]

DOWDEN ("Spenser, the Poet and Teacher," pp. 327-8). But neither the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean, nor Platonic conceptions of love and beauty, serve best to protect and deliver us from the temptations of sense as set forth in Spenser's poetry. By his enthusiasm on behalf of the noblest moral qualities, by his strenuous joy in presence of the noblest human creatures—man and woman—Spenser breathes into us a breath of life, which has an antiseptic power, which kills the germs of disease, and is antagonistic to the relaxed fibre, the lethargy, the dissolution, or disintegrating life-in-death of sensuality. Any heroism of man or woman is like wine to gladden Spenser's heart; we see through the verse how it quickens the motion of his blood. A swift, clear flame of sympathy, like an answering beacon lit upon the high places of his soul, leaps up in response to the beacon-fire of chivalric virtue in another soul, even though it be an imagined one, summoning his own. The enchantress Acrasia in her rosy bower is so bewitchingly fair and soft that it goes hard with us to see her garden defaced and herself rudely taken captive. Or it would go hard with us did we not know the faithfulness and soft invincibility of Amoret, the virgin joy and vigour of Belphebe, the steadfastness and animating trust in Una's eyes,—or had we not beheld the face of Britomart shining beneath her umbriere like daydawn to a belated wanderer, and

then all that is vain and false and sensual becomes to us what those ignoble knights of Malecasta were to the warrior virgin,—no more than shadows:

All were faire knights and goodly well beseene,
But to faire Britomart they all but shadows beene.

We have no need to inspect the rout of monsters degraded from manhood by Acrasia's witchcraft. Britomart has clean delivered us from Acrasia.

KATE M. WARREN (*The Faerie Queene, Book II*, pp. xv-xvi). Spenser has been blamed for his vivid picture of the allurements of Acrasia's realm. Those who censure him do not seem to realise the equal vividness with which he has pictured the perils, the degradation and the depths of shame in which those are plunged who succumb to its fascination. Several passages of this description have been taken almost literally from Tasso, but the English poet treats the poisonous beauty that he writes of with a sternness that is not found in the Italian. Spenser's attitude here is that of the nobler minds in the best years of the Puritan movement in the 17th century, as expressed by Milton in *Comus*: moral and spiritual beauty are the highest loveliness, and if sensuous beauty have not these for its soul, we will have none of it.

FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*) sees in this canto a court of love setting in nature, comparable to the indoor setting of canto 9. The typical setting in garden, meadow, or plain includes: (a) conventional landscape, and (b) fountain, arbor, or other special feature. Evidence of the court of love influence, on both setting and characters, is given in the notes below.

PAULINE HENLEY (*Spenser in Ireland*, pp. 113-9). [It is Miss Henley's suggestion that during Lord Grey's expedition against the Spanish near Smerwick in 1580 Spenser may have picked up some of the local tales, such as the wreck of Milesius' sons on the Skelligs, or the voyages of St. Brendan and Maelduin.] There is, however, the strongest probability that the scenery and associations of this part of the island suggested to him the setting for Sir Guyon's voyage. . . .

Sailing from the Kenmare River, the Inver Aceine of the legends, up to Smerwick, the first danger one encounters is Ballinskelligs Bay, which has been the grave of many a noble ship. Spenser aptly calls it the Gulfe of Greedinesse. If a navigator escaped it, he was in peril of striking the Skellig Rocks on the other hand. The Little Skellig is the Rock of Vile Reproach. It is practically inaccessible owing to the deep turmoil of the waters around it, and all kinds of sea-fowl find an undisturbed nesting-place on its crags. Passing these two dangers the next is the Blaskets—the many Wandering Islands. They are twelve in number, including some which are mere rocks, but Inis Beg contains 16 acres of rich grazing land. It "seemd so sweet and pleasaunt to the eye That it would tempt a man to touchen there." Here sat that dainty damsel the laughing Phaedria tempting them to land—evidently the Island of Joy of the Irish legends. Then comes Blasket Sound, "the perlous passage." Along this treacherous part of the coast there are dangerous eddies near the islands, "the whirlepooles of hidden jeopardy," and sudden transitions from deep to comparatively shallow water, "the quicksand nigh with water covered." Clear of these dangers they encounter the full force of the Atlantic when

they endeavour to round the headland, and "the surging waters like a mountain rise." Here the poet wanders off into the regions of the legendary voyages, and they encounter the dreadful sea-monsters, who are subdued by the magic touch of the Palmer's staff. Having left behind the mythical Island of Wailing, rounded Sybil Point, and passed the headlands of the Three Sisters, they come to the Mermaids' Harbour, or Smerwick Haven, where there is practically no stream of tide. [Quotes 30. 2-7.] The Three Sisters suggests the five siren mermaids of the bay. . . .

Spenser must have heard all the dangers of this Kerry coast discussed between cautious old Admiral Winter and the more impetuous sailors like Richard Bingham, but when Sir Guyon and the Palmer leave the Mermaid's Bay, the poet is no longer on sure ground, and he grows vague, a convenient fog arises, and there are no details to identify the land-place. Grey's expedition . . . probably returned by Killarney or Lough Lene. . . . The extraordinary beauty of the scenery of this district excited wonder and admiration even in those days, and it is quite possible that Spenser had it in mind when painting the beautiful Bower of Acrasia. Much of his description is taken from the usual account of the old Pagan paradise of sensual delights, common to the literature of several countries. [They] would have entered this beautiful spot by the plain on the north, and have been struck with "the fayre aspect Of that sweet place," and viewing that wonderful combination of vale and mountain, groves and crystal waters, all crowned with the most luxuriant sub-tropical vegetation, a poet

would have thought (so cunningly the rude
And scorned partes were mingled with the fine)
That nature had for wantonnesse ensude
Art, and that Art at nature did repine.

. . . [The Genius of the Porch and the Comely Dame] appear in the story of the prophecy revealed to Conn the Hundred Fighter, when this old Pagan Irish paradise conception of the Plain of Honey or Delight (Magh Mell) was being used, under Christian influence, for didactical purposes. . . . The English government found this class of literature very serviceable for purposes of propaganda. . . .

[Miss Henley notes that the name Verdant may imply that the warrior was an inhabitant of this luxuriant country, and that this scene is drawn from the Pagan Irish descriptions of the happy under world.] In these accounts it frequently happens that notable warriors are lured away to those regions of bliss by amorous fairy maidens; though intemperate love is not a dominant note in any of these tales, these happy regions provide the gratification of all the senses. Both in Phaedria's Isle and Acrasia's Bower we get also one of the little touches that are a common-place in Gaelic wonder-tales—the magic birds that sang accompaniments to the human voice, or to an instrument.

H. J. C. GRIERSON (*Cross Currents in English Literature in the 17th Century*, pp. 53-4). And what of the moral allegory of the second book? The babe with the bloody hands, the House of Medina and her sisters, Pyrochles and Furor and Occasion; does any one of these leave an impression on the imagination to counterbalance the sensuous beauty of the Bower of Immodest Mirth, or the

Bower of Bliss, or the Song of the Rose, which Spenser translated from Tasso [stanzas 74-5 quoted].

It is not only Guyon but the reader whose moral alertness is lulled by stanzas such as these, and their tone is that which predominates in one's memory of *The Faerie Queene*. I know that Milton and Professor de Selincourt assure us that in the description of the Bower of Bliss the poet displays the charm of the sensuous in order to emphasise the stern morality which destroys the Bower. But this is not quite relevant. The senses have their legitimate claims. There is no virtue in the mere destruction of the beautiful. The moralist must convince us that the sacrifice is required in the interest of what is a higher and more enduring good, that the sensuous yields place to the spiritual. It is this Spenser fails to do imaginatively, whatever doctrine one may extract intellectually from the allegory.

LOTSPEICH (pp. 21-2). In the canto on the Bowre of Bliss, Spenser makes use of all the moral symbolism and allegory that had grown up in commentary on the voyages of Ulysses, Jason, and Aeneas. It will not do to confine Spenser to one source, especially in an episode like this one; but it seems clear that here as elsewhere, the mythographers, especially Comes, supplied him with much of his symbolism, and with its meaning made ready to his hand. Comes had said that the myth of Jason and Medea exemplified "voluptatum desiderium," Spenser has the story, "framed of precious ivory," over the entrance of Acrasia's garden. As Warton noticed long ago, the description of Genius, or Agdistes, comes bodily from Comes. Quite as important as Comes' description of this figure is his statement that Genius leads men into error and lust with dreams and false spectacles. In his description of the Mermaids, or Sirens, the poet draws again on Comes, and not very far in the background is Comes' allegory: "I believe the Sirens' song and the Sirens themselves to be nothing other than voluptuous desire." For the poet's allegorical use of the voyage between rocks and whirlpools, Comes' chapter on Scylla and Charybdis was an important precedent. From it Spenser has taken several descriptive details and in it he found a full statement of his own moral allegory, expressed in his own figurative idiom. By the navigator who sails between Scylla and Charybdis and finally emerges in safety, "what else is meant but that which is written by Aristotle in his *Ethics*, that virtue is the mean between two extremes, both of which must be avoided? . . . What is life but a diligent and continuous voyage among various temptations and illegitimate desires? If a man approaches near to any of these rocks, he must keep away from them with all his strength; for there is no man who is not naturally excited by sensual pleasures. . . . Thus the ancients wished to show that life is most full of hardships and perils, like a voyage between two terrible rocks; and unless this is most wisely guided, men are caught by voluptuous desire and fall into the most wretched miseries. This of Scylla and Charybdis, which the ancients clothed in the most pleasing tales and fables."

B. E. C. DAVIS (*Edmund Spenser*, pp. 90-1). The Odyssey of Guyon, Spenser's nearest approach to travel romance after the order of the *Argonautica*, allows for much firmer character delineation. The adventurer pursuing the quest of Acrasia's bower is of pure heroic mould, no neophyte but thoroughly versed in the ways of chivalry and the pitfalls of knight-errantry. Playing the

active and unselfish part, as rescuer of the distressed, he appears to better advantage than the Red Cross Knight, who is fully occupied in extricating himself from difficulties occasioned through ignorance and indiscretion. Guyon's impulsiveness, evinced throughout his earlier adventures before he has fully acquired the virtue of Temperance, appears as the natural outcome of heroic virtue; and his temporary submission to the charms of Phaedria is more in keeping with the part than his subsequent treatment of Acrasia. That the trial at the cave of churlish Mammon, unlike the counsels of Despair, should prove utterly unavailing is only to be expected. For Guyon possesses strength of will together with instinctive gentleness and nobility, a gracious combination befitting the type of chivalric virtue in active life.

[See Appendix, "Celtic Elements."]

i. 1. KITCHIN. The poet feels that he draws towards the end of his long task, and he rises to the occasion. This last Canto is full of passages of very great beauty, and is perhaps the most striking part of all the *Faery Queene*. The influence of Spenser's imagination and rich colouring is seen as clearly in Keats as in any later poet, though there are others who (like Fletcher, in his *Purple Island*) have copied him more closely.

4. UPTON. "Formerly grounded" is, heretofore grounded and fast settled on the firm foundation of magnificence, imaged in Prince Arthur, who routed the foes of Alma.

ii-xxxviii. FOWLER (p. 17). It is worthy of note that the voyage of Sir Guyon and the palmer to the Bower of Bliss is paralleled in court of love literature. In Guillaume de Machaut's *Dit dou Lyon* (137 ff.) the poet uses a boat to reach the garden on an island (*Oeuvres*, Soc. des anc. T. fr. 2. 164); and in King René's *Le Livre du Cuer d'Amours Espris* Heart, accompanied by Desire and Largesce, voyages to the Isle of the God of Love (*Oeuvres complètes du Roi René*, Angers, 1846, 3. 82 ff.). One should add the obvious parallel seen in the voyage of Charles and Ubald to the Gardens of Armida in Tasso (*Ger. Lib.* 15). See also Brydges, *British Bibliographer* 2. 618 ff., for an account of an allegorical voyage contained in a book called the "Shippe of Safegarde" (1569).

ii-vii. J. R. MACARTHUR (*JEGP* 4. 232-4) quotes the following parallel from *Huon of Burdeux*, chapters 108-9:

They were in this tourmente the space of .x. dayes, In the whiche tyme they neuer saw the clerenes of the sonne: for the darkenesse that was there as then / the which greatly anoyed them. And when it came to the xi day, and that the tourment and wynd began to abate and the see peasable and styll / where with Huon and his companye were well comforted: the heuen clered vp and the sonne cast out his rayes alonge upon the see / . . . and therby he harde as great a noise as though there had ben a thowsande smethes and a thowsande carpenters and a thowsande great rynnynge riuers to gether, betynge and labourynge. Huon who harde this great noyse: hadde great fere therof, so that he wyste not what to do, and so were al tho that were in his companye / the patron commaunded a maryner to mounte vp into the toppe to se what thyng it was that made all that noyse / and so he did, and behelde that waye / and at laste he parseyued the daungerous Goulfe,

wherof he had had often tymes spoken of wherof he had suche fere that nere hand he had fallen downe into the see / he came downe and sayd to the patron, 'Syr, we be al in the way to be lost, for we be nere one of the Goulfes of hel' / whereof Huon and the patron and al other had such fere that they trymbelyd. 'Syr,' quod the patron, 'knowe for trougthe it is inpossyble to scape out of this perelous Gulfe / for all ye sees and waters and ryuers there assemblethe to gether / and perforce we must passe that waye' / . . . the Goulfe, the whiche is nowe full and playne, it wyll not reste long but that ye see wyll issue out, & all the ryuers with in it / ye were happy that ye came at the owre that ye dyd. For anone the waters wyll Issue out with suche a bowndaunce / that the waues that wyll ryse shall seme lyke hye mountaynes: . . . Then they drewe vp theyr sayles, and so departyd / they had not sayled a leege but that they sawe a farre of great brondis of fyre brynnynge Issuyng out of ye Goulfe so longe and so hye that they had nere hande come to theyr shyppe . . . then they could not tell whether they went / yf they had knowed they wold not haue gone thether for all the gold of the worlde / for yf god had not had petye of them they were all lykely to haue ben lost / for the the plase that they sawe a farre of was a castell, and therin closyd the rock of the Adamant: the which castell was daungerous to aproche / for yf enye shyppe come within the syght therof, the Adamant wyll drawe the shyppe to hym. . . . For the propertye of the Adamant is to drawe Iron to hym / thus Huon and his company were there the space of .vi. dayes, . . . the forest that semyd to them afar of were mastes of the shippes that had bene there aryued by constrayn of the Adamant / but for all ye shippes that were ther / there was no leuyng man / but there lay the bones of them that had dyed by famyne & rage./

ii. 5. UPTON. "Il tremolante lume," Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 8. 71. "Tremulum lumen," Virg., *Aen.* 8. 22. "Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus," *Aen.* 7. 9. Virgil took this expression from Ennius: "Lumine sic tremulo terra et cava caerulea candent." [One might add the dawn in Dante's *Purgatory* (1. 118) with "il tremolar della marina." Cf. Tennyson, *Demeter and Persephone* 13-4, and note on 5. 2. 3-7 above.]

iii. 4-vi. 3. WINSTANLEY (p. xxx). The closest correspondences with Homer occur in the voyage to Acrasia's bower, for Spenser finds many passages in the *Odyssey* which he can easily turn into most excellent symbolism. Thus Charybdis in Homer is simply a whirlpool, though fearfully and wonderfully described, but Spenser renders it as his Gulf of Greediness, a symbol of that insatiable appetite which devours for ever and is never content. Homer says that mighty Charybdis sucked down the black water three times a day, and three times a day she spouted it forth. As often as she belched it forth, she seethed like a cauldron or a great fire through all her troubled deeps and the rock around roared horribly and underneath the earth was visible, dark with sand. [*Od.* 12. 235-243 quoted. See Appendix, "Sources."]

iii. UPTON. This gulfe of Greediness is imaged from the gulf and whirlpool Charybdis. The reader at his leisure may see Virgil's description, *Aen.* 3. 420, which Spenser seems to have imitated.

TODD (1. lxvi). And Nash in his *Supplication of Pierce Pennilesse* published in the same year [1592], declares that he had intended "to decypher the excesse of gluttonie at large, but that the New Laureat sav'd him the labor."

(An apparent allusion to *F. Q.* 2. 12. 3, where the poet describes the Gulfe of Greedinesse.)

9. TODD. It is probable that the sublime description in *Psal.* 114. 3. might suggest this expression to Spenser: "The sea saw that and fled."

iv, vii, viii. LOIS WHITNEY (*MP* 19. 156). André Thevet, in his *Singularitez*, writes: "Likewise in this same sea are found Ilands named Manioles . . . nere to the which there are great rocks that draw the ships unto them, be'cause of the yron wherewith they are nailed" (*Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, translated from the French and published by Bynneman in 1568, p. 90). There seems to be a closer parallel in Mandeville, however, if one takes into consideration the continuation of the description in stanza 7. . . . In Mandeville, chapter 30, we find:

For in many places of the sea be great rocks of stones of the adamant, that of his proper nature draweth iron to him. . . . I myself have seen afar in that sea, as though it had been a great isle full of trees and buscaylle, full of thorns and briars great plenty. And the shipmen told us, that all that was of ships that were drawn thither by the adamants, for the iron that was in them. And of the rottenness, and other thing that was within the ships, grew such buscaylle . . . and of the masts and sail-yards (*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, ed. by A. W. Pollard, London, 1900, pp. 178-9; see also pp. 109-10).

[See Macarthur's note on stanza 7.]

iv. WINSTANLEY (pp. xxx-xxx). Spenser's "Rock of Vile Reproche"—the infamy that comes from a life misspent—is partly copied from the rock in which Scylla lives and partly from the Wandering Rocks. Homer says concerning Scylla's rock: "On the other side are two rocks, of which one reaches the heaven with a sharp peak. . . . No mortal man can scale it or set foot upon it." And, concerning the Wandering Rocks: "From them no ship ever escapes that comes thither, but the planks of ships and the bodies of men are tossed to and fro confusedly by the waves of the sea." [*Od.* 12. 59-78 quoted. See Appendix, "Sources."]

1. WINSTANLEY cites the rock in the *Arabian Nights*.

2. KITCHIN. The magnet is named from Magnesia, whence it was supposed to come. *Lucr.* 6. 909:

Quem Magneta vocant patrio de nomine Graiei,
Magnetum quia sit patriis in finibus ortus.

vi. 4-6. TODD. See the note on Tartary, *F. Q.* 1. 7. 44. 3. To which add the following illustration from *The troublesome Raigne of King John*, 1611:

And let the blacke tormenters of deep Tartary
Vpbraide them with this damned enterprise.

UPTON. The lake Avernus is said to be the entrance into hell (See *Virg., Aen.* 6. 237.) and from which likewise the infernal spirits are said to ascend. *Cicer. Tusc. Disp.* 1. 16: "Inde in vicinia nostra Avernus lacus, Unde animae excitantur, obscura umbra opertae, ostio alti Acheruntis, falso sanguine, imagines mortuorum." Taenarus is likewise said to be the dreadful hole of Tartare, *Horat.*,

1. *Od.* 34, "horrida Taenari sedes." Virg., *Georg.* 4. 467: "Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis." Stat., *Theb.* 2. 48:

Hoc (ut fama) loco pallentes devius umbras
Trames agit, nigrique Jovis vacua atria ditat
Mortibus.

vii-ix. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 278). Conti suggests voluptuousness as the meaning of Scylla, then adds (*Mythologiae* 8. 12):

Others explain this myth as a warning against excessive expenditure; for there are reckless people who run into debt as a ship runs upon Scylla, wherefore afterwards they lose all their substance at once ("unde omnium facultatum uno tempore postea sit iactura").

vii. J. R. MACARTHUR (*JEGP* 4. 235 n). This legend of the Rock of Adamant appears to have been widespread in the European literature of this and of earlier times. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, Book 2, Chaps. 2 and 3—Concerning the Loadstone.

The other relation, of loadstone mines and rocks in the shore of India is delivered of old by Pliny: wherein, saith he, they are so placed both in abundance and vigour, that it proves an adventure of hazard to pass those coasts in a ship with iron nails. Serapion, the Moor, an author of good esteem and reasonable antiquity, confirmeth the same, whose expression in the word *magnes* is this: "The mine of this stone is in the sea-coast of India, whereto when ships approach, there is no iron in them which flies not like a bird unto those mountains; and therefore their ships are fastened not with iron but wood, for otherwise they would be torn to pieces."

An account of the rock of Adamant is given in the Voyages and Travels of Sir John Maundeville. The account given of the rock is identical with that found in Huon of Burdeux, but it occurs merely as one item of an enumeration of wonderful things. There is no reason for supposing that Spenser drew upon this source, particularly in view of the account of the storm at sea, and of the passing by the mouth of Hell which accompanies it.

The Adamant Rock is moreover found in the romance of Ogier le Danois. The account here shows remarkable similarity to that found in Huon. The account of passing by the mouth of hell is lacking. Cf. Dunlop, *History of Fiction* 1. 334.

In the Middle High German poem of Kudrun, Hilda's vassals make an expedition against the Normans and are drawn by loadstones to the Mount of Givers, and are kept there four days, but by means of prayer to God they are delivered. Cf. *Gudrun*, Tale 23. 1125-1135, trans. Mary Pickering Nichols, Riverside Press, 1889.

The same legend occurs also in the following places: in the Bavarian story of Herzog Ernst von Baiern, extant in a 15th Century MS. ed. Bartsch, Vienna, 1869; in the Arabian Nights in the story of Sinbad the Sailor; in the old French romance of the Chevalier Berinus; in the Legend of St. Brandanus. Cf. also Felicis Fabre *Evagatorium* (c. 1483), 2. 469, published by Stuttgart Literarischer Verein; Konrad von Wuerzburg's *Goldene Schmiede*, verse 139; verse 1727 of Got Amur (*der Werden Minne lere*, published by the Stuttgart Literarischer Verein, 5. 263).

Cf. Von Hagen and Buesching, *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1., note 49 to Herzog Ernst, p. xii., also the *Altdeutsches Museum* 1. 298.

Cf. also Graesse, p. 339; and *Revue des traditions populaires* 9. 377-380, Rene Basset, "Notes sur les mille et une nuits—*La Montagne d'Aimant*." In this article an extensive bibliography is indicated and the certain oriental origin of the story is proved.

8-9. UPTON. This is scriptural, 1 Tim. 1. 19: ["Holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck"].

viii. WINSTANLEY. It is notable that Spenser has no affection for the sea nor for the birds associated with it.

x-xiii. LOIS WHITNEY (MP 19. 156-7). Spenser's reference in this passage to the island of Delos suggests a classical source for the idea, but it is worth noting that there was still a widespread belief in the sixteenth century in the existence of floating islands. (Besides the island of Delos here referred to, there are classical allusions to the Cyanean Islands, or Symplegades, Herodotus, 4. 85; Pindar, *Pyth. Odes* 4. 371, etc. See, further, the classical references in the passage from F. Colon to follow.) They were usually referred to as St. Brandan's Isle, or sometimes the Isles of St. Brandan, and often appeared on the early maps in various parts of the Atlantic (Westropp, "Brasil and the Legendary Islands of the North Atlantic," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 30. 241-5). So firm was the belief in such an island as St. Brandan's that various expeditions were sent out to find it, and it was said by the Portuguese, Louis Perdigon, that the king of Portugal had ceded the island to his father "if he could discover it" (Jubinal, *La légende latine de S. Brandaines, avec une traduction inédite en prose et en Poésie Romanes*, Paris, 1836, xvii). Perhaps the best exposition of the sixteenth-century ideas on the subject occurs in Ferdinand Colon's *History of the Life and Actions of Admiral Christopher Colon*, first published in Italian in 1571. The question of whether or not this is a forged document need not concern us here. Columbus is reported by the author to have doubted the discovery of certain islands, thinking that

perhaps they were some of those floating islands that are carried about by the water, called by the sailors Aguadas, whereof Pliny makes mention in the first book, chap. 97, of his natural history; where he says, that in the northern parts the sea discovered some spots of land, on which there are trees of deep roots, which parcels of land are carried about like floats or islands upon the water. Seneca undertaking to give a natural reason why there are such sorts of islands says in his third book, that it is the nature of certain spongy and light rocks, so that the islands made of them in India, swim upon the water. So that were it never so true, that the said Anthony Leme had seen some island, the admiral was of opinion, it could be no other than one of them, such as those called of St. Brandan are supposed to be, where many wonders are reported to have been seen. . . . Juventius Fortunatus relates, that there is an account of two islands toward the west, and more southward than those of Cabo Verde, which swim along upon the water. (Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1812, 12. 14-5. See also the reference to the Isle of St. Brandon in Caxton, *Mirror of the World*, Part 2, chap. 13.)

Further, John Sparke in his narrative of *The Voyage made by Master John Hawkins . . . in 1564* mentions "certain flitting islands," in the neighborhood of the Fortunate Islands. Finally, there are floating islands in the *True History* of Lucian:

We had proceeded something less than fifty miles when we saw a great forest, thick with pines and cypresses. This we took for the main land; but it was in fact deep sea, set with trees; they had no roots, but yet remained in their places, floating upright as it were. (*Op. cit.*, p. 170.)

x. 1. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 278). That the Ferryman was suggested by the classical Charon may be inferred not only from his appellation but also from his implied appearance: in stanza 10 he is addressed as "old Syre." He bears the travellers across the troubled waters of temptation by the strength of an arm which in such waters cannot be the arm of flesh. Cf. Natale Conti, *Mythologiae* (3. 4), in which Charon is interpreted as the clearness of conscience, or at all events the confidence in God's mercy, which sustains a not unrighteous man in his last moments and as it were helps him across the troubled stream of his regrets and his misgivings. (Cf. also 3. 3, and 10, "De fluminibus.")

2. UPTON cites *Aen.* 5. 15, "validis remis"; 3. 668, "verrimus et prona certantibus aequora remis"; and 3. 208, "caerula verrunt."

3. TODD. "hoare waters." Homer, *Il.* 15. 190: ΠΟΛΙΗΝ ἄλα. Catullus, *De Nupt. Pel. & Thet.* 13: "Tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda." And thus, in our translation of Job 41. 32: "One would think the deep to be hoary."

xii. 3. TODD. This accent on the first syllable of "delectable," continued in use long after Spenser's time: Thus, in Quarles's address to P. Fletcher, at the end of his *Pisc. Eclogs*, 1633:

In every garden, full of new-born flowers,
Delicious banks, and délectable bowers.

So in Fanshaw's translation of Camoëns's *Lusiad*, 7. 71:

They threw out of their délectable seates
By golden Tagus.

xiii. UPTON is reminded of the floating Aeolia in Homer, *Od.* 10. 2. He cites Ovid, *Met.* 6. 186; Hyginus, 140 as ancient versions of the tale, and allusions in *Aen.* 3. 73; Milton, *Son.* 12.

SAWTELLE (p. 21). This may be founded upon the *Hom. Hymn to Apollo* (Delian), or upon later versions of the same story, such as Apoll. 1. 4. 1.

LOTSPEICH (p. 77). Natalis Comes' version (9. 6) is closest to Spenser: "No place would give a refuge to Latona except the island of Delos. It at that time was unstable and at times hid under the waves; but when the time of childbirth came to Latona, Neptune ordered it to stand firm and give a place for the birth."

8. UPTON. Virg. 3. 77: "Inmotamque coli dedit." See Spanhem on Callimachus, *Del.*, ver. 11 & ver. 273.

9. UPTON. Virgil calls Delos "Sacred," 3. 73; and Apollo's city, ver. 79. See Spanhem in his learned Commentaries on Callimachus, p. 321. and p. 484.

xix. KITCHIN. The shipwreck of some noble gentleman, well equipped, but cast away through unthrift and careless living. The time was that of a newly-awakened interest in seafaring: gentlemen fitted out gallant ships, and sailed them themselves.

LOIS WHITNEY (*MP* 19. 157-8). If Spenser had in mind some particular ship in this account—and considering his general tendency toward specific allegory, it is likely that he did have—it may very well have been Sir Humphrey Gilbert's vessel, the "Delight," which was stranded on the sands and there wrecked by the waves in 1583. It will be remembered that Raleigh was particularly interested in this expedition to plant colonies in the new world and had shared in the undertaking to the extent of sending along a ship of his own, which, however, was forced to abandon the voyage. Spenser, if he had not seen or heard an account of this disaster elsewhere, could have got it from Raleigh himself. Edward Hayes, in his account of the voyage writes, "Betimes in the morning we were altogether run and folded in among flats and sands." The breaking of the waves upon the sands made Master Cox think that he had seen land. (Compare with Spenser's "That quicksand nigh with water couered; But by the checked wave they did descry It plaine," 18. 6-8). After the "Delight" grounded,

all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and down as near unto the wreck as was possible for us, looking out if by good hap we might espy any of them. This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travail, care, long time, and difficulty. (*The Principal Navigations*, Glasgow, 1904, 8. 65-7.)

Spenser probably did not see this particular account of the wreck, for it was first published by Hakluyt in 1589. I give the quotations to illustrate the similarity in the situation. There is no other stranded vessel quite so well known as this or quite so similar to Spenser's "goodly Ship." In *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake . . . begun in the year of our Lord 1577*, there is a description of a stranded ship, it is true, but this ship was stranded on the rocks and it was saved by the mariners. [See Appendix, "Celtic Elements."]

xxi-xxvi. LOIS WHITNEY (*MP* 19. 158-9). Although this episode is generally parallel with two episodes in *St. Brandan*, it will be remembered that there was nothing either in the prose or metrical version of the legend quite comparable to the description of the "dreadful noise, and hollow rombling rore" as the fish "Came rushing in the foamy waves enrold" (st. 25; see also st. 22). There are, however, descriptions parallel to this in the travel books. In the "True and Last Discoverie of Florida" printed by Hakluyt in the *Divers Voyages*, 1582, there is a description of water which was "boyling and roaring through the multitude of all kind of fish" (*op. cit.*, p. 98), and in Thevet's *Singularitez* we find (p. 29):

About this lyne [Equinoctiall] is founde such abundance of fishes of sundry and divers kindes, that it is a marvelous and wonderful thing to see them above water, and I have heard them make such a noyse about the ships side, that we could not hear one another speke.

[See Appendix, "Celtic Elements."]

xxii-xxvii. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 278). Cf. Natale Conti, *Mythologiae* (6. 6) on the voyage of Ulysses:

By this myth the ancients wished to teach that the wise remain strong in self-control (notice that this sentiment is the key-note of *F. Q.* 2); for the others, as though they were light vessels in a stormy sea, are tossed about by the violence of the waves and the inconstancy of the winds. . . . Reason is a powerful check upon the depraved faculties, which may well be called wild beasts.

xxiii-xxv. ANNE TRENEER (*The Sea in English Literature*, p. 189). Spenser's are less like real monsters than fancies in picture books (a notable exception is his "swift otter fell through emptinesse," *F. Q.* 3. 3. 33) with magical names to take away their terror. They are painted devils. The griesly Wasserman, the rosmarines, and the sea-shouldering whales have been often admired. The sea-shouldering whales seem, from the majesty of the epithet, to stand apart from the hideous and deformed creatures described. They have more in common with Marvel's sea-monsters who, in the pride of their glorious strength, "lift the deep upon their backs"; or with Leviathan in Job whose eyes are "the eyelids of the morning." Spenser is a master of "colourable words." Take the bright Scolopendraes [23. 8 quoted]—they glitter like the signs of the zodiac.

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, p. 119). When Spenser, in the *Faerie Queene*, enumerates sea-monsters, he aims at deepening the horrors of the perilous sea on which Sir Guyon sailed. He therefore chooses creatures with strange or sonorous names, and adds epithets or brief descriptions to create an atmosphere of horror.

xxiii. 6. UPTON cites Gesner [ed. 1558], p. 459.

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, p. 119). The phrase "spring-headed hydrae" shows that the poet is thinking of the Lernean hydra killed by Hercules, a many-headed freshwater snake, such that if one of its heads was cut off, two more sprang up in its place.

C. W. LEMMI (*MLN*, forthcoming). It may be so; but why should he put a purely fabulous monster among whales, dolphins, narwhals, swordfish, walruses, and seals? I confess that the words quoted by Mr. Robin are hard to explain otherwise, for while huge sea-serpents called hydras were believed to exist, in Spenser's times, they were not described as many-headed (cf. Gesner, *Historia Animalium*, 1558, 4. 1040). Possibly the poet added a touch of dreadfulness to such descriptions of hydras as he was familiar with, but I feel sure that he had actual sea-monsters in mind. It will be noticed that he mentions the hydras together with "whales," "whirlpooles," and "scolopendraes,"—that is, with what he probably conceived to be different kinds of whale. One is almost tempted to surmise that the spouting of whales occurred to him and caused him to use the expression "spring-headed" in a more literal sense than has been supposed.

EDITOR. Cf. Van der Noodt's *Theatre*, "sonet" 12, lines 11-3:

But this new Hydra mete to be assailde
Euen by an hundred such as Hercules,
With seuen springing heads. . . .

CHARLES COWDEN CLARKE (*Recollections of John Keats*, p. 126). That night he [Keats] took away with him the first volume of the *Faerie Queene*, and he went through it, as I formerly told his noble biographer [Lord Houghton], "as a young horse would through a spring meadow—ramping!" Like a true poet, too—a poet "born, not manufactured," a poet in grain, he especially singled out epithets, for that felicity and power in which Spenser is so eminent. He hoisted himself up, and looked burly and dominant, as he said, "what an image that is—'sea-shouldring whales'."

LOWELL (*North American Review* 120. 364). Perhaps his most striking single epithet.

7. UPTON. "Great Whirlpoole": See Gesner [ed. 1588], p. 216. Skinner: whirlpoole "ab Anglis dictus cetus balaena est—Videtur a vorticibus, quos turbinis instar in aqua excitat, nomen habere—Nec alius puto piscis est ille quem horlopoole vocitant Angli. . . ." In Gesner, p. 119, and in Olaus Wormius, there is a print of a monstrous whale, which the sailors take for an island and fixt their anchors in his skinny rind. This print Milton had in his mind, when he wrote the simile in *P. L.* 1. 203. Job 41. 1: "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with an hook?" In the margin, "a whale, or a whirlpool."

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, pp. 119-120). "Whirlpool" was used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the name of a spouting whale. Holland uses the term in his translation of Pliny (9. 4 and 8): he speaks of "the Whales and Whirlpooles called Balaenae," and "a mighty fish called Physerer, i. e. a Whirlpoole." Motteux, in translating Rabelais (4. 33), wrote: "About sunset, coming near the Wild Island, Pantagruel spied afar off a hughe monstrous Physerer—a sort of whale, which some call a whirlpool." (Physerer, a Greek word, meant literally "blower.") The *New English Dictionary* suggests that the word in this sense is a popular alteration of "thirlpoll," which was used contemporaneously for a whale, the name referring to the blow-holes in the head. The earliest example quoted for the latter is dated c. 1460, the earliest for "whirlpool" being ten years earlier. (Is it not possible that "thirlpoll" is a learned amendment of "whirlpool"? The latter may have been first applied to the whale through a popular confusion of the word "whale" with the M. E. "wale," a whirlpool—Halliwell's *Dictionary*.)

8. UPTON. See Gesner [ed. 1558], p. 839.

TODD. The scolopendra, a fish unknown to our seas, takes its name from a land-insect or worm called the centipes, which has two rows of legs reaching from the head to the tail. The scolopendra is mentioned by Aelian in his *History of Animals*, and by most naturalists placed among the cetaceous fishes. See the Catalogue of Oppian's Fishes, at the end of Jones's poetical translation of the *Halieuticks*, Oxford, 1722.

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, pp. 120-2). Scolopendra was the Greek name for the centipede, and the sea-scolopendra is an annelid worm, e. g. Nereis, somewhat resembling a centipede, or rather a millipede. Some of these are as much as two feet in length. The strange reputation of the marine scolopendra originated in a mysterious statement made by Aristotle, and left un-

solved by naturalists. Aristotle said (*H. A.* 9. 621 a): "The so-called sea-scolopendra, after swallowing the hook, turns itself inside out until it ejects it, and then it again turns itself outside in." Professor D'Arcy Thompson thus comments: "What animal is meant is unknown. Cuvier (*ad. Plin.*, 9. 67) supposes some annelid worm, e. g. a large *Nereis*, whose protusible proboscis might have suggested a turning inside out, and O. F. Müller and Schneider lean to the same opinion." The real explanation is possibly as follows. Fishermen do not try to catch worms with a hook, but they use them freely for bait. The present writer has used a species of *Nereis* as bait, and finds that it is difficult to keep them on the hook. When the hook is thrust into the worm, the creature squirms so violently that the viscera are forced through the ruptured portions of the thin protecting skin. If the hook is removed before much damage is done, the viscera are again withdrawn inside the skin. Aristotle probably misunderstood the statements of Mediterranean fishermen. About a century and a half later, Nicander added to the mystery by describing the scolopendra as two-headed (probably because of the similarity of head and tail), and stating that it deals death to men from both heads. He added that in its progress it resembles a ship propelled by oars. Pliny merely repeats Aristotle's account, but Aelian (13. 23) calls it the greatest of all marine animals, and states that it swims on the surface, propelling itself with its many legs, and that its head projects above the water, showing long bristles extending from the nostrils: anyone who saw it cast ashore would be terrified. Oppian (*Hal.*, 424 ff.) says that it stings like a sea-nettle (sea-anemone), and that it is hated by fishermen because if it touches the bait the latter is poisoned and no fish will go near it. The inconsistency of the accounts given by Aristotle and Aelian led the ichthyologists of the sixteenth century to recognize two kinds, one a cetacean of great size ("Scolopendra cetacea"), the other a marine worm ("Scolopendra marina"). Rondelet (*De Piscibus*, 1554) describes and figures both. His drawing of the former professedly follows the description of "those who declare they have seen it in India," their account being similar to that of Aelian. In fact, his drawing is imaginary. It is this cetacean scolopendra to which Spenser refers, but there seems to be no authority for the "silver scales." The only examples of its mention in English literature given by the *New English Dictionary* are the above passage from Spenser and a quotation from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, which repeats Aristotle's statement about the animal turning itself inside out. (Rabelais, 4. 34, thus describes a whale bristling with arrows fired from a fleet of ships: "Being thus overturned, with the beams and darts upside down in the sea, it seemed a scolopendra or centipede, as that serpent is described by the ancient sage Nicander"—Motteux.)

9. UPTON. The verse is "immeasured." 'Tis not agreeable to Spenser's manner to say Monoceroses. [Cf. "Critical Notes on the Text."] . . . This sea-fish the Greeks called *Μονοκέρως*, the sea-unicorn. But you must turn to Gesner, p. 208 [ed. 1588], to know what fish Spenser meant.

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, p. 122). Spenser's monoceros is the sea-unicorn, that is, the narwhal which has been referred to above in the account of the unicorn. The "immeasured" or huge tails are an invention of the poet.

xxiv. 1-2. UPTON. The Mors, or Morsz, described by Olaus Wormius, and

Gesner [ed. 1558], p. 210. In the same figure is the Zifius, or Ziphius, and the Mors. See pp. 211, 212. You must not consult your common dictionaries; these are all monsters.

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, pp. 122-3). Evidently the morse or walrus, which Spenser fancifully associated with the Latin "mors" (death).

3-4. UPTON. Wacht: "Wassernix daemon aquaticus." See Gesner [ed. 1558], pp. 439 ff.: "Est inter beluas marinas homo marinus, est et Triton," and p. 1000: "Tritonem Germani vocare poterant ein wasserman, ein Seeman, i. e. aquatilem vel marinum hominem."

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, p. 123). "Wasserman" is a German word meaning "waterman," i. e. human fish, merman. The *New English Dictionary* cites only two other examples of the word, both from Nashe, and probably borrowed from Spenser. Both use it to mean a vague sea-monster to be grouped with whale, grampus, and morse. The sea-satyr has not been identified. The *New English Dictionary* makes it equivalent to sea-ape, and suggests the "manatee," which, however, frequents fresh waters. Spenser may have got it from Aelian, who says (16. 18) that there are in the sea certain monsters which resemble satyrs, and elsewhere (17. 27) describes a sea-ape of the Red Sea resembling the land-ape in colour and in the shape of the snout. His full description suggests a ray, or what is in some places called a "fiddler."

C. W. LEMMI (*MLN*, forthcoming). Surely these lines recall Pliny, who, having said that the dolphin is the swiftest of fish, continues: "It comes towards ships; it gambols joyfully; nay, it contends with them, and though they be under full sail outstrips them" (*Nat. hist.* 9. 8).

Whether Spenser's German contemporaries ever called a dolphin a wasserman I do not know. They usually gave it the much less poetic name of meerschwein. The poet probably heard of the watersprite familiar to German folklore and of the sinister playfulness with which it enticed young people into its treacherous abode. Indeed, I do not think it impossible that this last circumstance served to associate the two in his mind. Pliny has much to tell us about the fondness of dolphins for children (9. 8). In any case he would have sought a poetic name, and if possible a name suggestive of terror.

5-6. C. W. LEMMI (*MLN*, forthcoming). I believe these lines identify the creature. In John Swan's *Speculum mundi*, published in 1635, we read as follows: The mermaids and men-fish seem to me the most strange fish in the waters. Some have supposed them to be devils or spirits, in regard to their whooping noise that they make. For (as if they had the power to raise extraordinary storms and tempests) the winds blow, seas rage, and clouds drop presently after they seem to call. (Cf. Hulme, *Natural History Lore and Legend*, 81.)

Here we have men-fish that appear before heavy storms. Now Pliny tells us about seals that "They make a noise which sounds like lowing, whence their name of sea-calf" (*Nat. hist.*, 9. 15).

My belief that Spenser had in mind the seal is strengthened by further evidence.

In the *Speculum regale*, an Icelandic work of the twelfth century, we read of a creature found off the shores of Greenland:

It is like a woman as far down as the waist. . . . The hands seem to be long, and the fingers not to be pointed but united into a web. . . . It shows itself especially before heavy storms. The habit of this creature is to dive frequently and to rise again to the surface with fishes in its hands. When sailors see it playing with the fish or throwing them towards the ship they fear that they are doomed to lose several of the crew. . . . This monster has a very horrible face, with broad brow and piercing eyes, a wide mouth and double chin. (Cf. Hulme, p. 86.)

The portrait could hardly be improved on. And now let us read what Hudson wrote in 1608 as he forced his way through the ice near Nova Zembla:

This morning one of our company, looking overboard, saw a mermaid, and calling up some of the company to see her, one more came up, and by that time, she was come close to the ship's side, looking earnestly on the men. (Cf. Hulme, p. 85.)

It seems pretty clear that Hudson's mermaids, the Iclander's sea-monsters, Swan's mermaids and men-fish, and Spenser's sea-satyr are brothers and sisters. It remains to be seen how the poet hit upon the particular name he used.

Gesner, in his *Historia animalium* [first cited by UPTON], published in 1558, remarks that the tritons, mermaids, and other marine beings of classic literature are not so fabulous as might be supposed; for fishermen have told him of human cries heard at sea before a storm, and of "homines marini" with furry faces like those of old men and bodies like those of fish (7. 4. 999). Presently he gives us a drawing of the "Satyrus marinus,"—a snarling merman with short horns. He acquired it, he tells us, from a painter who had seen a picture of the skeleton of such a monster at Antwerp. Another man, he adds, possessed a dried specimen of the creature brought to southern Germany from Norway. Gesner assures us that the accuracy of the painter's drawing is confirmed by what has already been said about "homines marini." Furthermore, a monster entirely similar to the one depicted, save that it had no horns, was exhibited at Rome in the year of our Lord 1523. Then come accounts of sea-satyrs, ancient and modern. According to Aelian, a "cetacean" which looks like a satyr is said to be found near the island of Taprobane; according to one Baptista Fulgus, a sleek, black "sea-man," with "almost human face," short horns, flipper-like hands, and feet sticking out straight behind "like two tails," was captured during the pontificate of Eugenius IV (8. 4. 1197). I do not know what suggested the horns to Gesner's informants, but this, after all, need not concern us. Of present interest, instead, is the fact that Spenser had probably heard of sea-satyrs and may well have identified them with horrible men-fish seen "in time of greatest storme."

7. UPTON. See above [note on lines 1-2] from Gesner, p. 210. Xiphias is the Swordfish; but Spenser's fishes swim not in our ocean, nor are to be found in any books, but in Olaus Wormius, and Gesner, and such relatets of monstrous stories.

TODD. But the "huge Xiphias," supposing Spenser to have intended this spelling, is a very different fish from the common sword-fish, which is so named from a long blade of an horned substance proceeding from his upper jaw,

with which he kills his prey. See the Catalogue of Oppian's Fishes, already cited. The "huge Ziffius" is thus described, Olai Magni, *Epit.* 21. 10: "Est enim Xiphias animal nulli alteri simile, nisi in aliqua proportione ceti. Caput habet horridum, ut bubo: os profundum valde, veluti barathrum immensum, quo terret et fugat insipientes: oculos horribiles, dorsum cuneatum, vel ad gladii formam elevatum, rostrum mucronatum."

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, pp. 123-4). "Ziffius" is a vulgarised form of xiphias, the Greek word for the swordfish, which was well known to the ancients. The name is spelt Zephius and Ziphius by Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.* 18. 138)—Xifius is used by Eustathius (*Hexaem. Metaph.*, 7).

9. UPTON. See Gesner [ed. 1558], p. 210: "Rosmarus bellua marina."

TODD. The rosmarine is denominated also by Olaus Magnus the "Norwegian mors." See Olai Magni, *Epit.* 21. 19: "Rosmari itaque hi pisces, sive morsi dicuntur, caput habentes bovinæ figuræ, hirsutam pellem, pilosque spissitudine veluti culmos vel calamos frumenti, late diffuentes. Dentibus sese ad rupium cacumina usque tanquam per scalas elevant, ut rorulento dulcis aquæ gramine vescantur, &c."

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, p. 124). "Rosmarine" is another name for the walrus. The first syllable of the word means "horse" and is akin to the second syllable of walrus, so that the word means "sea-horse." The walrus appears under the latter name in Chester's *Love's Martyr*: "Here swimmes . . . the Sea-horse, the Sea-hound, and the wide-mouthed Plaiçe" (though the *New English Dictionary* takes it here to be the Hippopotamus).

xxv-xxvi. See Appendix, "Celtic Elements."

xxv. 8. TODD. Cf. *F. Q.* 3. 4. 15 and 2. 3. 20.

xxvi. 5. UPTON. A Grecism, *from to proceede*, ἀπὸ τοῦ προβῆναι. [See also st. 64.]

6. KITCHIN. His miraculous staff, having "virtue" in it. Tasso's Ubaldo has a similar wand: *Ger. Lib.* 14. 73; 15. 49. It is the proper accompaniment of all workers of wonders or magicians, from Moses' rod downwards.

9. KITCHIN. Tethys, daughter of Uranus and Gaea, was Ocean's wife, and sea-gods and sea-monsters were her offspring.

SAWTELLE. Cf. *Met.* 2. 69.

xxvii-xxxiv. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 279). The Sirens not only allure but also flatter Guyon. Conti (*Mythologiae* 7. 13) interprets the sirens as voluptuousness, but adds: "Others have believed that the Sirens were the voices of flatterers, than which no more seductive or harmful plague infects princes and ambitious men."

xxix. 2. See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."

xxx ff. JORTIN. It is plain by this and by what follows, that Spenser designed here to describe the Mermaids as Sirens. He has done it contrary to mythology: for the Sirens were not part women and part fishes, as Spenser and other moderns

have imagined, but part women and part birds. They were the daughters of one of the Muses, as some relate. We learn from the Emperor Julian (*Epist.* 41) that they contended with the Muses, but that the Muses overcame them, took their wings away, and adorned themselves with them as with trophies, and in token of their victory. . . . The same story is to be found in other authors.

UPTON. By the Sirens are imaged sensual pleasures, hence Spenser makes their number five: but the poets and mythologists as to their number vary. [Upton cites the *Schol.* on Homer, *Od.*, ver. 39; Hyginus, in *Praefat. Ex. Acheloo & Melpomene Sirenes*; Fab. 141; Natalis Comes 7. 13; Barnes, *Eurip. Helen*, ver. 166; Fabrit., *ad Column. Traj.*; and Spanh., *de Praestantio et Usu Numism. Antiq.*, p. 251, and continues]: But should you ask why did not Spenser follow rather the ancient poets and mythologists, than the moderns in making them Mermaids? My answer is, Spenser has a mythology of his own: nor would he leave his brethren the romance writers, where merely authority is to be put against authority. Boccace has given a sanction to this description, *Geneal. Deorum.* 7. 20. Let me add our old poets, as Gower, *Fol.* 10. 2 and Chaucer, *Rom. of the Rose*, ver. 680. Vossius has followed it too, "Sirenes dicebantur tria marina monstra, quorum unumquodque, ut Horatii verbis utar,"

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

D. BUSH (*Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*, pp. 97-8). The groundwork of the allegory in the whole book is the traditional psychology of Plato and Aristotle and Christian moralists. The groundwork of this episode is the story of Circe, but there is far less of Homer than of the allegorical tradition which interpreted the myth as the war of flesh and spirit. Spenser uses the theme, as Milton does in *Comus*, in the orthodox way, to show the conquest of sensual appetite by the virtuous will. But Milton tries not to let us forget that vice is ugly, and his Lady is icy and unassailable; we are uncertain how Guyon might behave if the Palmer were not with him. When Spenser's sirens sing

O turne thy rudder hither-ward a while:
Here may thy storme-bet vessell safely ride;
This is the Port of rest from troublous toyle,
The worlds sweet In, from paine and wearisome turmoyle,

is it any wonder that Guyon's senses are "softly tickled," that the commands of impeccable "reason" seem a little over-righteous? (It is, by the way, worth noting that Spenser's most uniformly beautiful lines, apart from pageantry, are those which either summon to high endeavor or invite to sensuous ease!) And would Milton, for all his love of beauty, permit himself the naked wanton damsels whom Spenser here and elsewhere depicts with an exuberance which, however serious his intention, leaves the moral a trifle pallid?

LOTSPEICH (p. 81). Spenser follows well established classical precedent when he introduces the mermaids, or sirens, as part of the difficulties of Guyon's voyage. He probably had in mind *Od.* 12. 37-54, 165-200; Apollonius Rhodius 4. 891, ff., and *Aen.* 5. 864-5. In Spenser's hands this material carries obvious and clearly marked ethical meaning. This was perhaps implicit in the

classical versions; but the later commentators elaborated the allegory and made it of first importance. Boccaccio (7. 20) interprets the fish-like nature of the sirens as indicating "omnem libidinosam mulierum concupiscentiam." Natalis Comes, 7. 13 (cf. Lemmi), is more elaborate and closer to Spenser. He associates their song with the sound of the sea (cf. st. 33) and says that "in order to capture the ambitious and those desirous of glory, in order to seduce the lustful, they sing of love. . . . I believe the Sirens' song and the Sirens themselves to be nothing other than voluptuous desire." They lead men to destruction because they represent that part of the soul which is irrational, and the powers of seduction that act on that part. "Incredible and almost divine prudence is needed if one will listen to the Sirens and yet be able to pass by unharmed."

xxx. J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 159). His feeling of nature is dominantly utilitarian or symbolic. Like the earlier Italian and Flemish painters, he valued landscape as merest decorative background. His treatment of it was, like Botticelli's or Dürer's, conventional and schematic. Wooden hills and unshadowed valleys, capes and bays carefully balance one another in a kind of vacant airless space. Balanced and panoramic just like the background, for instance, of Dürer's "Adoration of the Magi" is this [stanza].

2-7. KITCHIN. This is Virgil's bay, *Aen.* 1. 159 ff.

8. C. W. LEMMI (*MLN*, forthcoming). But the Sirens were three. It is natural to surmise that we have here a symbol of the five senses. An analogous case comes to mind. Fulgentius explains in this way the five daughters of Apollo,—Pasiphae, Medea, Phaedra, Circe, and Dirce (*Mythologicon* 2. 10). By the songs of the mermaids we may perhaps understand the allurements and the pride of the flesh.

xxxi ff. KITCHIN. "Heliconian maides." The Muses, who had their especial seat upon the eastern side of Mount Helicon, where was a grove sacred to them, and the well-known fountain of Aganippe. Pindar calls the Muses (*Isthm.* 7 [8]. 126) 'Ελικόνναι παρθένοι. This musical contest between Sirens and Muses answers to no classical legend; but it is well conceived. The student will do well to contrast this passage of Spenser with the account of the Sirens in the *Odyssey* (12. 166-200). Spenser's bay has a modern beauty about it, which Homer's Siren Island misses; his description of the Sirens is more grotesque than Homer's, as we should expect in a "Gothic" poem. The two songs are very different in tone and character: Spenser's suggests sweet rest and quiet after storm; Homer's tempts Ulysses by a promise of an epic upon the labours of Troy. The harmony of nature, also a more modern conception, comes out very clearly in Spenser, st. 33. We feel his exquisite sense of harmonious sounds, for which this canto is remarkable throughout. The victory of Sir Guyon over this temptation is far nobler than that of Ulysses, who, bound doubly and trebly to the mast, with gesture and voice beseeches his sailors (whose ears are stopped with wax, so that they cannot hear) to loose him, that he may go to them. Finally, Spenser's passage avoids the grim accessories of the shore strewn with dead men's bones and garbage (*Od.* 12. 45, 46). It would have jarred on the sense of calm sweetness and beauty; it would have

lessened the force of the temptation, had Guyon espied these evidences of the Sirens' deadly power. On the whole, Homer is more forcible, Spenser more beautiful. [Cf. WINSTANLEY on st. 32.]

xxxii. JORTIN. This song of the Mermaids is copied from Homer, *Od.* 12. 184 ff. where the Sirens say to Ulysses: ["Hither, come hither, renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achaeans, here stay thy barque, that thou mayest listen to the voice of us twain. For none hath ever driven by this way in his black ship, till he hath heard from our lips the voice sweet as the honeycomb, and hath had joy thereof and gone on his way the wiser. For lo, we know all things, all the travail that in wide Troy-land the Argives and Trojans bare by the gods' designs, yea, and we know all that shall hereafter be upon the fruitful earth."]

[See Appendix, "Sources."]

LOWELL (*North Am. Rev.* 120. 393 n). This song recalls that in Dante's *Purgatorio* (19. 19-24), in which the Italian tongue puts forth all its siren allurements. Browne's beautiful verses ("Turn, hither turn your winged pines") were suggested by those of Spenser. [The line is: "Steer hither, steer, your winged pines," *Inner Temple Masque* 1.]

WINSTANLEY (p. xxxii). The sirens try to entice Odysseus by promising that they will sing, with their matchless and enchanting voices, the great deeds of Troy; but the mermaids offer Guyon only rest. It does not do to press the allegory too far, but the sirens probably stand for that mood of weariness which comes over so many men and destroys them on the very threshold of noble achievement. Odysseus is restrained by artificial means from obeying the power of enchantment, he is bound to the mast; but Guyon must overcome by his own strength—the Palmer admonishes him and he obeys.

[See Kitchin's note on stanzas 31 ff. and Appendix, "Sources."]

WINSTANLEY (2nd ed., pp. xix-xx). Whenever Spenser achieves an effect of almost unearthly beauty it will, I think, be found on examination that the effect is really due to a particularly subtle use of internal alliteration and assonance very closely resembling those of Irish poetry.

In Irish metres alliteration is employed initially as a regular system but, besides that, there are a number of subordinate alliterations employed irregularly and frequently; many of them occur medially and the alliterations and assonances are run on from line to line and stanza to stanza. To take an example:

- 1 *Cet mac Matach . magen curad*
- 2 *críde n- ega . eithre néla*
- 3 *eírr trén tressa . trethan ágach*
- 4 *cáin tarb múthach . Cet mac Magach*
- 5 *Bid mend inar n'imchomrú (ní ón ar Conall),*
- 6 *(ocus) bid mend inar n'imscarad,*
- 7 *bid airscela la Fer m . brot,*
- 8 *bid fídnaisi la Fer manath.*
- 9 *Adcichset airg loman londgliaid*
- 10 *fer dar fer is taig seo innocht.*

When we analyse this passage as a whole we find that its alliteration is of the

most complicated character. The nasal alliteration in "m" is marked in l. 1 where it occurs three times, returns in l. 4 where it comes twice, occurs in combinations of "m" and "n" no less than *eight* times in l. 5 which forms a kind of emphatic centre to the whole group, occurs three times in l. 6, initially in l. 7 and l. 8 and twice internally in l. 9.

There are also alliterations in the stops "c" and "ch" and in "r" and in "f," most running through the whole passage. The fact is that Irish metre uses alliterations very much as a musician employs notes in music, combining and re-combining in endless variety; there is also a tendency to employ together certain groups such as the dentals, the liquids and the nasals.

We may now compare a stanza of Spenser's:

- 1 So now to Guyon as he passed by
- 2 Their pleasaunt tunes they sweetly thus applyde:
- 3 O thou fayre sonne of gentle Faery,
- 4 That are in mightie armes most magnifyde
- 5 Above all knights that ever batteil tryde,
- 6 O! turn thy rudder hitherward awhile,
- 7 Here may thy storme-bett vessel safely ryde;
- 8 This is the Port of rest from troublous toyle,
- 9 The worldes sweet In from paine and wearisome turmoyle.

Here we have a very similar effect to the richness and intricacy of the Irish metre. The alliteration in "p" occurs in l. 1 and l. 2, then passes away but only to recur in the last two lines of the stanza. The alliteration in "t" enters in l. 2, becomes dominant in l. 5 and l. 6, passes out in l. 7 but recurs with three examples in the last two lines. There is an alliteration in "s," which occurs in l. 2 and l. 3, becomes dominant in l. 7 and occurs twice in the last line; there is also an alliteration in "f," one in "m" which occurs four times in l. 4, making a most emphatic centre to the stanza (exactly like the Irish example), alliterations in "b," "r" and "w," and all combine together in the last two lines. Many similar parallels might be quoted.

ANNE TRENEER (*The Sea in English Literature*, p. 190). Spenser can make us hear the strange kind of harmony as though he held a shell to our ear and we listened; or as though we were really lying on a rock, and the waves were curling in, the tune of each not complete and sudden, but swelling now here now there until music is split all along the shore. There is nothing else quite like it.

8. KITCHIN. "the port of rest." So Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 15. 63.

xxxiii. JORTIN. Very beautiful and is his own invention, as far as I know.

TODD. A similar idea occurs in a subsequent work, viz. *Partheneia Sacra*, printed in 1633. See p. 8: "Those water-works, conduits, and aquaducts, which yet you might heare to make a gentle murmur throughout, affording an apt base for the birds to descant on."

1-4. E. DE SELINCOURT (*Oxford Spenser*, one vol. ed., p. lviii). [Spenser's] ears have caught the hollow thunder of the horses' hoofs upon the beach; and the low boom of the water as it breaks in foam upon the rocks is re-echoed in his verse.

5-7. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 279). Cf. Natale Conti, *Mythologiae* (4. 13):

Venus is nothing but the symbol of the sexual impulse; so much so that Zephyrus—the warm summer wind which stimulates this impulse—is called the herald of Venus.

Cf. *F. Q.* 2. 5. 29. 8.

xxxiv-xxxvii. See Appendix, "Celtic Elements."

xxxvi. 4. WINSTANLEY. Cf. Chaucer (*Parlement of Fowles* 343):

The oule eke, that of deth the bode bryngeth.

We may compare also Macbeth where the owl "clamours" all night long on the night of Duncan's murder.

5. KITCHIN. "The hoars night-raven." Always regarded as a weird, uncanny bird. See Milton, *Allegro*:

Where brooding darkness spreads her jealous wings,
And the night-raven sings.

P. A. ROBIN (*Animal Lore in English Literature*, pp. 172-3). The "night-raven" mentioned by some of our greatest poets has not been certainly identified by naturalists, though opinion leans towards a kind of owl. Aristotle distinguished the night-raven from the ordinary owl (*H. A.* 2. 509a), and says later (8. 597b): "The eared owl is like an ordinary owl, only that it has feathers about its ears; by some it is called the night-raven." Hence the Septuagint uses this name to translate certain Hebrew words for owls, and Jerome adopted it in the Vulgate. From that time until the sixteenth century practically all references to the night-raven make it synonymous with the owl. In Western Europe the bird was recognised as a bird of darkness, whose mournful cry was of evil omen. Thus Spenser. . . . In *Much Ado About Nothing* (2. 3. 84) Benedick refers caustically to Balthasar's singing: "I pray God his bad voice bode no mischief. I had as lief have heard the night-raven, come what plague could have come after it."

6. TODD. Hence Collins, in his beautiful *Ode to Evening*:

Now air is hush'd, save where the weak-ey'd batt
With short shrill shriek flits by on leathern wing,
Or where the beetle winds
His small but sullen horn.

7. KITCHIN. The screech-owl. Also called the "lich-owl," or bird of death. So Ovid, *Met.* 10. 452:

Ter omen

Funereus bubo letali carmine fecit.

So also Drayton's *Owl* (quoted by Nares), has:

The shrieking litch-owl, that doth never cry
But boding death, and quick herself inters
In darksome graves, and hollow sepulchures.

xxxvii. 8. JORTIN. "The sacred soil" was the place where the Enchantress

lived: therefore I conclude that by "sacred" he means "cursed," "detestable," according to that use of the word "sacer." So *F. Q.* 5. 12. 1:

O sacred hunger of ambitious minds,
And impotent desire of men to reign!

xxxix. UPTON. Spenser, I believe, had in his eye the coast of Circe, as described by Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 15. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 10; and Ovid, *Met.* 14. 255.

xl-xli UPTON. The man who prudently and temperately rules his appetites and passions, i. e. who has this Palmer's staff, or the Moly, which Mercury gave to Ulysses, will never be haunted by vain illusions, nor be made a beast by sensual enchantments.—The same kind of charmed staff Ubaldo bore when he went to the palace of Armida. See Tasso, 14. 73; 15. 49.

C. W. LEMMI (*MLN*, forthcoming). Natales Comes, perhaps following Macrobius (*Saturnaliorum* 1. 19), interprets Mercury not only as eloquence but also as reason (*Mythologiae*, Venice, 1581, 5. 5. 296) — "the divine spark which God infused into the minds of men," "the divine reason and wisdom of God, whence our souls are derived." In Argus we are to see anger, ready to take offence at a hundred things; and indeed reason conquers our angry passions. Mercury, it was said, could calm the tempestuous sea; and indeed reason and eloquence can pacify states torn by the most furious party strife. Here we recall Sir Guyon's stormy voyage. As Upton says, the Palmer's staff represents reason, the wise man's magic wand.

xli. 4. UPTON. This staff has the virtues of the rod of Mercury, described by Virg. 4. 242:

[Tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit.]

KITCHIN adds Horace, *Od.* 1. 10. 18: "Virgaque levem coerces Aurea turbam."

SAWTELLE (p. 83). [Also] Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* 7. For a particular instance, see *Od.* 24. 1 ff., where Homer describes Mercury conducting the souls of the suitors to the Lower World. See also Lucian, *Dial. Mort.*, *passim*.

7. SAWTELLE (p. 92). Compare *Il.* 9. 158, where he is described as so implacable that in the eyes of mortals he is the most hateful of the gods; and Horace, *Carm.* 2. 3, where he is said to be pitiless.

LOTSPEICH adds *Met.* 14. 116-7, and notes that at 6. 12. 26 Orcus is Hades itself.

WINSTANLEY. Cf. Milton (*P. L.* 2. 964):

Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
Of Demogorgon.

xlii ff. DRYDEN (*Of Heroic Plays*, p. 153). And I will ask any man who loves heroic poetry (for I will not dispute their tastes who do not) if the ghost of Polydorus in Virgil, the Enchanted Wood in Tasso, and the Bower of Bliss in

Spencer (which he borrows from that admirable Italian) could have been omitted, without taking from their works some of the greatest beauties in them.

HAZLITT (*Lectures on the English Poets*, p. 38) includes "the Bower of Bliss" in his list of "the finest things in Spenser."

KITCHIN. Upon this description Spenser has expended all the riches of his imagination. His Faery-land is intended to heighten the contrast between the good and the evil land—that of Queen Elizabeth, the Faery Queene, and that of vice and luxury. It also heightens the continual triumph of virtue over the most seductive forms of temptation. [See note on 7. 21 ff.]

AUBREY DEVERE ("*Characteristics of Spenser's Poetry*," p. 281). It is noteworthy that the careless descriptions incidentally introduced into his narratives are far more true to Nature than his more elaborate pictures of her, such as "The Garden of Sensual Delight," Book 2, canto 5, or "The Bower of Bliss," Book 2, canto 12. In the latter class Nature is generalized: we have catalogues of trees, not the tree itself; and the intellectual beauty of Nature is drowned in her Epicurean appeal to the sense. The passage last referred to is largely taken from Tasso; for in those days poets were ready alike to borrow and to lend; and wholesale plagiarism was neither concealed nor complained of. But Spenser was always best when he depended most on his own genius. It was his modesty, not his need, that made him borrow. He seems to have regarded it as a tribute of respect.

Spenser's exquisite sense of the beautiful at once shows itself when he describes art in any of its forms. Nothing in the "Bower of Bliss" surpasses the description of its ivory gate with the story of Jason, Medea, and the Argo graven upon it, and that of the fountain carved all over with "curious imageree."

J. D. WILSON (*MLR* 5. 494). Passing over Fletcher's figure of Presumption, who is obviously own sister to Lucifera, we come to his garden of Panglorie (*P. I.* 2. 39-62), which is again merely a revised edition of the Bower of Bliss. The picture of the fountain (2. 46-9), though not identical with Spenser's exquisite creation, is but an inferior article from the same workshop.

FOWLER (pp. 17-9) notes that the court of love setting in nature is a paradise of perfect delight and joy. Cf. Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, ed. Trojel, p. 99; *Le Roman de la Rose* 1419-1424; Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Dit dou Vergier* 65-6. "The idea is contained in the title to one of Froissart's court of love poems—*Le Paradys d'Amour*. In Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* (185) the poet is brought to the green meadow,

Ther as that swetnesse evermore y-now is."

[See Appendix, "The Influence of Trissino."]

ANON (*London Times Literary Supplement*, February 27th, 1930, p. 149). Much is sometimes made of Spenser's moral intentions in composing the *Faerie Queene*; and, indeed, Spenser rather paraded it himself. But in reality this moral intention amounts to little. We have only to read, with an advised ear, the passage of most sustained and various beauty in the *Faerie Queene*—the adventure of Sir Guyon in the Gardens of Acrasia—to be certain that Spenser's heart was not in his morality. When, as in this episode, it came to a struggle between his morality and his sense of beauty, his sense of beauty, very properly, triumphed. The sense

of beauty did with Spenser precisely what it did with his pupil Keats, "it obliterated all consideration."

C. G. OSGOOD (*MLN* 46. 503). Critics have been wont to infer the insincerity of Spenser's moral purpose from his spirited portrayal of sensuous delights in the Bower of Bliss, or the dance of maidens and graces on Mount Acidale. But these must be judged not alone in themselves, but as parts of a whole—of a poem which includes Argante, Olliphant, Paridell, Hellenore, as well as Britomart and Artegal. The very sensuous power of the scenes only proves that Spenser knew by his own susceptibilities what he was talking about, and lends moral authority to his high argument as a whole.

xlili-xlv. UPTON. Compare the descriptions which Tasso has given of the palace of Armida [16. 2-7]. . . . The Gates (says the Italian poet) were of silver, on which were wrought the stories of Hercules and Iole, of Antony and Cleopatra [16. 5. 1-2]:

Suelte nuotar le Cicladi diresti
Per l'onde, e i monti co' i gran monti urtarsi.

Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 691:

Pelago credas innare revulsas
Cycladas, aut montes concurrere montibus altos.

Spenser describes the expedition of Jason, and his amours with Medea,

Ye might have seene the frothy billows fry. . . .

Milton has this very expression, with the very same figure, in his description of the Fool's Paradise, 3. 489:

Then might ye see
Cows, hoods, and habits, . . .

which is the same manner of address as Virgil uses, "Migrantes cernas," 4. 401; "credas innare," 8. 691. So the great father of all poetical diction addresses in the second person, "you would say," i. e. "any one then present would have said, . . ." *Il.* 3. 220. Here was described likewise the murdered Absyrtes, whom his sister Medea tore limb from limb, and scattered them in various places, that her father might be stopt in his pursuit after her, whilst he was employed in gathering the mangled and dispersed limbs of his son. This story he alludes to, by "the boys blood therein sprent"; and not to her murdering her own sons; whom likewise she slew, when with her enchanted present she burnt her rival Creusa. This present was, as some say, a nuptial crown; others, a wedding robe, Hyginus, *Fab.* 25; Apollodorus, *Lib.* 1. [9. 28]. Horat., *Epod.* 5. [65]:

Cum palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit.

This will explain our poet in his difficult manner of expressing himself [45. 8-9]. . . . In other places the ivory was so mixed and besprinkled with the gold, that it seemed like the very enchanted flames, which did wed, as it were Creusa. The enchanted robe sent to her on her wedding day, burnt her and her palace: so that the flames, and not Jason, did wed her.

SAWTELLE (pp. 28-9) cites references to the Argonautic Expedition: *R. R.* 10; *V. G.* 27; *F. Q.* 2. 10. 56; 3. 12. 7; 4. 1. 23; 5. 8. 47, and continues:

"There are a number of more or less detailed accounts of the Argonautic Expedition among the ancient classics. Such are those of Pindar (*Pyth.* 4); or Orpheus (*Argonaut.*); of Apollodorus (1. 9); of Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonaut.*); and of Ovid (*Met.* 7. 1 ff., and *Trist.* 3. 9). . . .

"Apollodorus Rhodius has left us a story of the Argonautic Expedition, extending through four books. In the first book we have a list of the heroes, whom Spenser designates as 'the flower of Greece.' . . . In the third book Medea's charms are dwelt upon, and 'her furious loving fit.' The fourth book is concerned with the conquest of the fleece, and the adventures of the Argonauts on their return voyage to Greece."

FOWLER (pp. 37-8). The gate to the Bower of Bliss is distinguished among Spenser's portals in that it is the only one on which we find portrayed mythological or other characters or scenes. This story was especially appropriate to adorn the entrance to the Bower of Bliss, for Acrasia, like Medea, was an enchantress and the allusion to Medea's passion for Jason and her revenge for his disloyalty constituted at once an invitation and a warning to him who sought access to the pleasures of the garden and the favors of its lady.

The idea of ornamenting the doors with paintings or carvings representing figures or stories from mythology is of classical origin. For example, see the description of the doors to Ovid's Palace of Apollo, *Met.* 2. 5-18. On these Vulcan had carved sea, earth, and sky. In the water and on shore were shown the sea-nymphs and deities. On the earth were seen its men, cities, woods, beasts, and deities. In the heavens were depicted the signs of the zodiac, six on each door. The gate to the castle of the goddess in Chaucer's *House of Fame* (1293-1304) is splendidly adorned with carvings but apparently they tell no consistent story.

LOTSPEICH (pp. 38-9). The material used here is classical and could be gathered from Apollonius Rhodius, *passim*; *Met.* 7. 1 ff.; Horace, *Epodes* 5. 61-6; Boccaccio, 13. 26; Natalis Comes, 6. 7 [previously noted by Lemmi]. Natalis Comes affords an explanation for the use of this myth in connection with Acrasia. In his moral interpretation, Jason's love for Medea (a kind of Circe, like Acrasia) is giving in to "voluptatum desiderium"; he who was by nature wise and good was dominated by lust and "ad turpitudinem cupiditatibus moderatur."

xliii. FOWLER (p. 16) notes that the nature setting for the court of love scene is frequently enclosed by a wall. Cf. Claudian, *Epithalamium De Nuptiis Honorii Augusti* 56-9; *Romaunt of the Rose* 135-9; *The Parlement of Foules* 120-2; *Chaucer's Dream*, Chalmers' *English Poets* 1. 379.

LOIS WHITNEY (MP 19. 159). One of the commonest devices of the Celtic *imrama* and the legends is that of the walled island. Gold and silver ramparts abound in the otherworld descriptions. In the *Imram Curaig Maelduin* there is an island with four walls, composed respectively of gold, silver, brass, and crystal (*Revue Celtique* 9. 487; see also 10. 51), and in the country visited by Teigue, son of Cian, there is a palisade of gold about "inis Patmos," the abode of the saints and holy men, and a silver rampart about the abode which was prepared for the righteous kings of Ireland (*Silva Gadelica* 2. 391, 393). It is unneces-

sary to multiply examples. Spenser may or may not have had these descriptions in mind.

xliv. 4. KITCHIN. Love and Magic; and then "falsed faith" when Jason deserted Medea for Creüsa, Creon's daughter. The latter part of the tale is worked out by Euripides, *Medea*; also by Ovid, *Met.* 7.

7. WINSTANLEY. Cf. Chaucer (*Legend of Good Women* [1377]), where he says of Jason:

Ther other falsen one, thou falseste two.

xlvii-xlviii. JORTIN. There is an Agdistis, of whom see a strange story in Arnobius, Book 5, p. 158, and the notes of Elmenhorst. Spenser's Agdistes is in Natalis Comes, 4. 3.

WARTON (1. 82-4) quotes the passage from Natalis Comes (4. 3):

Dictus est autem Genius, ut placuit latinis, a gignendo, vel quia nobiscum gignatur, vel quia illi procreandorum cura divinitus commissa putaretur. Hic creditur nobis clam nunc suadens, nunc dissuadens, universam vitam nostram gubernare. . . . Nam existimantur Genii Daemones rerum, quas voluerint nobis persuadere, spectra et imagines sibi tanquam in speculo imprimere, quodcunque illis facillimum sit. In quae spectra cum anima nostra clam respexerit, illa sibi veniunt in mentem, quae si ratione perpendantur, tum recta fit animi deliberatio: at si quic posthabita ratione, malorum spectrorum et visorum ductu feratur, ille in multos errores incurrat necesse est, si spectra fuerint praecipue a malis daemonibus oblata.

And adds: "That the first Genius here mentioned was likewise called Agdistes, we learn from the same author: 'Quem postea Agdistem appellarunt.' . . ."

[See notes on 3. 6. 31-2.]

UPTON. This Genius is not that celestial power that has charge over us. [Upton quotes Arian, Menanger, Cebes, Seneca, Servius, Horace, and Marcus Antonius. See the quotation from Cebes in the note on sts. 55-7.]

This Genius they called "Agdistes." A deity of this name is mentioned by Strabo, Pausanias, and Arnobius.

E. GREENLAW (SP 20. 235-7). Spenser's Garden of Acrasia differs in marked respect from his Garden of Adonis. The description is mainly from Tasso and is influenced also by the Court of Love Conventions. There is no suggestion that the enchantress had anything to do with Venus as goddess of fecundity. Among her attendants we find one named Genius, the same personage met with in the *Romaunt of the Rose* and in other love allegories. (For material on the allegorical figure of Genius see Dr. Knowlton's articles in *Modern Philology* 20. 318 ff., and *Classical Philology* 15. 380. The first of these summarizes Jean de Meun's treatment of Natura in the *Roman de la Rose* and observes that in that poem Genius is "a decadent character in comparison with the august personage in Alan." The second article discusses some of the works in which Genius appears, but fails to point out the source and true significance of the figure.) But it is significant that Spenser goes out of his way to explain that this personage is not the Genius who was a celestial power [quotes st. 47 and first lines of 48]. This

passage is of high importance for several reasons. It shows that Spenser had studied the personage called Genius sufficiently to distinguish between the conventional love-courtier and the deeper power symbolized by the ancients under that name. It anticipates the introduction, in Book III, of the celestial power associated with Venus as the source of life. This Genius belongs to the cult of the Great Mother. The story of Agdistes, who was both male and female, is very involved. (Compare Spenser's doubt, in *Mutability*, as to whether Nature was male or female. This is quite accurate, and shows his study of the subject in some other source than Alanus. Versions are found in Pausanias and Arnobius. In these and other places Agdistes is definitely connected with the Great Mother, and the story relates to the birth of Attis. More important than these considerations, however, are the facts that Spenser here characterizes Genius as a celestial power of generation; that he afterwards amplified the conception into the splendid portrait of the divinity of birth and death, agent of Mother Venus, and that in Alanus Genius is the chief agent of Natura, pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against all who had permitted sexual love as the means of human reproduction to sink into sensuality. (It may be remarked that the stories of Pausanias and Arnobius deal with that feature of the worship of the Great Mother which had to do with emasculation, characteristic of her priests, and emphasizing chastity as necessary in her service. There is an apparent connection between this theme and the theme of Alanus, although Alanus, of course, omits all reference to the repulsive aspects of the cult.)

E. C. KNOWLTON (SP 25. 439-456) traces the background of Spenser's two presentations of Genius. He cites Servius's commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* (6. 743); Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae* (1. 49-53; 1. 92; 2. 152); Prudentius; Lactantius's *Divine Institutes* (chapters 15 ff.); Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* (12. 65); Natalis Comes; Juan Pérez de Moya's *Philosophia Secreta de la Gentilidad*; Vives's commentary on the *City of God*, sent to Henry VIII, from which he quotes the following:

[Genius] The lord of all generation, *Fest. Pompey*. The sonne of the gods and the father of men, begetting them: and so it is called my *Genius*. For it begot me: *Aufustius*. The learned have had much to doe about this *Genius*, and finde it manifoldly used. Natures *Genius* is the god that produced her: the heavens have many *Genij*, reade them in Capella his *Nuptiae*. *Melicerta* is the seas *Genius*: *Parihen*. The foure elements, fire, ayre, water, and earth are the *Genij* of all things corporall. The *Greekes* call them στοιχεῖα, and θεοὶ γενεθλίου Geniall gods. Such like hath Macrobius of natures *Penates*; *Jupiter* and *Juno* are the aire, lowest, and meane: *Minerva* the highest, or the aethereal sky: to which three *Tarquinius Priscus* erected one temple under one rooffe. Some call the moone and the 12. signes *Genij*: and chiefe *Genij* too, (for they will have no place without a predominant *Genius*). Every man also hath his *Genius*, either that guardeth him in his life, or that lookes to his generation, or that hath originall with him, both at one time: *Censorin*. *Genius*, and *Lar*, some say are all one. C. *Flaccus de Indigitamentis*. The *Lars* (saith *Ovid*) were twinnes to *Mercury* and *Nymph Lara*, or *Larunda*. Wherefore many Philosophers and *Euclide* for one, gives each man two *Lars*, a good and a bad: such was that which came to *Brutus* in the night, as he was thinking of his warres he had in hand: *Plutarch. Flor. Appian*.

C. W. LEMMI (PQ 8. 279). The whole episode impresses one as

more amply and organically symbolical than Tasso's: Genius would arouse inclination, Dame Excess would stimulate it, the wanton damsels provoke it further and direct it, as it were, to its culmination in Acrasia. All nature seems to press the twice-offered cup to the travellers' lips. Conti's (*Mythologiae* 6. 6) interpretation of Circe is the most remarkable in the book. A two-fold interpretation is given to the enchantress. Physically she is the generative principle in nature, which mingles in order to create. Her four hand-maidens are the physical elements; her magic potions are the forces which bring about commixture; and chief among these forces is corruption. Ethically she stands for lust, and indeed for natural impulse in general: she represents nature the temptress.

LOTSPEICH (p. 62). Natalis Comes does not supply Spenser's idea that this Genius is "our self," unless it is to be inferred from his statement that he is born with us. A closer parallel to this is in Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis* 15, "Animus humanus etiam nunc in corpore situs δαίμων nuncupatur. . . . Igitur et bona cupido animi bonus deus est. . . . (Identifies the Greek δαίμων with the Latin "genius") . . . Is deus, qui est animus sui cuique, . . ." In using Genius here as "Pleasure's porter," Spenser may have in mind Natalis Comes's statement that the evil genius leads men into lust, and perhaps also Servius, *ad Geo.* 1. 302, "Nam quotiens voluptati operam damus, indulgere dicimur genio. . . ."

xlvi. 3-9. UPTON. But this other was an evil Genius, an ill Daemon, . . . a genius of the place, and proper to the place. Virgil, *Aen.* 5. 95:

Incertus geniumne loci, famulumne parentis
Esse putet.

Aen. 7. 136:

Geniumque loci, primamque deorum
Tellurem, Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
Flumina.

Ancient inscriptions frequently mention the Genius of the place: or the tutelar Genius. Gruter, p. 105:

Deo. Tytel.
Genio. Loci.

xlx. 1-4. WARTON (1. 83). The ceremony of offering flowers and wine to the Genius expressed in st. 49 . . . is found in Horace (*Epist.* 1. 2. 143):

piabant
Floribus et vino genium memorem brevis aevi.

UPTON. They worshiped this God Genius, with libations of wine, and with garlands of flowers. So Natales Comes, 4. 3, "Huic Genio cum sacra fierent flores complures humi spargebantur, vinumque illi in pateris offerabatur." Horace, *Ars Poetica* 210:

Vinoque diurno
Placari Genius festis impune diebus.

Tibullus, Book 2, eleg. 2:

Ipse suos Genius adsit visurus honores,
Cui decorent sanctas mollia sarta comas.

Persius, 2. 3: "Funde merum Genio."

8-9. UPTON. If the reader will compare this 12th Canto with Milton's *Mask*, he will plainly perceive that Milton has enriched his poem with many borrowed ornaments. The attendant Spirit, in the habit of the shepherd Thyrsis, is the good Genius; that celestial, protecting power; guardian, and mystagogue of life. See St. 57.

8. TODD. The enchanter Comus and his disfigured crew [are] the representatives of Gryllus; and the brothers possessed of Haemony, the Palmer with his virtuous staff. See also Mr. Warton's note on *Comus* 5. 815. Both poets, however, have founded their tales on the classical fable of Circe; and both have added, to that foundation, new beauties of their own. Circe, and her enchantments, appear to have been a favourite theme, subsequent to the age of Spenser; for, besides Milton's adaptation of the story, W. Browne, a true disciple of Spenser, wrote a *Mask* on the subject, about the year 1615; and I have lately seen an Italian Pastoral Drama entitled "L'Incanto di Circe, Fauola Pastorale del Sig. Pietro Fido da Toffia. In Ronciglione, 1634."

C. W. LEMMI (*MLN*, forthcoming). But what of the bowl? Spenser may very well have remembered the Cup of Bacchus which plunges into a forgetfulness of spiritual things the soul descending to earth (cf. Macrobius, *Com. in somn. Scip.* 1. 12) and keeps it in darkness after its incarceration in the body. (Cf. Plotinus, *Enneads* 1. 6. 8; Prophyry, *De ant. nymph.* 34; Ficino, *In Plat. Sympos.* 17; Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, p. 240.) Sir Guyon throws down another cup when he comes to "another gate," and he does well. The first cup was that of earthliness; the second is that of intemperance. In fact, here are woman, wine, and gold. Did he accept the draught offered him, he would presently drink from the third cup, the cup of Circe, and turn into a brute; for, says Alanus de Insulis, all forms of intemperance lead to the climax of sensuality (*De planctu Naturae*, Prose 6).

1-li. JORTIN. Compare with Spenser, Claudian's description of the Garden of Venus, *Nupt. Hon. & Mar.* 51:

Hunc neque canentes audent vestire pruinae;
Hunc venti pulsare timent; hunc laedere nimbi
Luxuriae Venerique vacat. pars acrior anni
Exsulat. aeterni patet indulgentia veris.—
Intus rura micant, manibus quae subdita nullis
Perpetuum florent, Zephyro contenta colono.

Lucretius, 3. 18:

Sedesque quietae:
Quas neque concutiunt venti, neque nubila nimbis
Adspargunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
Cana cadens violat: semperque innubilis aether
Integit, & large diffuso lumine ridet.

Which lines are an excellent translation of Homer, *Od.* 6. 42. See also Sidonius, *Carm.* 2. 407.

WARTON (1. 147). Chaucer in the *Assemble of Fowles* 204-7:

The air of the place so attempre was,
That nether was ther grevance of hot ne cold,
There was eke every holesome spice and gras,
Ne no man there waxe sicke ne olde.

As a proof of the imitation, it may be observed, that Spenser has not only here borrowed some of Chaucer's thoughts, but some of his words.

UPTON. Cf. Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 15. 53-4.

I. FOWLER (pp. 19-20) sees in this passage the usual conventional and artificial landscape of the court of love.

5. SAWTELLE (p. 55) quotes E. K.'s note to S. C. March 16:

Flora, the Goddess of flowres, but indede (as saith Tacitus) a famous harlot, which, with the abuse of her body having gotten great riches, made the people of Rome her heyre: who, in remembraunce of so great beneficence, appointed a yearley feste for the memoriall of her, calling her, not as she was, or as some doe think, Andronica, but *Flora*; making her the Goddess of floures, and doing yerely to her solemne sacrifice.

li. FOWLER (pp. 26-7) notes that in the court of love setting the climate is even-tempered, and spring is perpetual.

1. TODD. Spenser, by "the joviall heavens," means to express the pure and delightful sky of Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 15. 9:

E d'un dolce seren diffuso ride
Il ciel, che se più chiaro unqua non vide.

lii. 1-3. JORTIN. Methinks he should not have singled out Rhodope, a mountain of Thrace, as an agreeable place. The Ancients are against him.

UPTON. Not Rhodope the historical; but the poetical Rhodope, when Orpheus sung upon its head, and made all the trees of the creation to repair to his enchanting lyre. Such Rhodope as is described by Ovid, *Met.* 10. 86 ff. Martial, *Lib. Spect.* 20:

Quicquid in Orpheo Rhodope spectasse theatra Dicitur.

On which hill (says Spenser) the nymph, that bore a giant babe, killed herself for grief.—The story told by Plutarch, *de Fluviiis*, p. 23. and alluded to by Ovid, *Met.* 6. 87. is as follows: That Haemus and Rhodope, both begotten by one father, and both in love with each other, called themselves Jupiter and Juno; for which arrogance they were transformed in those Thracian mountains, which bear their names. Rhodope is said to have borne a son by Haemus, named Hebrus. See Servius on Virg. 1. 317. And to have had a "gyant-babe" by Neptune, named Athos. The poet proceeds and says that this plain was more pleasant than Thessalian Tempe. See a description of this beautiful place in Aelian, 3. 1. The famous river Peneus runs through Tempe, whose banks being covered with laurel, gave occasion for the story of Daphne; (which is Greek for the laurel) who they say was the daughter of Peneus, and changed into the beloved tree of the God of the poets. [Line 6 quoted]. . . . Jupiter often resorted to mount Ida; the three goddesses likewise paid here their visit to Paris.

LOTSPEICH (p. 105). Spenser seems to be alluding to the rather obscure story of Rhodope and Haemus, but no real analogue to his version appears. *Met.* 6. 87-9 refers to the myth. Regius' note on this passage (Burmann 2. 386) appears to be the closest thing to Spenser. It explains that Rhodope was the daughter of Haemus, a powerful king of Thrace. Neptune loved her and begat a giant. Swollen with arrogance, she called herself Juno and ordered the gods to worship her. For this she was turned into a mountain.

4-5. SAWTELLE (p. 47). An examination of the source of this myth (*Met.* 1. 452 ff.) reveals the fact that Cupid was the cause of all the trouble: Apollo had defied Cupid's power with the bow and arrow, and the wily god of love, to prove his might, lodged in the heart of Phoebus a golden, or love-exciting dart, and in the heart of Daphne, the daughter of the River Peneus in Thessaly, a leaden arrow, which would repel love. Thus did Daphne flee from the embrace of Apollo; and when all but overtaken, having prayed to her father Peneus for help, she was turned into a laurel. Apollo's loyalty to her memory is shown in his declaration: "My hair, my lyre, my quiver, shall always have thee, oh laurel." [Cf. 3. 7. 26; 3. 11. 36; 4. 7. 22.]

LOTSPEICH (p. 53). The reference is still more in the manner of the sonneteers.

4. KITCHIN. "Thessalian Tempe." Here too the scenery is wild and grand, not soft and garden-like, as Spenser conceives. Tempe is a long, deep defile, difficult of access, five miles long, with steep, frowning cliffs.

liii-lxxxviii. TAINE (*Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* 1. 353-6). N'y a-t-il ici que des féeries? Il y a ici des tableaux tout faits, des tableaux vrais et complets, composés avec des sensations de peintre, avec un choix de couleurs et de lignes: les yeux ont du plaisir. Cette Acrasie couchée a la pose d'une déesse et d'une courtisane de Titien. Un artiste italien copierait ces jardins, ces eaux courantes, ces Amours sculptés, ces traînées de lierre qui serpente chargé de feuilles luisantes et de fleurs laineuses. Tout à l'heure, dans les profondeurs infernales, les clartés avec leur long ruissellement étaient belles, demi-noyées par les ténèbres, et le trône exhaussé dans la vaste salle entre les piliers, au milieu de la multitude fourmillante, reliait autour de lui toutes les formes en ramenant sur lui tous les regards. Le poète est ici et partout coloriste et architecte. Si fantastique que soit son monde, ce monde n'est point factice; s'il n'est pas, il pourrait être; même il devrait être; c'est la faute des choses si elles ne s'arrangent pas de manière à l'effectuer; pris en lui-même, il a cette harmonie intérieure par laquelle vit une chose réelle, même une harmonie plus haute, puisque, à la différence des choses réelles, il est tout entier jusque dans le moindre détail construit en vue de la beauté. L'art est venu, voilà le grand trait du siècle, le trait qui distingue ce poème de tous les récits semblables entassés par le moyen âge. Incohérents, mutilés, ils gisaient comme des débris ou des ébauches que les mains débiles des trouvères n'avaient pas su assembler en un monument. Enfin les poètes et les artistes paraissent et avec eux le sentiment du beau, c'est-à-dire la sensation de l'ensemble. Ils comprennent les proportions, les attaches et les contrastes; ils composent. Entre leurs mains, l'esquisse brouillée, indéterminée, se limite, s'achève, se détache, se colore et devient

un tableau. Chaque objet ainsi pensé et imaginé acquiert l'être définitif en acquérant la forme vraie; après des siècles, on le reconnaîtra, on l'admira, on sera touché par lui; bien plus, on sera touché par son auteur. Car, outre les objets qu'il peint, l'artiste se peint lui-même. Sa pensée maîtresse se marque dans la grande oeuvre qu'elle produit et qu'elle conduit. Spenser est supérieur à son sujet, l'embrasse tout entier, l'acommode à son but, et c'est pour qu'il y imprime la marque propre de son âme et de son génie. Chaque récit est ménagé en vue d'un autre, et tous en vue d'un certain effet qui s'accomplit; c'est pour cela que de ce concert une beauté se dégage, celle qui est dans le coeur du poète, et que toute son oeuvre a travaillé à rendre sensible; beauté noble et pourtant riante, composée d'élévation morale et de séductions sensibles, anglaise par le sentiment, italienne par les dehors, chevaleresque par sa matière, moderne par sa perfection, et qui manifeste un moment unique et admirable, l'apparition du paganisme dans une race chrétienne et le culte de la forme dans une imagination du Nord.

liv. 2. UPTON. Compare this with the description of Calypso's grotto in Homer's *Odyssey* [1. 48-62].

6. TODD. So Milton (but with superiour elegance) describes the fruits of Paradise, *P. L.* 4. 332:

Nectarine fruits, which the compliant boughs
Yielded them.

7. WINSTANLEY. The hyacinth or jacinth, a stone which was dark purple in colour. Lat. "hyacinthus."

lv-lvii. UPTON cites 'Απάρη from Cebes [*Tablet* 4-6]. The pertinent passage is as follows:

["The great crowd you see standing beside the gate are those about to journey into Life. The old man standing above the crowd holding a paper in his hand, and seeming to be showing something with the other, is called the Genius. He is giving those who are entering advice as to what they must do when they enter into Life, and he shows them what road they must take, if they wish to go unharmed through it."

"What is the road that he bids them take for their journey?" I asked.

"Do you see, near the gate," he replied, "a seat placed at the spot where the crowd is entering? A woman is seated there, a woman of affected appearance and smooth, plausible manner; she is holding a drinking cup in her hand."

"I see. Who is she?"

"She is called Deceit," he said, "and leads all men astray."

"What is she doing?"

"She gives those who are entering Life a drug from her cup."

"What is in the cup?"

"Error, sir, and ignorance."

"Well, then?"

"After drinking they proceed on their journey through life."

"Do all drink of this draught of error, or do some not?"

"All drink," he answered, "but some deeper than others. . . ."—Translated by R. Thomson Clark.]

FOWLER (p. 92). This incident suggests the Circean cup offered to Ulysses.

LOIS WHITNEY (*MP* 19. 159-160). St. Brandan and his monks stop at a "lytell ylonde, wherein were many vynes full of grapes" (*St. Brandan*, ed. by T. Wright, "Publications of the Percy Society," 14. 47), but these grapes are not spoken of as intoxicating. Intoxicating fruit, however, is frequently met in other Celtic voyages to the other world. The following illustration from the *Imram Curaig Maelduin* is typical. Maelduin

squeezed some of the berries into a vessel and drank [the juice], and it cast him into a deep sleep from that hour to the same hour on the morrow. And they knew not whether he was alive or dead with the redfoam round his lips, till on the morrow he awoke. [Then] he said to them: "Gather ye this fruit, for great is its excellence." (*Revue Celtique* 10. 71.)

There are also intoxicating grapes in Lucian's *True History*. The voyagers come upon a vine, half-human in quality, the very kiss of whose grapes on the lips of the men is intoxicating (*op. cit.*, p. 139). I find no descriptions of golden fruit, but golden and silver foliage is found in a number of descriptions of the Celtic otherworld (especially in "The Adventures of St. Columba's Clerics," *Revue Celtique* 26. 139; *The Voyage of Bran* 1. 20).

Ivi. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 200). Possibly suggested by *Orl. Fur.* 10. 39-40.

5. CHURCH. The "daintie breach of her fine fingers" is very happily expressed. Milton could not forget this elegant passage. See *P. L.* 5. 344:

for drink the grape
She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths
From many a berry, and from sweet kernels press'd
She tempers dulcet creams. . . .

The judicious reader will admire the masterly strokes in each of these fine pictures.

Ivii. KITCHIN. Compare with this stanza Milton's account of the brothers breaking Comus' cup, *Comus* 651. [Cf. the breaking of the glass in Peele's *Old Wives Tale*.]

Iviii ff. HUGHES (1. lxxxiii). The last Canto of this Second Book being design'd to shew the utmost Tryal of the Vertue of Temperance, abounds with the most pleasurable Ideas and Representations which the Fancy of the Poet cou'd assemble together; but from the fifty eighth Stanza to the end, it is for the most part copy'd, and many whole Stanza's translated, from the famous Episode of Armida in Tasso. The Reader may observe, that the Italian Genius for Luxury appears very much in the Descriptions of the Garden, the Fountain, and the Nymphs; which however are finely amplify'd and improv'd by our English Poet.

Iviii. UPTON. The beauties of this enchanted island rise upon your ideas, according to their various compartments or divisions: this is Paradise—such as Milton describes, *P. L.* 4. 264 ff. The gardens of Venus, described by Claudian, *Nupt. Hon. & Marine.* ver. 49, &c. The gardens of Alcinous, by Homer, *Od.* 7. 112. But above all the garden of Armida, as described by Tasso, 16. 9. . . .

And that which all faire works doth most aggrace,
The art, which all that wrought appeared in no place.

Which is literally from Tasso, 16. 9.

E quel, che'l bello, e'l caro accresce à l'opre,
L'arte, che tutto fa, nulla si scopre.

[See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."]

lix. UPTON. Likewise translated from Tasso, 16. 10.

LEIGH HUNT (*Imagination and Fancy*, p. 76). He has himself noticed the theory [of the picturesque] in his bower of Bliss, and thus anticipated the modern taste in landscape gardening, the idea of which is supposed to have originated with Milton [stanza quoted].

lx-lxii. WARTON (2. 151-2). Hardly any thing is described with greater pomp and magnificence than artificial fountains in romance. See a glorious one in Ariosto, 42. 91.

Fountains were a common ornament of gardens in Spenser's age; and were often finely decorated with statues, devices, and other costly furniture, like this in the Bowre of Blisse. I think, they are mentioned, as very sumptuous by Hentznerus in the gardens of Nonesuch. (Pauli Hentzneri, *J. C. Itinerarium*, Noribergae, 1629. The Tour through England was performed, 1598. It begins p. 168. See p. 228, also Camden's *Brit.*, in "Surrey.") Bacon has left directions about them in his *Essay on Gardens* (Essay 46): "Fountains I intend of two natures. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, which are in use, do well. . . . As for the other kind of fountaine, which we may call a bathing poole, it may admit much curiosity and beauty. . . . As that the bottom be finely paved, and with images: the sides likewise, and withal embellished with coloured glasse, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine railes of low statues."

FOWLER (pp. 24-5). The fountain as a feature of the court of love setting occurs very early. (Cf. Claudianus, *De Nuptiis* 69; and Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, ed. Trojel, p. 100.) . . . It is in *Le Roman de la Rose*, however, that the fountain assumes special significance. Guillaume de Lorris connected with it the tragic story of Narcissus and thus attached to it the fatality that he who gazed into its mirrored depths should fall in love. It is here that the lover becomes enamoured of the Rose [Middle English version; lines 1605-1614 quoted].

Spenser, following Tasso (*Ger. Lib.* 15. 55-62), uses the idea but adapts it to his allegorical purpose. Hence we have his Fountain of Impure Love capable through the minions of lust laving in its crystal waters of throwing its sinister spell over the rash beholder who, less austere perchance than the redoubted Champion of Temperance, is caught by its fatal charm.

C. W. LEMMI (*MLN*, forthcoming). I have pointed out elsewhere that the "trayle of yvie" which hangs, presumably, from a column in the center of Acrasia's fountain, [see note on 5. 29.] is probably a symbol of lust. Ivy is the plant of Bacchus, and Bacchus, identified with the sun, was familiar to the Stoics, to Plutarch, to the Neo-Platonists, as the embodiment of the masculine principle in nature. Water stood for the feminine principle. Comes interprets both in this

sense at some length (10. 685). Acrasia's fountain is as significant as a phallus would be. Hardly less so are the naked boys carved in the sides,—Cupids, presumably, for they seem "To fly about, playing their wanton toys." To return to my starting-point, the meaning which Spenser attached to ivy is suggested by another passage in Book II. It will be recalled that in Canto 5 Atin, eager to avenge the discomfiture of Pyrochles, speeds off to his brother and finds that disolute warrior in Acrasia's garden, lolling in the midst of her decidedly licentious maids and boys (5. 29):

And over him Art, stryving to compayre
With Nature, did an arber greene dispred,
Framed of wanton yvie, flouring fayre,
Through which the fragrant eglantine did spred
His prickling armes, entrayled with roses red.

Roses were sacred to Venus, and judging by Sonnet 26 the eglantine may well have been intended to suggest the thorns which make the rose of love but the more tempting. I have no doubt that Spenser understood the symbolism of "wanton yvie," with its "lascivious armes" perfectly.

lx. UPTON. The Fountain with the two bathing damsels, is taken from Tasso, 15. 55 ff.

lxiii ff. LEON MOREL (*James Thomson*, p. 377). C'est (l'épisode de Damon et Musidora en *The Seasons*) surtout le souvenir du poète qui, au xvi^e siècle, reproduisait le plus merveilleusement l'admiration haute et purifiante de l'âme grecque pour la beauté. C'est la scène de Sir Guyon et des deux baigneuses dans le jardin d'Acrasia qui a directement inspiré l'épisode. Mais l'auteur des "Saisons" n'a pas cette suprême distinction, ce grand style qui rendent les nudités de Spenser aussi nobles qu'un marbre grec. Il y a là une forme d'art dont la tradition est perdue depuis Milton, et que le xviii^e siècle ne retrouvera pas. Thomson est de son temps, pour tout ce qui n'est pas le sentiment de la nature. Ces souvenirs de la Grèce et de la Renaissance qui remplissent le tableau du bain de Musidora, le poète les interprète avec la fidélité qu'on pourrait attendre d'un Clodion traduisant Praxitèle.

lxiii-lxix. LOIS WHITNEY (*MP* 19. 160). Although this passage is undoubtedly an imitation of *Gerusalemme Liberata* 15. 58-66, it is interesting to note that there is an episode in which a somewhat similar device is used in *Imram Curaig Maelduin* (Sec. xxviii), and there is a kind of grotesque analogy in the *Land of Cockayne* (Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben* 1. 147-152; 2. 152 ff).

lxiii. UPTON. This picture is copied from Armida's behaviour to Rinaldo. See Tasso, 14. 66, 16. 17.—The new lover was now in a slumber and she "Leaning half-raised, with looks of cordial love Hung over him enamoured— . . . Greedily depasturing delight." Lucretius 1. 35:

Atque ita suspiciens tereti cervice reposta,
Pascit amore avidos inhians in te, dea, visus.

[See note on *F. Q.* 3. 9. 27. 8.]

6. TODD. Camoëns has represented his bathing nymphs in the Isle of Love with less licentiousness. But the *Lusiad* perhaps had not been attended to by Spenser. An edition of it, however, had been published in 1580. Cf. 9. 72-3.

lxiv. 5. See note on 26. 5.

6-7. UPTON. From Tasso, 15. 59:

E'l lago à l'altre membre era un bel velo.

lxv-lxviii. UPTON. This is translated from Tasso, 15. 60. So are the three following stanzas.—Fairfax in his translation had plainly Spenser before him.—I will refer my reader to Tasso and Fairfax, and save myself the trouble of merely transcribing.

lxv. LOTSPEICH (p. 93). A passage from Natalis Comes (8. 1) will illustrate the interpretation of Oceanus which Spenser inherited and used: "Oceanus, qui fluviorum et animantium omnium et Deorum pater vocatus est ab antiquis, . . . quippe cum omnia priusquam oriantur aut intercidant, indigeant humore: sine quo nihil neque corrumpi potest, neque gigni."

3-6. JORTIN. Alluding to Venus ἀναδυομένη. See Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3. 224 and the Notes.

lxvii. 2-5. WARTON (2. 48-50). Thus in the *Epithalamion* [st. 9]:

Her long loose yellow lockes . . .
Doe like a golden mantle her attire.

It is remarkable, that Spenser's females, both in the *Faerie Queene*, and in his other poems, are all described with yellow hair. And in his general description of the influence of beauty over the bravest men, he particularises golden tresses. *F. Q.* 5. 8. 1. 5-7:

And mighty hands forgett their manlinesse,
Drawn with the power of an hart-robbing eye,
And wrapt in fetters of a golden tresse.

This is said in compliment to his mistress (see 6. 10. 12-6. *Sonn.* 15. and *Epith.* 154.), or to queen Elizabeth, who had both yellow hair; or perhaps in imitation of the Italian poets, who give most of their women tresses of this colour. With regard to the queen, Melvil, a minute and critical observer, informs us (*Memoirs*, p. 49), that "She delighted to shew her golden-colored hair, wearing a caul and bonnet, as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally." In the Pastoral, *April*, we have the following verses:

The red-rose meddled with the white yfere
In either cheek depeinten lively chere.

This is said of Syrinx, or queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Pan, or Henry VIII. E. K. observes that Spenser here alludes to the union of the houses of Lancaster and York, the white and red rose: the two families being united in Henry VIII, the queen's father. This was partly meant; but his chief intention was, at the same time, to pay a compliment to the queen's complexion, which was remarkably

delicate, though rather inclining to pale. There is a Sonnet of Lord Brooke, to this purpose (Sonnet 71, p. 228, *Workes*, 1633.):

Under a throne I saw a virgin sit,
The red and white rose quarter'd in her face.

How susceptible this admired heroine was of the most absurd flattery paid to her person, may be seen from many curious proofs, collected by Mr. Walpole. (*Royal and Noble Authors*. ed. 2. Lond. 1759. vol. 1, pag. 141. See more compliments to the Queen's beauty, in the pastoral cited above. She was then forty-five years old. This however was more allowable in a poem.) The present age sees her charms and her character in their proper colours!

lxx-lxxx. E. DE SELINCOURT (*Oxford Spenser*, one vol. ed., p. lxiii). No poet has ever woven a web of verse as subtly intricate as Spenser's. Throughout the vast length of his poem he heightens the effect proper to his interlacing rhyme-system by a constant assonance and alliteration, and by the haunting repetition of word, phrase, cadence. Spenser's supreme *tour de force* in this manner is to be found in the oft quoted stanzas from the "Bower of Bliss," but it is a manner habitual to him, and it is capable of infinite variation according to his mood.

lxx-lxxvi. LOIS WHITNEY (*MP* 19. 160-1). This passage, again, seems to be drawn chiefly from *Gerusalemme Liberata* 16. 12 ff., but there are certain details not to be found in this source. . . . In Lucian there are the following descriptions (*True History* 156, 159-160):

Sweet zephyrs just stirred the woods with their breath, and brought whispering melody, delicious, incessant, from the swaying branches; it was like Pan-pipes heard in a desert place. And with it all there mingled a volume of human sound, a sound not of tumult, but rather of revels where some flute, and some praise the fluting, and some clap their hands commending flute or harp;

and

During the meal there is music and song. . . . The choirs are of boys and girls. . . . When these have finished, a second choir succeeds, of swans and swallows and nightingales; and when their turn is done, all the trees begin to pipe, conducted by the winds.

lxx-lxxi. HUGHES (1. lxxxiii-lxxxv). I shall give but one Instance in the following celebrated Stanza [*Ger. Lib.* 16. 12]; which, to gratify the Curiosity of those who may be willing to compare the Copy with the Original, I shall set down in Italian:

Vezzosi Augelli, infra le verdi fronde,
Temprano a prova lascivette Note;
Mormora l'Aura, e fa le foglie e l'onde
Garrir, che variamente ella percote.
Quando taccion gli Augelli, Alto risponde;
Quando cantan gli Augei, pie lieve scote.
Si caso o d'arte, hor accompagna, ed hora
Alterna i versi lor la Musica ora.

Spenser has two Stanza's on this Thought; the last of which only is an Imitation

of Tasso, but with finer Turns of the Verse: which are so artificial, that he seems to make the Musick he describes. . . . Sir Guyon and the Palmer, rescuing the Youth who was held Captive by Acrasia in this delightful Mansion, resembles that of the two Warriors recovering Rinaldo from the Charms of Armida in the Italian Poem.

lxxi. ISAAC DISRAELI (*Amenities of Literature* 2. 129-131 n). Twining was a scholar, deeply versed in classical lore, which he has shown to great advantage in his "Version of and Commentary on Aristotle's Treatise of Poetry." In his Dissertations "on Poetical and Musical Imitation" prefixed to this work, our critic is quite at home with Pope and Goldsmith; but he seems wholly shut out from Spenser! . . .

Our critic observes that Dr. Warton says of these lines, that "they are of themselves a complete concert of the most delicious music." Indeed, this very stanza in Spenser has been celebrated long before Joseph Warton wrote, and often since. Now listen to our learned Twining:

"It is unwillingly that I differ from a person of so much taste. I cannot consider as music, much less as 'delicious music,' a mixture of incompatible sounds,—of sounds musical with sounds unmusical. The singing of birds cannot possibly be 'attuned' to the notes of a human voice. The mixture is, and must be, disagreeable. To a person listening to a concert of voices and instruments, the interruption of singing-birds, wind, and waterfalls, would be little better than the torment of Hogarth's enraged musician. Further, the description itself is, like too many of Spenser's, coldly elaborate, and indiscriminately minute. Of the expressions, some are feeble and without effect, as 'joyous birds'; some evidently improper, as 'trembling voices' and 'cheerful shades,'—for there cannot be a greater fault in a voice than to be tremulous, and cheerful is surely an unhappy epithet applied to shade; some cold and labored, and such as betray too plainly the necessities of rhyme,—such as

The waters-fall with difference discreet."

Such is the anti-poetical and technical criticism! Imagine a music-master, who had never read a line of poetry, attempting to perform the "delicious music" of our poet; or a singing-master, who had never heard a "joyous bird," tuning up some fair pupil's "trembling voice,"—and we might have expected this criticism from such "enraged musicians"! Would our critic insist on having a philharmonic concert or a simple sonata?—he who will not suffer birds to be "joyous," nor "the shade cheerful," which their notes make so.

The angelical soft trembling voices made
To the instruments divine response meet,—

the "softness trembling" with the verse: had our critic forgotten Strada's famed contest of the nightingale with the lyre of the poet, when, her "trembling voice" overcome in the rivalry, she fell on the strings to die? And what shall we think of the classical critic who has pronounced that "the descriptions of Spenser are coldly elaborate,"—the most vivid and splendid of our poetry?

KITCHIN. Notice the extraordinary art with which this sequence is carried on. The intricacy of it is intended to give a sense of infinitely compli-

cated, and so harmonious and gentle sounds; while out of it all arises the sweet human voice of one who sings.

J. D. WILSON (*MLR* 5. 494). Finally, Spenser's wonderful stanza which follows hard upon the description of the fountain, seems to have run in Fletcher's mind, as it has run in the mind of countless readers since his day. Thus does he attempt to reproduce it in the final stanza of this second part.

The birds sweet notes, to sonnet out their joyes,
 Attemper'd to the layes Angelicall,
 And to the birds, the winds attune their noyse,
 And to the winds, the waters hoarcely call,
 And Echo back againe revoyced all,
 That the whole valley rung with victorie.
 But now our Lord to rest doth homewards flie:
 See how the Night comes stealing from the mountains high.

H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 208-209). As Koeppel notes [see Appendix, "Sources"], the voices and instruments are not present in this stanza of Tasso's. The harmony of waters, breezes, birds, instruments, and human voices is found, however, in a later canto of the *Gerusalemme* (18. 18):

Passa più oltre, ed ode un suono intanto,
 Che dolcissimamente si diffonde.
 Vi sente d'un ruscello il roco pianto
 E'l sospirar dell' aura infra le fronde:
 E di musico cigno il flebil canto,
 E l' usignuol che plora e gli risponde:
 Organi e cetre, e voci humane in rime:
 Tanti e sì fatti suoni un suono esprime!

18. 24:

Ma il coro uman ch' ai cigni, all' aura, all'onda
 Facea tenor, non sa dove si cele:
 Non sa veder chi formi umani accenti,
 Nè dove siano i musici stromenti.

M. P. TILLEY (*MLN* 42. 156-7). The only reference that I have found suggesting the influence of the *Faerie Queene* upon *Lingua* is contained in Collier's comment upon this passage, found in Hazlitt's *Dodsley* edition of *Lingua*, vol. 9, p. 408, note 3: "The author certainly in writing this beautiful passage had Spenser (*Faerie Queene* 2. 12) in his mind." *Lingua* 3. 7:

May it please your lordship to withdraw yourself
 Unto this neighbouring grove: there shall you see
 How the sweet treble of the chirping birds,
 And the soft stirring of the moved leaves,
 Running delightful descant to the sound
 Of the base murmuring of the bubbling brook,
 Becomes a concert of good instruments;
 While twenty babbling echoes round about,
 Out of the stony concave of their mouths,
 Restore the vanished music of each close,
 And fill your ears full with redoubled pleasure.

lxxiii. 6-7. UPTON. Not through his humid eyes, but through his humid lips she sucked his breath and spright: which was an old custom of receiving the departing breath of their friends; so she of her lover dying with love. Virgil 4. 684:

Extremus si quis super halitus errat
Ore legam.

Let us then suppose the words shuffled out of their places, a frequent error in the printing of this book; and then how easy 'tis to reduce these verses into order and good sense? . . . Lightly kissed his eyes, least she should wake him: and sucked his spright through his humid lips.—I think this correction proves itself: but we never alter the context; keeping all our corrections in the notes, and leaving them to the reader's determination.

lxxiv ff. EDITOR. Cf. Milton (*Areopagitica*, Bohn ed., 2. 68):

That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser (whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas), describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain.

[See Appendix, "Spenser and Milton."]

lxxiv-lxxvii. HAZLITT (*Lectures on the English Poets*, p. 36). The . . . passage has all that voluptuous pathos, and languid brilliance of fancy, in which this writer excelled.

lxxiv-lxxv. UPTON. The following song is translated from Tasso, 16. 14, 15, where he makes a strange bird sing in a human voice. Spenser did very right I think, to leave his Italian master in this circumstance.

[Deh mira (egli cantò) spuntar la rosa
Dal verde suo modesta, e virginella:
Che mezo aperta ancora, e mezo ascosa,
Quanto si mostra men, tanto è più bella.
Ecco poi nudo il sen già baldanzosa
Dispiega; ecco poi langue, e non par quella,
Quella non par, che desiata avanti
Fu da mille donzelle, e mille amanti.

Così trapassa al trapassar d'un giorno
De la vita mortale il fiore, e'l verde:
Nè perche faccia indietro April ritorno,
Sì rinfiora ella mai, nè si rinverde;
Cogliam la rosa in su'l mattino adorno
Di questo dì, che tosto il seren perde:
Cogliam d'Amor la rosa: amiamo hor, quando
Esser si puote riamato amando.]

CHURCH quotes the following from Fairfax's translation [1600]:

The gentle budding Rose (quoth she) behold,
 That first scant peeping forth with virgin beames,
 Halfe ope, halfe shut, her beauties doth unfold
 In their deare leaves, and lesse seene, fairer seemes;
 And after spreads them forth more broad and bold,
 Then languisheth and dies in last extremes,
 Nor seemes the same, that decked bed and boure
 Of many a Ladie late, and Paramoure:

So, in the passing of a day, doth passe
 The bud and blossome of the life of man,
 Nor ere doth flourish more, but like the grasse
 Cut downe, becometh wither'd, pale and wan:
 O gather then the Rose while time thou hasse,
 Short is the day, done when it scant began,
 Gather the Rose of love, while yet you maist
 Loving, be lov'd; embracing, be embrac'd.

COLLIER (Preface to Coleridge's *Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton*, pp. xxxii-xxxvi). Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and Spenser's obligations to Tasso were discussed, and Wordsworth pronounced the Twelfth Canto of the Second Book of the *Fairy Queen* unrivalled in our own, or perhaps in any language, in spite of some pieces of description imitated from the great Italian poets. . . .

Meanwhile Coleridge had been turning over the pages of the copy produced, and observed that in one place Fairfax had been quite as much indebted to Spenser as to Tasso, and read the subsequent stanzas from Book 16, with that sort of musical intonation which he always vindicated and practised:—[quotes stanzas 14, 15].

Nobody was prepared to say, from memory, how far the above was or was not a literal rendering of Tasso's original; but nobody doubted that it was very like Spenser, in the Canto which Wordsworth had not long before so warmly praised. Coleridge repeated, with a very little prompting, the following stanza from Book 2. c. 12, of the *Fairy Queen*, for the purpose of proving how closely Fairfax had followed Spenser. [Quotes stanza 75.]

It was held, on all hands, sufficiently established, that Fairfax, in translating Tasso, must have had Spenser in his memory, if not in his eye; and it was contended by Hazlitt, that it would have been impossible for Fairfax to have done better: moreover, he insisted that in translating this part of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, he could not have acquitted himself at all adequately, without approaching so near Spenser as absolutely to tread upon his heels. "But, (added Lamb stut-tering) he has not only trodden upon his heels, but upon his toes too: I hope he had neither kibes nor corns."

Lamb, I think it was, remarked upon the circumstance that Spenser, in the last line of the stanza quoted, had not, as in many other instances, observed the caesura in the closing Alexandrine, so that the line could not be read musically without dividing "lovéd" into two syllables. It was Southey's opinion, somebody said, that the Alexandrine could never be written and read properly without that pause. Wordsworth took the contrary side, and repeated several twelve-syllable lines of his own, where there could be no pause after the sixth syllable: I only remember one of his examples:

And near a thousand tables pined, and wanted food;

from a poem he had called "The Female Vagrant" [afterwards *Guilt and Sorrow*, l. 369]: here "tables" must have a caesura after the first syllable, if at all.

J. A. SYMONDS (*Essays Speculative and Suggestive* 369-387) considers a passage from the second Epithalamium of Catullus [*Carm.* 62. 39 ff.]:

Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
 Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
 Quem mulcent auras, firmat sol, educat imber;
 Multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
 Idem quem tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
 Nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
 Sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est,
 Quom castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
 Nec pueris jocunda manet, nec cara puellis.

and the Idyll by Ausonius "as the twin fountain-heads of a large amount of verses written upon roses in the modern world." He quotes Spenser's stanzas with parallels from Poliziano, Ariosto, Tasso, Guarini, Herrick, Waller, Ronsard, etc. He says of Spenser's stanzas: "Spenser's magnificent paraphrase from Tasso follows the original closely, but omits, whether intentionally or not, to dwell upon the line derived through Ariosto from Catullus: ('But when she stoops to folly, sheds her bloom, For lads, for maids, hath flown her chaste perfume.')

D. SAURAT (*Les Idées Philosophiques de Spenser*, p. 17). Dans l'invitation à la volupté que nous adresse la nature, il y a un côté sinistre. Spenser reprend le thème: Cueillez dès aujourd'hui les roses de la vie, avec un sentiment tout particulier: c'est parce que la beauté passe vite qu'il faut se hâter d'en jouir: et la vie de même [stanzas 74-5 partly quoted].

EDITOR. Cf. Samuel Daniel's *Delia*, Sonnet 34.

Look, Delia! how we 'steem the half-blown rose,
 (The image of thy blush! and summer's honour)
 Whilst, in her tender green, she doth inclose
 The pure sweet beauty Time bestows upon her!
 No sooner spreads her glory in the air,
 But straight her full-blown pride is in declining;
 She then is scorned, that late adorned the fair.
 So clouds thy beauty, after fairest shining!
 No April can revive thy withered flowers,
 Whose blooming grace adorns thy glory now!
 Swift speedy Time, feathered with flying hours,
 Dissolves the beauty of the fairest brow.
 O let not then such riches waste in vain!
 But love! whilst that thou may'st be loved again!

—Note supplied by Dorothy E. Mason.

lxxiv. TODD (credit to J. C. Walker). While Spenser was writing this sweet lay, it is very probable he had in mind the following stanza in the continuation of the *Orlando Innamorato* by Nicolo degli Agostini, Ven. 1576 (4. 10. 7):

Ogni dama leggiadra, adorna, e bella,
 È come rosa fresca, e colorita,

Che se dal fusto suo troncata è quella,
 Subitamente ha la beltà smarrita,
 Però ben è crudel, malvagia, e fella,
 Chi perde 'l tempo di sua età fiorita:
 In modo che diletto non apprezzi,
 Anzi che morte il suo fatal crin spezzi.

4-9. JORTIN. Compare this with Ausonius, *Idyll.* 14:

Momentum intererat . . .
 Quam longa una dies, aetas tam longa rosarum,
 Quas pubescentes juncta senecta premit.
 Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,
 Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum. . . .
 Collige, virgo, rosas, dum flos novus, & nova pubes,
 Et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum.

It would be endless to collect all the poetical trifles that occur upon this subject. I shall confine myself to this Epigram in the *Anthologia*. [See *Select Epigrams*, ed. J. W. Mackail, p. 214:

I send thee, Rhodocleia, this garland, which myself have twined of fair flowers beneath my hands; here is lily and rose-chalice and moist anemone, and soft narcissus and dark-glowing violet; garlanding thyself with these, cease to be high-minded; even as the garland thou also dost flower and fall.]

lxxv. TODD. Tasso has been here pointed out. . . . But Spenser probably had Ariosto likewise in view, *Orl. Fur.* 1. 58:

Corrò la fresca e mattutina rosa,
 Che tardando stagion perder potria.

And thus speciously the enchanter in Milton's *Mask*, ver. 743:

If you let slip time, like a neglected rose
 It withers on the stalk. . . .

Spenser's alluring words, "While loving thou mayst loved be with equall crime," . . . resemble the maxim laid down by Moschus, at the conclusion of his sixth [fifth] *Idyl*, more than Tasso: ["If you would be loved where you be loving, then love them that love you."]

4. Cf. Dunbar, *Of the Changes of Lyfe* 15: "Full cauld ar boyth thair beddis and bouris."—Note supplied by Louella Garner.

lxxvii. FOWLER (pp. 69-70). The description of the enchantress reclining with her lover on a bed of flowers in a secluded retreat, whether in Tasso or Spenser, is suggestive of the court of love queen. So far as Spenser is concerned the parallelism holds true, not only in general, but also in at least one striking particular. The voluptuous appeal of Acrasia's veil-like, transparent garment—not emphasized in Tasso—provokes immediate comparison with Boccaccio's description of Venus in *La Teseide* (7. 65):

Le braccia, e'l petto e'pomi rilevati
 Si vedien tutti, e l'altra parte d'una
 Veste tanto sottil si ricopria,
 Che quasi nulla appena nascondia.

Cf. also Chaucer's rendering of Boccaccio in the *Parlement of Foules*:

And in a privee corner, in disporte,
Fond I Venus and hir porter Richesse. (260-1)

Hir gilte heres with a golden threde
Y-bounden were, untressed as she lay,
And naked fro the breste unto the hede
Men might hir see; and, sothly for to say,
The remenant well kevered to my pay
Right with a subtil kerchief of Valence,
Ther was no thikker cloth of no defence. (267-273)

Cf. the picture of Venus in the *Kingis Quair* (st. 96). The point has been made that "the net which Guyon flings over his enchantress and her lover is suggested by the net which Hephaestus wove to entrap Venus." [See notes to st. 81.] Such an association of Acrasia with the Goddess of Love tends to emphasize the court of love character of the scene.

1-6. TODD. The reader may here compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 7. 28. But Spenser carries away the palm for delicacy; and also exceeds the celebrated description of a lady, thus arrayed, or rather disarrayed, by Apuleius, *De Asin. Aur.* [10. 31]: "Nudo et intecto corpore perfectam formositatem professa, nisi quod tenui pallio bombycino inumbrabat spectabilem pubem. Quam quidem laciniam curiosulus ventus, satis amanter, nunc lasciviens reffabat, ut, dimota, pateret flos aetatae; nunc luxurians aspirabat, ut, adhaerens pressulè, membrorum voluptatem graphice lacinia ret." There is a similar description in Boccaccio's *Amorous Fiammetta*, ed. 1587, fol. 11.

1. LOIS WHITNEY (*MP* 19. 161). This detail does not occur in *Gerusalemme Liberata* which Spenser is following rather closely in this passage, but in the *True History*, again, the guests in the banqueting place "recline on cushions of flowers." There would, of course, be no significance whatever in the resemblance in this minor detail if it were not for the numerous other corresponding details.

lxxviii. CHILD. Cf. *Ger. Lib.* 16. 18.

9. CHURCH cites "late Aequora tuta silent" of *Aen.* 1. 163-4.

lxxix. 5-9. UPTON. This is the very picture of Theagenes in Heliodorus; (but the context is corrupted;) *Aethiop.* 7: ["His eyes sparkling with animation, yet their fire tempered with sweetness; his beautiful locks clustered on his shoulders; and the first down of youth appeared upon his cheek."] All poets (except Milton) are fond of mentioning the first budding and show of a beard, the first appearances of manhood, as an instance of beauty. Compare Pacuvius,

Nunc primum opacat flore lanugo genas.

And Tasso, 9. 81.

Il bel mento spargea de' primi fiori.

lxxx. TODD. The idle sword of Rinaldo, who is thus enervated by debauchery, is noticed in Tasso, 16. 30. But Spenser, in this description, has greatly improved upon the Italian.

lxxxi. JORTIN. The account of how Guyon and the Palmer took Acrasia in a net, is from the well-known story of Vulcan's net.

3-5. UPTON. A subtle net, is expressed from Ariosto, speaking of the Giant Caligorant, who used to entrap strangers with a hidden net, *Orl. Fur.* 15. 44:

Tanto è sottil tanto egli ben l'adatta.

Stanza 56:

Havea la rete già fatta Vulcano
Di sottil fil d'acciar, ma con tal' arte,
Che saria stata ogni fatica in vano
Per ismagliarne la più debil parte,
Et era quella, che già piedi e mano
Havea lagati à Venere et à Marte;
La fe il geloso, et non ad altro effetto,
Che per pigliarli insieme ambi nel letto.

The history of this "subtle net" is as follows, Vulcan made it to catch, and after being caught to expose his wife and Mars: you may read the story in Hom. *Od.* [8. 276-281], and in Ovid. *Met.* [4. 171-189]. Afterwards Mercury stole it to catch his mistress Cloris: he then left it as a present to be hung up in the temple of Anubis; and there it hung till Caligorant the giant stole it. Astolfo having defeated the giant, caught him in his own net, and took the net from him.—Ariosto by Caligorant and his net, had an historical allusion to a famous sophist and heretic of his own times, who entangled people in his sophistical nets of false logic: this heretic and sophist became an orthodox, and useful man afterwards, as Caligorant did, when foil'd by his own weapon, and well instructed by Astolfo. Ariosto's poem (like Spenser's) is full of historical allusions, as well as moral allegories. But I must not forget that Ariosto has imaged the giant and net of Caligorant, from the giant Zambardo in *Orl. Inn.* 1. 6.

C. W. LEMMI (*MLN*, forthcoming). The comparison is not an unusual one; but the fact remains that the spider's web was (cf. Legouais' *Ovide moralisé*, Cats' *Emblems*, etc.), and still is, a common symbol of the snares which beset weak mortals. Cf. 7. 28. . . . Spenser might very well have availed himself of a familiar classic episode without ulterior motives; yet Natalis Comes interprets that episode as follows (2. 6. 103):

And indeed what wicked man steeped in sin can long be happy? Not uncounted wealth, not crowds of friends, not nobility of descent, not empire, not armies, can indefinitely shield the sinner from deserved punishment, from the vengeance of God.

The interpretation certainly fits our case. Despite her riches, despite her lovers, the queen of the sensual falls at last.

EDITOR. Cf. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, part 2, lines 3740-3:

Caliphas: They say I am a coward, and I feare as little their lara, tantaras, their

swords or their cannons, as I doe a naked Lady in a net of golde, and for feare I should be affraid, would put it off and come to bed with me.—Note supplied by T. M. Pearce.

lxxxv-lxxxvi. JORTIN. The enchantress Acrasia is represented like Circe in Homer, changing men into beasts. After Guyon had taken her Captive, the Palmer, says the Poet, struck the beasts with his staff, and they became men again.

DODGE (*PMLA* 35. 91-2). At the close of this canto, which he has taken over in bulk from Tasso, Spenser seems to revert to Ariosto. Armida's retreat is defended by wild beasts (*Ger. Lib.* 14. 73; 15. 51 f.), but these are not transformed lovers, without which the Bower of Bliss would be meaningless. Spenser finds these in the corresponding episode of Ariosto, whose Alcina transforms her discarded lovers into trees, rocks, etc. (*Orl. Fur.* 6. 26 ff.). When Alcina is robbed of Ruggiero and defeated, the enchantress Melissa sets these lovers free (8. 14 f.). Spenser has naturally kept the beasts of Armida, since they are parts of his main original, but he has used them after the model of Alcina's victims.

C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 279). Spenser seems to imply a correspondence between the various forms of Acrasia's victims and various kinds of depravity. Conti (*Mythologiae* 6. 6) tells us that if primitive impulses get the better of us they stamp our souls with brutishness. Thus it was with the companions of Ulysses:

According to the nature of the vice each was inclined to, they were transformed into various sorts of brutes. Thus the libidinous became hogs, the choleric lions or bears, and so on.

[See Appendix, "Burton on Spenser."]

lxxxvi. 6-9. JORTIN. This is taken from a Dialogue in Plutarch, inscrib'd Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἄλογα λόγῳ χρῆσθαι, where Gryllus, one of the companions of Ulysses, transform'd into a hog by Circe, holds a discourse with Ulysses, and refuses to be restored to his human shape.

WARTON (2. 153). Not many years before the *Fairy Queen* was written, viz. 1548, Gelli published his *Circe*, which is said in the preface to be founded upon the dialogue of Plutarch, mentioned by Jortin. *Circe* soon became a very popular book, and was translated into English in the year 1557, by one Henry Iden; so that, probably Spenser had read it; and might be induced to consult that dialogue, from its mention in the preface. "Swinish Grill" is mentioned by Hall (*Satire* 2, book 2).

UPTON. This Grylle mentioned here is well known even to the English reader, from the Fables and dialogues of the Archbishop of Cambray; his name is characteristic of his manners and taste. . . . As to the difference between Circe and Acrasia, 'tis merely nominal, the moral is the same. We read of Gryllus in the Romance of Palmerin D'Oliva, Part 2. Chap. 43. Where Palmerin thus bemoans himself, "Never did Circe deal so cruelly with Gryllus, and other soldiers of the wise Ulysses, as this villanous old hag hath done with me." Let me add Politian. *Epist.* Bk. 1: "Similes mihi Gryllo videntur illi, qui cum Ulysse disputat apud Plutarchum [Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἄλογα λόγῳ χρῆσθαι], nec ullis adduci rationibus potest, ut e sue rursus in hominem redire vellet, quem prius ex homine Circe mutaverat in suum." Sir Guyon's reflection is agreeable for him to make upon this

hoggish choice, "See the mind of beastly man, that hath so soon forgotten the excellence of his creation." Milton, *P. L.* 7. 526:

In his own image He
Created thee: in the image of God
Express.

lxxxvii. WINSTANLEY. Cf. Milton, *Comus* [73-7]:

they, so perfect is their misery,
Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
But boast themselves more comely than before,
And all their friends and native home forget,
To roll with pleasure in a sensual sty.

8. CHURCH. The Poet seems to allude to that severe sentence denounced against those who shall incorrigibly persevere in vicious Intemperance; "He which is filthy, let him be filthy still," Apoc. 22. 11.

KITCHIN. An allusion also to 2 Pet. 2. 22, perhaps. The force and vigour of these last touches are very remarkable. The poet does not end with abstract moralities or reflections. The work is done; one touch of the grotesque relieves the sense of sadness caused by the breaking-down of the earthly Paradise. Grille shews, more plainly than a dozen ethical stanzas would have done, the degradation and loss of human qualities, of self-respect, of aims above sense, which are the natural outcome of the life of sensual delights, however beautiful and refined. The victorious Knight has done his work without a word: and, with the sententious Palmer, spurns from him the degraded brute, and departs.

APPENDIX I

THE DATE OF COMPOSITION

CARRIE A. HARPER (*The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*, pp. 187-190). It seems probable that Spenser's chronicle of the British kings was first planned as a separate poem, and, furthermore, that material was collected for it and that it was partly written before Spenser decided to include it in the *Faerie Queene*.

Such a subject would have appealed to a young poet in Spenser's time. The material was popular. To cast it anew in poetical form would have been a natural ambition, especially as a successful chronicle in verse would have been sure to win praise for its author.

Similar material, although geographical, not historical, is known to have interested Spenser when he planned the *Epithalamion Thamesis*. The idea of a chronicle in verse may have been connected with the plan for a poem on British rivers. One may have sprung from the other, as a result of the almost universal habit of prefacing a chronicle history with a "Description of England."

A moment's inspection shows that in Spenser's chronicle as it now stands there is a considerable difference between the first part, which extends to the reign of Uther Pendragon, and the second part, which begins with the successor to Arthur. The first part is, on the whole, a closely knit narrative that aims at an adequate reproduction of the chronicle history material. The poet holds throughout a judicious, historical attitude. He has selected his facts—if we may call them so—with skill. Even we in these days can find authority for most of them, and Spenser himself, we suspect, could have cited chapter and book for nearly, if not quite, all of them. At the same time Spenser exerted himself to give a suitable poetical form to the earlier portions. For instance, Locrinus, the second Brute, Leir, and Donwallo are described in stanzas that for artistic qualities cannot be matched in the second portion of the chronicle. This second portion, it must be admitted, bears marks of hasty work. The history is falsified to accord with the necessities of the poet, whose interest centered in the romantic figure of Britomart. The more carefully Spenser's sources are studied, the more the investigator will be convinced that in this part of the chronicle, Spenser's variations from the usual narrative are due (1) to a desire to adapt his material to the preceding portion of the *Faerie Queene*, (2) to the need of condensation, and (3) to a comparative indifference to the narrative as history, although at times, as in the account of Brockwell, evidences of research still appear,—the result, perhaps, of notes taken at an earlier period.

If we assume that Spenser planned a separate poem on British chronicle history it will be easy to account for the peculiarities of his chronicle as it has come down to us. For a separate poem he would naturally have consulted all or most of the authorities which were available, whereas for an episode in a long poem he would more naturally have followed a single authority, or at most a few of the best known chronicles. For a separate poem he would, perhaps, have taken notes to cover the whole period. He would then have begun to compose his poem. The first part would have been carefully written and revised, another section would

have been blocked out, and then, if the poet wearied of his work, the third part would have been left untouched. Notes and unfinished poem would have been put away together,—only to be brought out at a later date to be fitted into the *Faerie Queene*. Then we should get the elaborate, finished work of the first half of Book II, Canto 10, the slightly more careless composition of the latter part, and the uneven work of Book III, Canto 3, where direct quotation from Geoffrey and work that is based on non-Galfridian authority appear side by side with deliberate distortion of British history. Finally, the few stanzas on the early life of Brutus (3. 9) seem like a fragment at first rejected, but thriftily saved and worked in later.

In Spenser's use of the name Maximinian, which he took from the first edition of Holinshed, there is clear proof that the chronicle was written at a comparatively early date, before he had begun to use the second edition, although not necessarily before the inception of the *Faerie Queene*. As the early part of the chronicle, by the especial elaboration of the material that deals with the legends of rivers, suggests that the chronicle was composed while the river material was fresh in Spenser's mind, the inference is that it is to be grouped with the early *Epithalamion Thamesis*, which was dependent on the first edition of Holinshed, rather than with the later rendering of the same material, in which Spenser used the second edition. It is noticeable also that throughout the chronicle Spenser speaks as if he were in England (cf. 2. 10. 9, 13, 47, 48), and that when the story touches Irish affairs, as in the account of Gurgiant (2. 10. 41) and in that of Gormond (3. 3. 33) there is no expansion, although we should expect it from a poet living in Ireland, as Spenser seems to have been when he wrote Book II, Canto 9 of the *Faerie Queene*.

More than once Spenser seems to have incorporated in his later work early poems or the material gathered for them. The *Epithalamion Thamesis* is an undoubted instance of this. [But see Osgood's "Spenser's English Rivers," *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, pp. 105 ff.] Mr. J. W. Hales believes that the early *Legends* and the *Court of Cupid* are also to be found in the *Faerie Queene*. Mr. Grosart has a theory that both the *Dreames* and the *Stemmata Dudleiana* are preserved in the *Ruines of Time*. Mr. Philo M. Buck believes that ten of the eighteen "lost poems" that he enumerates in his paper on "Spenser's Lost Poems" have been worked into later poems. Presumably Mr. Bryskett was not misrepresenting Spenser when he put into his mouth the statement that Bryskett's translation of the dialogue by Giraldi might "happily fare the better by some mending it may receive in the perusing, as all writings else may do by the often examination of the same,"—a statement which suggests that Spenser had a habit of preserving his early work and continually revising it. Indeed, we have Spenser's own words to this effect, for in the letter prefixed to the *Four Hymnes* he speaks of those poems as the result of his resolve to "amend" and "reforme" two hymns composed "in the greener times" of his youth.

The theory that the British chronicle history was first planned as a separate work is not, it must be admitted, susceptible of proof. No reference to such a poem is known to exist. The nature of the subject, however, the characteristics of the chronicle as it appears in the *Faerie Queene*, and Spenser's habit of recasting his poems, taken all three together, create a strong presumption in its favor.

J. C. SMITH ("Introduction" to *Spenser's Faerie Queene*, pp. ix-xii). The first mention of the *Faerie Queene* occurs in a letter of Spenser's to Gabriel Harvey, dated *Quarto Nonas Aprilis* 1580. "I wil in hande forthwith," he writes, "with my *Faery Queene*, whyche I praye you hartily send me with al expedition: and your frendly Letters, and long expected Judgement wythal." "I haue nowe sent hir home at the laste," writes Harvey in reply. These phrases show that the parcel of the *Faerie Queene* had been in Harvey's hands for some considerable time. The poem must therefore have been begun not later than 1579. Now in 1579 Spenser was an inmate of Leicester House, and the constant associate of Sir Philip Sidney. There is therefore no reason to doubt the assertion of W. L. in his commendatory verses that by Sidney the poem was originally inspired.

Harvey's long-expected judgement, when it came, was far from favourable. But the poet was not discouraged, and doubtless took the manuscript with him when he went to Ireland with Lord Grey in August, 1580. Though he afterwards spoke of the poem as "wilde fruit which salvage soyl hath bred," there is some reason to think that he had actually written as much as a book and a half before he left England. For though allusions to Ireland are not rare in the *Faerie Queene*, the first of them occurs in 2. 9. 16. (This argument loses some of its weight from the likelihood that Spenser had been in Ireland before 1580. In his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, Irenaeus, who is Spenser's mouthpiece, speaks of himself as an eyewitness of the execution of Murrough O'Brien, which took place at Limerick in July, 1577. The statement, of course, is not conclusive, as it would be if made in Spenser's own person. Yet Spenser's account of this hideous incident has the stamp of personal observation, and, taken with the evidence of Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicorum*, points to the conclusion that in 1577 Spenser had been sent to Ireland by Leicester with letters to Sir Henry Sidney. His visit, however, must have been brief, and may well have left no trace in his poetry. Upton believed that the *Ruddymane* episode in 2. 2. referred to the O'Neills, whose badge was a bloody hand—*v.* the *View of the Present State of Ireland*. If there be anything in this, it makes against the view that a book and a half had been written by August, 1580; for Spenser is not likely to have known the O'Neill "badge" till he settled in Ireland.) Moreover, the industry of commentators has discovered in Book I only one imitation of Tasso's *Gierusalemme Liberata*, and that doubtful (1. 7. 31); undoubted imitations begin to appear in 2. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 2. 12 blazes with spoils from the Garden of Armida. Now the *Gierusalemme Liberata* was published in 1581; an imperfect edition had been issued surreptitiously in 1580. (The passage in Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 9. 25, is itself an imitation of Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 785. Yet the "greedie pawes" and "golden wings" of Spenser's picture seem due to Tasso's "Sù le zampe s'inalza, e l'ali spande." Both these arguments, then, are indecisive; and in the absence of decisive proof I find it hard to believe that Harvey, who though a pedant was no fool, can have seen anything like the whole of Book I without recognizing its superlative merits.)

Our next glimpse of the *Faerie Queene* we owe to Lodovick Bryskett, whose *Discourse of Civill Life*, though not published till 1606, purports to record a conversation held in his cottage near Dublin as early, it would seem, as the spring of 1583. Spenser is one of the interlocutors. He is made to say that he has already undertaken a work "which is in heroical verse under the title of a *Faerie Queene*";

which work he has "already well entered into." The company express an "extreme longing" after this *Faerie Queene*, "whereof some parcels had been by some of them seene."

Parcels of the *Faerie Queene* had been seen, it appears, not only by Spenser's friends in Dublin, but by his literary contemporaries in London. 1. 5. 2 is imitated in Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (date unknown, but probably before 1590). 1. 7. 32 and 1. 8. 11 are imitated in Act 4, Sc. 4 and Act 4, Sc. 3 respectively of the second part of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (published 1590, but acted some years earlier). Finally, Abraham Fraunce in his *Arcadian Rhetorike* (1588) quotes Spenser "in his *Faerie Queene*, 2 booke, cant. 4 [st. 35]. Fraunce's quotation is the more interesting inasmuch as it shows that by 1588 (Fraunce's book was licensed on June 11) the *F. Q.* had not only been composed, but disposed into its present arrangement of books and cantos so far at least as 2. 4. It is worth remarking that all these imitations of and quotations from *F. Q.* before it was published are from that part of the poem which we have some reason to think was written before Spenser left England. Allusions in the poem shed no certain light on the progress of its composition.

There is no reason to suppose that Spenser composed the whole of the *F. Q.* in the order in which he gave it to the world. It is more likely that he worked up many incidents and episodes as they occurred to him, and afterwards placed them in the poem. We know that the *Wedding of Thames and Medway*, which now forms 4. 11, is a redaction of an *Epithalamium Thamesis* which he originally undertook as an experiment in quantitative metre before April, 1580. And it seems probable that the *Legendes* and *Court of Cupid* mentioned by E. K. in his preface to the *Shepheards Calendar*, as well as the *Pageants* mentioned in the Glosse on June, were similarly worked over and incorporated in the *F. Q.* From these *Pageants* E. K. quotes a line:

An hundred Graces on her eyelidde sate,

which appears, slightly altered, in *F. Q.* 2. 3. 25.

Combining these pieces of evidence, we receive the impression that for some time after he came to Ireland Spenser worked but intermittently on the *F. Q.*, resuming the regular composition and arrangement of the poem about the time when he ceased to reside in Dublin. (The "fennes of Allan"—2. 9. 16—would be near New Abbey in Co. Kildare, where Spenser seems to have occasionally resided in the years 1582-4.) By 1588—the date of Fraunce's quotation—he may have already been settled at Kilcolman. There, at least, Raleigh found him in 1589, and was shown the poem; with the result that in the autumn of that year Spenser accompanied Raleigh to London, and set about the publication of Books I-III. [See note to Proem 2-3.]

EDITOR. Much of this material is given by earlier editors; for example, see Todd's note on 1. 7. 32. 5-9, and his edition, 1. xv. Smith's account is the most concise and inclusive.

Highly conjectural evidence for dating Book II is given by "C" in the Appendix, "Historical Allegory." See also Perrett's note on 10. 27-32.

APPENDIX II

HISTORICAL ALLEGORY

JOHN UPTON ("Preface" to his edition of the *Faerie Queene*, 1. xxviii-xxix). From considering arms and ensigns, imaging kingdoms and knights, I found out as I thought the clew, directing me to the allusion of the Babes bloody hands: the adventure of the second day, assigned to Sir Guyon. He is called the bloody-handed babe, and hence Ruddymane (2. 3. 2). And this will appear from Spenser's words in his view of Ireland, "The Irish under Oneal cry Launderg-abo, that is the bloody-hand, which is Oneals badge." The rebellion of the Oneals seems to be imaged in this episode: they all drank so deep of the charm and venom of Acrasia, that their blood was infected with secret filth (2. 2. 4). The ungovernable tempers of the Oneals hurried them into constant insurrections, as may be seen in Camden's account of the rebellion of the Irish Oneals. But to make this historical allusion still clearer, I will cite a passage from Camden in the life of Q. Elizabeth, Ann. 1567. "Thus did Shan Oneal come to his bloody end: A man he was who had stained his hands with blood, and dealt in all the pollutions of unchast embraces.—The children he left by his wife, were Henry and Shan: but he had several more by O-donell's wife, and others of his mistresses."

[Note on 2. 1. 6.] In the Introduction to this book, St. 4, he tells us, he exhibits a mirror, which shews plainly queen Elizabeth, in the Fairy queen, and her realms in Fairy land. If I should therefore over-refine in tracing out the history alluded to, as well as the moral, the reader will pardon me, as I am starting the game for him to pursue.—Sir Guyon's adventure, in whom is imaged temperance, is chiefly against a false inchantress named Acrasia, i. e. intemperance. . . . This adventure then is assigned to Sir Guyon. In this mirror can we see represented any particular knight? Or is it temperance only we must look for? Temperance certainly we must chiefly look for: but there may be another walk; and there are historical, as well as moral allusions. Among the verses which were sent by Spenser to the great men (and truly great men they were) who "dwelt in land of Faery," he desires the earl of Essex not to "sdeigne to let his name be writ in this poem."—The Earl of Essex was bred among the Puritans, and he himself was a Puritan; "his countenance demure and temperate": so he is characterized by Sir H. Wotton. The Earl of Essex was knight of the garter. Sir Guyon, says of himself, 2. 42:

To her I homage and my service owe,
In number of the noblest knightes on ground;
'Mongst whom on me she deigned to bestowe
Order of Maydenhead.

The Earl of Essex was great master of the horse to queen Elizabeth: and great care is taken to let us know very particularly concerning Sir Guyon's "lofty stede with golden sell," 2. 2. 11—who is ignorant of the affection and particular kindness which queen Elizabeth, the Faery-queen, shewed both to Leicester and Essex?

EDITOR. Upton's further remarks on the historical allegory in the second book will be found in his notes on 1. 28; 1. 37; 2. 40; 2. 42; 3. 4; 4. 1; 8. 53; 9. 43; 11. 30; and the summarizing note at the end of canto 12. He

identifies Guyon with Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; Ruddymane, the bloody-handed babe, with the "rebellion of the Oneals"; the Palmer with Archbishop Whitgift, former tutor to Essex; Timias with Raleigh; Braggadocchio with Alençon; and Trompart with Simier.

Upton's guesses are without foundation. Essex was a mere boy when Spenser planned and wrote most of the second book; he was not associated with Ireland until 1599. In fact, the dedicatory sonnet to him makes it clear that Essex had no great part in the first three books.

FRANK HOWARD ("The Arcadia Unveiled," p. 151). Mr. Upton supposes that Guyon was intended for Essex, from the frequent mention of Guyon's golden sell (saddle), which he thought alluded to Essex being master of the horse; but to say nothing of the ludicrous inappositeness of the master of the horse losing his steed at the commencement of his journey, and having to perform his adventure on foot, as is the case with Guyon, Guyon's adventures are the subject of one of the books to which the above sonnet [Dedicatory Sonnet to Essex] was prefixed.

There can be little doubt that Mr. Upton is right in supposing that the adventure of Guyon has reference to the assistance afforded by Elizabeth to Tír Oen, or O'Neale, whose cognizance was the bloody hand (the child Ruddymane); but this brings us to the Earl of Sussex's government of Ireland, and the Palmer, instead of being Whitgift, as supposed by Mr. Upton, is probably Sir Henry Sidney, who acted with and for Sussex, and afterwards succeeded him in that government, and may very probably have been of great service to him therein.

C ("The Faerie Queene Unveiled," p. 22). In the second book, at the end of the fourth canto, we are forcibly struck by the names of Pyrochles and Cymochles, two Paynim knights; and to our astonishment, we find the two following cantos are a satire on the *Arcadia*, or at least on the two heroes, Pyrocles and Musidorus; and it may be surmised, we have here the gentle Spenser's dire revenge for Sidney's satirical playfulness in his first Arcadian eclogue, where he represents Strephon (Spenser) in love with Urania. There is a sly humour, a hard hit, in the description of the fight between Pyrochles and Sir Guyon, who, "him spying all breathless, weary, faint" (2. 5. 11):

Struck him so hugely, that through great constraint
He made him stoop perforce unto his knee,
And do unwilling worship to the Saint,
That on his shield depainted he did see;
Such homage till that instant never learned he.

The passage is too long for quotation, but it is impossible to mistake the humorous satire, when, Pyrochles, seized with Furor, rushes wildly into the Idle Lake, and is saved by Archimago (2. 6. 47-9):

What flames, quoth he, when I thee present see
In danger rather to be drent than brent?

This passage, we may presume, has reference more immediately to Sidney's application to Lord Burghley in January, 1583; that he might be joined with his uncle, the Earle of Warwick, in the Ordnance Office. The passionate ardour of Sir Philip for military fame and active employment, and his disgust and weariness

of a courtier's idle life, sufficiently demonstrate how perfect is the allegory, and that Archimago in this instance is undoubtedly Lord Burghley.

Musidorus, the hardworking student, in love with philosophy, is represented under the name of Cymochles as "given to all lust and loose living," sojourning with the vile Acrasia in "vain delights and idle pleasures in her Bower of Bliss." Spenser, in this picture, appears to have drawn the Bower of Bliss and the loose loves of Acrasia, as a contrast to the sufferings of Pamela and Philoclea under the tyranny of Cecropia; nor can we doubt that Mary, Queen of Scots, is shadowed in Acrasia; whom Sir Guyon, after destroying the Bower of Bliss, sends with a strong guard to the fairy court. Nor can we doubt, that the satirizing of the Duke of Anjou and Simier as Braggadochio and Trompart, had its origin in the story of Antiphilus.

PHILO M. BUCK ("On the Political Allegory in 'The Faerie Queene,'" pp. 11-21; abstracted by H. S. V. Jones, *Spenser Handbook*, pp. 199-202). Guyon is Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, a favorite of the Queen, whose character in its main lines seems to agree with that of Spenser's Knight of Temperance. The temporary enlistment of Guyon in the cause of Duessa might be explained as an allusion to Sussex' loyalty to Catholicism during the reign of Mary. Then, just as Guyon transferred his devotion to the Red Cross Knight, so Sussex promptly became a Protestant upon the accession of Elizabeth. Acrasia is Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Palmer, not quite so clearly, John Knox. It is suggested that Amavia, also, might stand for the Queen of Scots. Mortdant would, then, be the murdered Darnley and Ruddymane would be identified with James VI of Scotland and I of England. Passing over Canto II, in which no political allegory is detected, we may recognize in Braggadocchio and Trompart respectively Alençon, the French suitor of the Queen, and Simier, his secretary. Archimago's offer to steal Arthur's sword for Braggadocchio seems to glance at the effort of the Catholics to undermine the influence of Leicester, who was, of course, hostile to the French match. Since Belphebe, according to Spenser's own account, is Elizabeth, Trompart's praise of her and his master alludes to the manner in which Simier pressed the suit of Alençon. The episode of Furor in Canto IV points to Sussex' deputyship in Ireland, Furor fighting like the Irish chieftains Shan O'Neill and Sorley Boy Mac-Donnell, against whom Sussex had to contend. Like Furor, the two Irish chieftains, though once subdued, broke into rebellion again in 1569. Omitting Professor Buck's very doubtful identification of Phedon with Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, it should be remarked that he rejects Upton's guess that Pyrochles and Cymochles stood for Sorley Boy and Shan O'Neill and identifies them with the most prominent of the northern rebels, that is, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. This fits the allegory very well at two points. It is not only that we have in Cymochles' amour with Acrasia an allusion to Westmoreland's love for the Queen of Scots but in Guyon's hostility to the brothers and in the aid rendered him by Arthur, we may detect an allusion to Sussex' campaign against the Northern earls, his temporary check, and the timely aid rendered by Lord Hunsdon or the Earl of Warwick, Leicester's brother. This would involve a temporary substitution in the allegory of one of these lords for the other. At this point Professor Buck pertinently quotes the following lines from the dedicatory sonnet addressed to Hunsdon:

When that tumultous rage and fearful deene
 Of Northerne rebels ye did pacify,
 And their disloiall powre defaced clene,
 The record of enduring memory.
 Live, Lord, forever in this lasting verse,
 That all posteritie thy honor may reherse.

If the foregoing interpretation is approved, then the curious incident of the beheading of Pyrochles points to the execution of Northumberland. Further, the flight of Archimago may then be explained as an allusion to the withdrawal of the Catholics from active conspiracy after the suppression of the Northern Rebellion. It is suggested that Arthur's duel with Maleger in Canto XI symbolizes Leicester's almost fatal struggle with those impetuous passions that led to his successive marriages with Amy Robsart and the Countess of Essex, and that almost brought about his political downfall. In the service rendered by the Squire to Arthur we may detect an allusion to Sidney's defense of his uncle in print; or if Timias is Raleigh, the passage alludes to some unknown aid that Leicester received from Raleigh during these times. Finally, we are to interpret the capture of Acrasia as the imprisonment of Mary. Verdant, who is taken with Acrasia, is perhaps Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. As Guyon despatches Verdant to the Fairy Queen, so Sussex pleaded with Elizabeth for the life of Norfolk.

EDITOR. An examination of Buck's monograph will show it to be merely a conjectural matching of patterns, without any evidence of the poet's intention.

EDWIN GREENLAW ("The Faerie Queene," p. 708). Spenser uses the technique of romance for a more carefully elaborated moral allegory than had been developed in the mediaeval cycles. Thus, Book I shows how Holiness (Red Cross), accompanied by Truth (Una), slays the dragon of Error. Again the adventures of Guyon (Book II) symbolize the course of temperance through life, avoiding extremes of gloom or of false joy, avoiding wrath and excessive passion, conquering desires of wealth or sensual enjoyment. The allegory of the poem is complex: there is the type found in mediaeval moral plays, representing the conflict of vices and virtues; there is the mystical interpretation of Christian doctrine; there is also translation of Plato's idealism into allegorical story. To blend with a conception so complex as this the Renaissance ideal of the perfect courtier (Spenser has in mind a man of affairs like Sidney, not a mediaeval ascetic saint) rendered it impossible for the poet to use Malory's version of the Arthurian legend in any complete or definite way. Yet the chief clue to his method is to be found, not in his moral and religious allegory, which has been too much stressed in Spenser criticism, but in his purpose to shadow forth his conception of the greatness of Elizabethan England and of its destiny.

LILIAN WINSTANLEY ("Introduction" to the *Faerie Queene*, Book II, second ed., pp. lxxii-lxxix) sees in Guyon the Guyan (Guienne) of the Elizabethan chronicles, hence Coligny. He was proponent of a Protestant league for Europe, was aided by Elizabeth, was patron of Protestant colonies in America, temperate in his personal habits, grave yet courteous and winning. Like Guyon he was interested in wonders of the sea and in history. He resisted the temptations of wealth and

ambition held out by that Mammon, Charles V, as also the seductive blandishments of Catherine de Medici and her train (Phaedria).

Of the two Valois princes, the choleric Charles IX is Pyrochles, and Henry of Anjou, valiant in his youth but corrupted by Catherine's court (Phaedria), is Cymochles. They are sons of Acrates (gloomy Henry II) and Despight (Catherine), grandsons of Phlegeton (the fiery Francis I with the motto, "I burn"). As Furor incites the rage of Pyrochles, so Henry of Guise provokes Charles, but is thwarted by Coligny. Charles, gloating over the victims of St. Bartholomew, and falling afterwards into a fever of remorse, is Pyrochles implacably fired by Furor, and comforted by the Pope (Archimago).

As Henry of Anjou hates Coligny, so Cymochles hates Guyon; and the two brothers insulted the dead Coligny and debased his family, as their effigies in allegory conspired to maltreat the supposedly dead Guyon (8. 15-17).

Miss Winstanley discerns some not easily discernible allusions in the story of Guyon and the Palmer to Spenser's patron Lord Grey, his father, and his trusty Sir Henry Palmer (!).

The overthrow of Acrasia suggests to her the trial of Mary Stuart, especially as related in Knox's *History of the Reformation*—the ill-omened mist at her landing (12. 34), the birds (12. 8), the mermaids (12. 17, 27-31) often used to typify Mary. The bower reflects the frivolity of her court, and the wine-cup (12. 56) the mass.

EDWIN GREENLAW (*Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*, pp. 89-100, 203-5). But the true approach to an understanding of the method and purpose of the *Faerie Queene* is to be found, I think through a study of the second book. It is one of the great books, in which all sides of Spenser's method and art are represented. It is exactly parallel, in structure, to the first book, and without question the two books were designed by the author to complement each other and to present his fundamental thought. The virtue which it represents is temperance, self control, governance through the rational faculty of the soul which is warred on by wrath and sensuality. The political intention of the book is as plain as that of the companion book.

Here again we gain some light from contemporary literature, and this should be the method of approach rather than, as heretofore, through discussion of the Aristotelian aspects of the philosophy. Out of many illustrations I shall here cite but one, of value to us because it shows once more Elizabethan understanding of political allegory and deals with matters treated by Spenser in this second book.

In 1562 a meeting between Elizabeth and Mary of Scotland was projected, in an effort to bring about an understanding. The meeting did not take place, but we have much material bearing upon the plans, including a full account, in Burghley's handwriting, of the entertainment "to be shewed before the Queenes Majestie, by waye of maskinge." The author of the masque is unknown, but its importance to Burghley's plans for the conference is indicated by the fact that he wrote out a full abstract with his own hand. A prison (Oblivion) is represented, its jailer being Argus or Circumspection; the symbol of two hands clasped, with a motto, "Faith" in gold. Then come two women, one on a gold lion with a gold diadem, representing Prudence, and the other on a red lion, also with a diadem, representing Temperance. Several ladies bring in, as prisoners, Discord and False Rumor.

Pallas presides over the court, enjoining the virtues to declare to the two queens (Elizabeth and Mary) that the two virtues Prudence and Temperance had long prayed Jove to punish False Rumor and Discord for taking their place. The vices are shut up; Prudence gives the jailer wands with inscriptions indicating everlasting banishment to oblivion. There is little or no speaking, the whole being much like the dumb shows we have already noted in *Gorboduc*.

On the second night the setting is a Castle of Abundance; the virtues are Peace and Amity. Several ladies, as before, are introduced; there are explanatory verses to make the intention clear. Amity announces to the queens that Pallas had shut up the vices, the subject of the masque of the preceding night. The gods having learned that Prudence and Temperance are to remain at the Court of Plenty have sent Peace to stay also. Ardent Desire serves Prudence; Perpetuity serves Temperance; through these eternal Peace shall reign. The entertainment is to be followed by dances in which English men take as partners Scottish dames. On the third evening a double masque was to have been presented. Evil Thought appears on a serpent and accompanied by Disdain brings a message from Pluto resenting the punishment of False Rumor and Discord and stating that a champion has been sent to right the wrong. Discernment enters with a horse on which rides Valiant Courage, sent by Jove against the demons Disdain and Evil Thought. Victory, we are told, is not possible unless Prudence and Temperance make an alliance with Peace. This done, Discernment lays a large sword at the feet of the two queens and the demons are driven back to hell.

Here then we have an allegorical masque, of political intention, strikingly similar in setting and import to the sort of thing we find in Spenser. It is not, of course, the source, but the characters are the same. Temperance and Prudence in the masque resemble Guyon and the Palmer in Spenser's treatment; Discord, False Rumor, Disdain, the emblematic animals, all correspond closely to Spenser's characters in this book and in the closely allied fourth book, dealing with Friendship or Concord. The court, the trial, the warfare on the virtues (analogous to the siege of Alma's Castle in the Legend of Temperance), the interposition of the infernal deities—all this is of the stuff found in Spenser's poem. Moreover, by observing how these elements are combined in the masque and the purpose of the writer, we can determine the bases of Spenser's method, because in the masque matters are presented in the simplest form, the bare kernel of thought and intention, which Spenser embellishes, lifts from the simple teaching of a masque to a highly decorated and complex piece of Renaissance poetry. Moreover, Temperance is presented in the masque, as in many other places which might be cited, as a political virtue.

It has seemed easy, so often has the theory been advanced, to attach specific events to the story of the first book; but students have been puzzled when they have attempted, in pursuance of the conventional theory of continued allegory, to do the same thing with the second book. The error, I am persuaded, in both cases has been due to a misapprehension of Elizabethan practice and Spenser's intention. We might, for example, apply the conventional method to the masque which so interested Burghley because of its political possibilities. We might identify Discord, False Rumor, Discernment, the embassy from Pluto, the challenge to the queens. We might see in Argus the jailer the guardianship of the great Lord

Treasurer himself. But is it not perfectly clear that no such intention was in the mind of the author of the masque? A quarter of a century before the tragedy of the two queens was to end in the execution of the one by the other, the dangers to the realm were clearly grasped by Burghley and perhaps by the great actors themselves, and this attempt was made to see if accommodation could not be reached. What might have been presented as a state paper, or made the matter of negotiation, was here presented simply, objectively, through the masque. Simple and clear as the story was, one that apparently the queens themselves and the courtiers could have understood without difficulty, the author supplied careful explanations of his intention. Allegory, as I have said before, makes its presence felt, and supplies clues to its interpretation. In the light of these observations, what becomes of the elaborate crossword puzzles with which modern commentators have sought interpretation of Spenser's poem and are now seeking interpretation of Shakespeare's plays? Spenser's Temperance, like his Holiness, was a political virtue, and the main lines of his story are applicable, in a wholly simple and understandable manner, to techniques familiar to Elizabeth and her court. There is allegory, but it is not a continued and systematic transcript of history.

More detailed analysis of the historical allegory, with attention to the numerous instances of contemporary allusion, may be reserved for another place. The ethical allegory is more marked in the second book than in the first, which is doctrinal, and this allegory, as I have shown in another place, unites elements from Aristotle and Plato. It is worth noting that Aristotle gives high place to temperance as a political virtue in the seventh book of his *Politics*. But the basis of Spenser's doctrine, in its political side, is the interpretation given to the queen's course with reference to the dangerous conditions that confronted her. The nation needed concord, temperate handling of vexed questions, relief from the fanaticism of Bloody Mary. This Elizabeth gave, guided by Burghley, and that her wisdom was recognized by her subjects is proved by the frequent association of her name with these virtues of the golden mean. The book of Guyon is devoted to this theme. The enemies are discord and violence, and seductive ease. Archimago, the chief fomentor of discord, plies his trade unceasingly. Acrasia, who owes much to Tasso's enchantress, is set over against Alma and is sent as prisoner to Gloriana as Alma is defended by Arthur. Through it all is the evil of civil anarchy, and the need for national unity above every other consideration. The Anglican movement was not doctrinal but national. The praise of England, her strength to repel all foreign invasion if only internal dissension should be stamped out, the identification of the Tudor monarch with the state, Elizabeth's right through her ancestry to the throne (the chronicles), and the chief dangers which threaten her are the themes set forth in Book II. . . . Spenser put this material into a place which we know he considered pivotal, essential to the understanding of his plan. This chronicle material was subjected, some years ago, to careful study by Miss C. M. Harper. It was a typical Ph. D. subject, according to the views of our humanists: small, of no value, something that industry without intelligence might solve. But Miss Harper found out, by the only possible means by which such things are ever found out, that is by patient research and parallel studies, that Spenser's chronicle is no mere prentice work. He did not get up the subject by reading some standard work and converting it into his stanzas. He read many sources. He brought to

bear what critical historical sense he possessed, in his use of his authorities. He used many sources. It was the product of long and intense study.

Based on the evidence that Miss Harper has given us, we may assert that Spenser was as close a student of the historical aspects of the story of Arthur as any of those who took part in the controversy. We have seen the special significance of the Arthurian matter in Tudor times. What we are now in a position to observe is that this chronicle of Spenser's is not only evidence of his antiquarian interest and careful study, but is itself a document in the great quarrel. It is a defense of the historicity of Arthur. It is a compliment to the Tudor house, but it is also something far more significant. Like Camden, Spenser subscribes to a belief in the value of this antiquarianism to the development of national spirit. So Arthur, confronting a crisis, derives strength and faith not only from holy church, like Redcross, but from the history of his people. . . .

Elizabeth's own recognition of Temperance as a political virtue is to be found in *The Copie of a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earle of Leycester . . . with a report of certaine petitions and declarations made to the Queenes Maiestie at two seuerall times, from all the Lordes and Commons lately assembled in Parliament. And her Maiesties answeres thereunto by herselfe deliuered . . . Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1586*. She says:

When first I tooke the Scepter, my title made me not forget the giuer: and therefore began, as it became me, with such religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, & I trust shal die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what danger and perill so great an alteration might procure: howe many great Princes of the contrary opinion woulde attempt all they might against me: and generally, what enimitie I shoulde breede vnto my selfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that euer since I have bene so daungerously prosecuted, as I rather maruaile that I am, then muse that I should not be: if it were not Gods holy hand that continueth me, beyond all other expectation. . . .

Then entred I further into the schoole of experience, bethinking what it fitted a King to do: and there I saw, he scant was wel furnished, if either he lacked Justice, Temperance, Magnanimitie, or Judgement. As for the two latter, I wil not boaste, my sexe doeth not permit it: But for the two first, this dare I say, Amongst my subiects I neuer knew a difference of person, where right was one: Nor neuer to my knowledge preferred for favour, whome I thought not fit for worth: Nor bent my eares to credit a tale that first was told me: Nor was so rash, to corrupt my judgment with my censure, before I heard the cause. (Pp. 30-31.)

Nichols (1. 28) cites Camden to the effect that Edward VI used to call Elizabeth his "sweet sister Temperance." Certainly her course on coming to the throne was, as she herself says, a temperate one. Her situation was delicate; many of her subjects were Catholic and hostile to any change, and her problem was further complicated by Mary Stuart's claim to the throne. This she recognized, as we see in the following passage, which Nichols (*Progresses* 1. 20) quotes from Strype's *Annals* (2. 88):

Queen Elizabeth would sometimes, in the midst of her cares, divert herself by study and sometimes versifying, as she did in composing a copy of verses upon the Queen of Scots, and those of her friends here in England near this time; which

Dr. Wylson hath preserved to us in his English Logic. For she, to declare that she was nothing ignorant of those secret practices among her people, and many of her Nobility inclining too far to the Scottish Queen's party, though she had long with great wisdom and patience dissembled it (as the said Dr. Wylson prefaceth her verses), wrote this ditty most sweet and sententious; not hiding from all such aspiring minds the danger of their ambition and disloyalty. Which afterwards fell out most truly, by the exemplary chastisement of sundry persons, who, in favour of the said Scottish Queen, declining from her Majesty, sought to interrupt the quiet of her realm, by many evil and undutiful practises. Her verses were as follow:

That doubt of future foes exiles my present joy;
 And Wit me warns to shun such snares, as threaten mine annoy.
 For falsehood now doth flow, and subjects' faith doth ebb:
 Which would not be, if Reason rul'd, or Wisdom weav'd the webb.
 But clouds of toys untry'd do cloak aspiring minds,
 Which turn to rain of late repent, by course of changed winds.
 The top of Hope suppos'd the root of truth wil bee,
 And fruitless al their grafted guiles, as shortly ye shal see.
 Those dazzled eyes with pride, which great Ambition blinds,
 Shal be unseel'd by worthy wights, whom Foresight falsehood finds.
 The daughter of debate, that eke Discord doth sow,
 Shal reap no gain, where former rule hath taught still peace to grow.
 No foreign banisht Wight shal anchor in this port:
 Our realm it brooks no strangers force: let them elsewhere resort.
 Our rusty sword with rest shal first the edge employ,
 To poll their topps that seek such change, and gape for joy.

The notes to the poem (by Strype or Nichols) identify "Ambition" as the Duke of Norfolk; "Wight" as the Scottish Queen; and "strangers" as France and Spain. Note the Queen's consciousness of danger through ambition and disloyalty, and, in this connection, Guyon's successful resistance to such temptation. Her poem was well known, because it was printed by Wilson, and it uses an allegory in which well known figures appear. It could, therefore, be understood by everyone. The emphasis on the rule of Reason threatened by falsehood, ambition, "clouds of toys," all suggest the philosophical background of Book II of the *Faerie Queene*. The enemies are daughter of debate, Discord, and outside enemies.

All this strengthens our interpretation of Book II as dealing with Elizabeth's right to the throne and the threats made against that right. After the settlement of the problem of religion, the danger from the Scottish Queen was fundamental. She was indeed an Acrasia. Miss Winstanley (*Othello*, p. 39) identifies her with Acrasia on the basis of John Knox's reference to her as a mermaid, enticing men by her beauty and her flattering songs. Her influence over Norfolk and her partial seduction of Leicester, Sir Henry Sidney, and others of the English court, lend weight to such a characterization.

This explains how Guyon could be prepared by reading chronicles for the overthrow of Acrasia. He is closely associated with Arthur at this time and finds in the Chronicles Elizabeth's right to the throne, because of her descent from the ancient "Briton line." The histories prepare him, therefore, for the overthrow of an enchantress presumably working against Elizabeth's claim. This enchantress is Mary of Scotland.

APPENDIX III

MORAL ALLEGORY

KATE M. WARREN ("Introduction" to *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, pp. vi-ix). The subject matter of this poem of the Knight of Temperance may be viewed—as may the whole of the *Faerie Queene*—in a threefold aspect. In the first place as a story, which, though placed in some indefinite time of chivalry, and in a world of faery, is yet woven through with the human reality of the acts and feelings of the men and women who pass across the scene. Again, as a moral allegory, in which the virtue of temperance is pictured in conflict with all the main forms of intemperance; and, finally, as an historical allegory in which the figures represent persons living in the time of Spenser, among whom Queen Elizabeth is pre-eminent under the names of Gloriana and Belphoebe.

This last and least important aspect of the poem need not concern us here, for it belongs rather to the historian than to the lover of literature. But with regard to the moral allegory there is more to say. In Spenser's day this view of the poem was considered of high importance. Theories of moral philosophy were studied and discussed by the cultured people of the time and a philosophic educational ideal was the theme of several European books, such as, in England, the *Schoolmaster* of Ascham and the *Euphues* of Lyly. It was almost expected of a poem or a story that it should justify its existence by the moral teaching it had to offer. It was with this influence in the air that Spenser wrote his *Faerie Queene*, and assigned as one of the chief reasons for the creation of the poem its character as a moral treatise. (See the letter to Raleigh, and also the account, by Bryskett, of the conversation of Spenser and his friends at a cottage near Dublin—quoted by Prof. Hales in the *Globe* Spenser, p. xxxiii.) But the poet was more occupied with the imaginative presentation of his story than with strict adherence to an argumentative plan of moral allegory. It is true that he had such a plan before him, but he more and more neglected it as he proceeded with his poem. The allegory becomes less and less clear after the first two books. His treatment of the moral subject matter varies a good deal, also, in isolated passages of the poem. At times we find him working at it with minuteness, and occasionally dwelling on it at the expense of poetry and human feeling; in other places he will neglect allegorical consistency if it seem to interfere with the poetic view of some human situation. But this is a large question which to treat fully would need an essay to itself.

To trace out the intricacy of Spenser's moral allegory is, to the reader who cares for it, an intellectual pastime, while to the literary student it is a necessary piece of work if he wish to discover Spenser's exact connection with the moral philosophers. But this is the smallest of the pleasures the *Faerie Queene* has to offer. To the ordinary reader the obscurer portions of its allegory are not much more valuable than the historical meaning. The things which are valuable and full of interest to him are the art and the humanity of the poem—the imaginative portrayal, in beautiful verse, of the persons who enter the story, and of their adventures as they encounter that Protean trinity of foes, the world, the flesh, and the devil. When,

for example, we read of Sir Guyon, the Knight of Temperance, turning his back upon the money god and all his wiles, it is not the abstract virtue of temperance at war with one of its opposites that we think of, but Guyon himself tried by a temptation that may assail ourselves. Or when we view the ghastly picture of the fate of Amavia and Mordant, what appeals to us is not the allegory, illustrating two different kinds of intemperance—in grief and in self-indulgence—but the human pity of the spectacle, and this, too, in spite of a certain "remoteness" in the humanity of fairyland.

The moral matter which forms the allegory of the *Faerie Queene* has, however, a peculiar interest for the admirers of Spenser, when it is viewed as raw material, the character of which has some influence upon the quality of the poems made out of it. This is seen when we come to compare the two first Books of the *Faerie Queene*. They resemble each other in general plan and in certain details, while in strength of imagination, there is little to choose between them. But there is discernible a very subtle difference, which may be best illustrated by the contrast between the companions given to the respective knights when they first set out. St. George of the Red Cross is accompanied by a young and lovely maiden on her milk-white ass, who guides and encourages him with the affectionate wisdom of womanhood. Beside Sir Guyon there paces a comely Palmer, sage and sober,

Clad in blacke attire,
Of ripest yeares, and haire all hoarie gray,

who counsels the knight with the gravity of an old man. A more sober, less romantic element is thus introduced in the beginning of the story. And the same thing appears at its ending. Instead of the joyful marriage of the champion with the lady he has succoured, as in Book I, the knight of Temperance is found in company with the moralising Palmer, gravely surveying the destruction they have wrought in the beautiful garden of Acrasia. Throughout the story, too, the temptations met by Sir Guyon are of a more material nature, more of an appeal to the senses, than the subtle enemies, such as Despair and Falsehood, who tempt the Red Cross Knight. A similar difference may be felt in the description of the "Houses" in which the knights take rest at a certain stage of their journey. The ancient House of Holiness, with its serene inhabitants, is a place of rarer spiritual air than the House of Temperance (the human body), "whose goodly workmanship must turn to earth." And the reason for this difference between the two Books is chiefly to be found in the material upon which the poet had to work in each, the different quality of the "virtues" he had to treat—in the one Holiness, in the other Temperance.

G. W. KITCHIN ("Introduction" to *Book II of The Faery Queene*, pp. viii-ix). We have already noticed how the episode of Mordant and Amavia, with their bloody-handed babe, sets the action of the story into its right course. They save us from forgetting that all the struggles of the earlier Books are only preparatory to the main issue yet to come. It seems that Spenser originally intended to have given this key-note even earlier; for in the Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh he describes the Palmer as coming in (at the very outset) to the Queen's presence, bearing the babe in his arms, and seeking redress for him; he goes on to say that the task

was assigned to Sir Guyon, who went forth at once to fulfil it. But the poet has happily deviated from his plan: otherwise we must have waited till the never-written Twelfth Book for the history of the babe and the grievance against Acrasia. The hero of the Book is drawn as an honest, manly gentleman, tried as man is, but (fortified by the wise counsels of his calmer comrade) finally victorious over all temptations. And just as the episode of the bloody-handed babe brings before us the evil to be overcome, so does the Castle of Medina, in the second Canto, lay out the general principle which is to run through all morality, the Aristotelian principle that Virtue lies in the mean between the extremes of excess and defect. Yet even here the poet deviates from the philosopher. His "defect," the frowning Elissa, is not merely too little of the quality of which the "excess," the gay Perissa, is too much; but each of them is a definite and independent obliquity. The one is too fond of pleasure; the other is too morose and gloomy. The knight, devoting himself to moderation, will be called on to contend now against the one, now against the other; for Spenser tacitly divides the moral trials of the knight into those of pleasure and those of pain; those of anger and spite, and those of idleness and license. The earlier Cantos deal with painful struggles against the passions of wrath and malignity, the latter ones with the passions of desire. We may say, in passing, that the episode of Braggadocchio and Trompart, in the third Canto, is intended both to be quasi-comic, as a foil to the grave nobleness of the hero, and also to complete the general treatment of the subject by adding a picture of cowardice and low knavery. It would have been impossible to have subjected Sir Guyon himself to temptation to that moral deficiency, the merest suspicion of which would have damaged the dignity of the knightly character. Braggadocchio is, therefore, drawn and left alone, after being contrasted with the splendid vision of the Virgin Queen.

The serious business of the Book begins with the fourth Canto. There Guyon encounters and overcomes Fury and the hag Occasion; and we have in the episode of Phedon a pleasing if not original illustration of the evils against which the knight is now struggling—the evils of unbridled anger and revenge. The Book continues in the same strain: to Fury and Occasion succeed the varlet Strife and the fiery Pyrocles. But in the sixth Canto the transition to the other series of temptations begins in the introduction of Phaedria, the spirit of idleness. The Knight, after these toilsome struggles, falls into her hands, and is parted from the wise Palmer. This incident relieves the action, and also prepares the way for what is to come. The loose merriment of Phaedria, the love-song in praise of idleness, the floating island, the idle lake, the little gliding skippet,—all foreshadow the yet more soft and alluring beauties of the Bower of Bliss.

With the sight of the agony and burning wounds of Pyrocles, the utter misery and pain of ungoverned wrath, this division of the Book comes to an end.

Thus far Passion (*τὸ θυμικόν*); now Desire (*τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν*). And first the temptations of wealth and ambition in Mammon's Cave, overcome by Guyon, but with so much stress on him that he lies senseless and as dead on his return to the upper air. In this condition he is attacked by the fiery brothers, Cymocles and Pyrocles, and would have perished had not Prince Arthur appeared to rescue him and to overthrow them finally.

Then we have the Castle of the Soul, and the venomous assaults of its myriad foes, the twelve troops of temptation—five attacking the five senses, and seven representing the seven deadly sins—led by their gaunt captain Maleger. The curious and very dull episode of the British annals delays the action through a long Canto, and mars its unity and forward movement. But in the last two Cantos the struggle draws to its end. Arthur delivers the beleaguered soul, destroying the devilish captain and scattering the villains away; and Guyon, passing undismayed through many marvellous risks, reaches at last his goal the Bower of Bliss, and (thanks to a power guiding him stronger than himself) resists all the most subtle temptations of the flesh, and destroys for ever the charmed domains of luxury and intemperance.

Thus in Mammon's Cave, the World is overcome; in the person of Maleger, Arthur resists the Devil; in Acrasia's bower, Guyon wrestles with the flesh, and prevails against it. So the three great enemies are smitten down, and the task is done.

If the First Book drew the portrait of the English Christian, this Book may be said to draw that of the English gentleman, as Spenser conceived it. He says as much in the opening stanzas of the third Canto, where Braggadocchio cannot manage the steed. The thought also runs through the Book: on it are based the principles, the actions, even the temptations of the knight. Spenser draws with a loving hand the picture of a true Englishman doing his duty to God and his Queen, in the noble lines in which Belpheobe covers Braggadocchio with scorn. Those words may be regarded as the utterance of Queen Elizabeth herself, speaking for the re-awakened national life of this country. They are her protest against all lowness of aim, idleness, worldliness, self-indulgence. To be simple, industrious, truthful, pure—this is the ideal set before the Englishman, this is the moral teaching of the Book.

HERBERT E. GREENE ("The Allegory as Employed by Spenser, Bunyan, and Swift," pp. 184-5). It will be noticed how small a part of the book is allegorical; very little is suppressed. Aside from those characters connected with the House of Alma, the only allegorical character is that of the black palmer, who represents reason or the prudence that advises self-control. Nearly all the allegorical action of the book is that in which he takes part. Thus, when Sir Guyon goes alone with Phaedria (Immodest Mirth) in her boat, while the Palmer is left on the strand, it is clearly taught that when Self-control gives itself up to Idleness under the guidance of Immodest Mirth, Reason is left behind. Another instance of genuine allegory is the fiend that followed Sir Guyon while in the Cave of Mammon; also Sir Guyon's swoon when he came out of the cave. For the most part, however, Sir Guyon is a type; Amavia and Mordant are types; Braggadocchio and Trompart, if they represent the Duke of Anjou and Simier, are historical allegory, otherwise they are personifications. Belpheobe, who represents Queen Elizabeth, is historical allegory. All the other characters are personifications and nothing more; that is to say, they do not partake in any allegorical action, but show forth their nature by consistent action. A comparison, side by side, of the amount of personification and of allegory will show a strikingly large proportion of personification. Allegorical characters; the palmer, Alma, perhaps the babe Ruddymane: historical

allegory; Belpheobe, Braggadochio, Trompart: personifications; Medina, Perissa, Elissa, Braggadochio, Trompart, Furor, Occasion, Atin, Cymochles, Pyrochles, Phaedria, Mammon, Philotime, Maleger, Impotence, Impatience, Acrasia. The attendants in the Cave of Mammon, namely Avarice, Revenge, Despight, Treason, Hate, Gealosity, Feare, Sorrow, Shame, Horror, Richesse, Care, Force, Fraud, Sleepe, Disdain, ought not, perhaps, to be counted to swell the number; without regard to them, it is sufficiently clear that the action of the book is carried on by continued personifications, acting in accordance with their natural characters. Of hidden meaning, very little can be found. I have made similar comparisons for each of the six books, and the results, though differing somewhat in proportion, confirm the result arrived at above.

EDITOR. See the Appendix, "The Virtue of Temperance."

APPENDIX IV

THE VIRTUE OF TEMPERANCE

The long and lively discussion of this subject arises from the phrase in the *Letter of the Authors* (see Book 1, p. 167): "I labour to pourtrait . . . the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised." But it is at once apparent that Spenser's "virtues" are, most of them, by no means identical with those of Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics*. Whether Spenser owes very little to Aristotle (Jusserand), or is closer to the Aristotelian system than at first appears (DeMoss), is a moot question. Of all Spenser's virtues Temperance seems to be the most Aristotelian, as set forth in the allegory of Medina (canto 2). Yet in the book as a whole Spenser's Temperance and Aristotle's show wide variations. Spenser's conception may be Aristotle's to begin with, but it reveals modifications from various traditions. It has been influenced by Spenser's Platonism (Harrison, Winstanley); by mediaeval chivalry (Schofield); by mediaeval Christian ethics and Renaissance exegesis (Jones, Hulbert). Dowden noticed that Spenser's Temperance bore stronger resemblance to Aristotle's Continence than to his Temperance, and that Spenser applied it as Aristotle applies it, to temptations of anger (Pyrochles, etc.), gain (Mammon), ambition (Philotime), and carnal indulgence (Phaedria, Acrasia, etc.)—Harrison, Winstanley, Padelford, M. Y. Hughes, Osgood. Scattered discussions are also to be found in notes in the Commentary from the older editors.

JOHN RUSKIN (*Stones of Venice* 2, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 10. 395-6). In this somewhat vulgar and most frequent conception of this virtue (afterwards continually repeated, as by Sir Joshua in his window at New College), temperance is confused with mere abstinence, the opposite of Gula, or Gluttony; whereas the Greek Temperance, a truly cardinal virtue, is the moderator of all the passions, and so represented by Giotto, who has placed a bridle upon her lips, and a sword in her hand, the hilt of which she is binding to the scabbard. In his system, she is opposed among the vices, not by Gula, or Gluttony, but by Ira, Anger. So also the Temperance of Spenser, or Sir Guyon, but with mingling of much sternness [quotes 2. 1. 5-6].

The temperance of the Greeks, σωφροσύνη, involves the idea of Prudence, and is a most noble virtue, yet properly marked by Plato as inferior to sacred enthusiasm, though necessary for its government. He opposes it, under the name "Mortal Temperance" or "the Temperance which is of men," to divine madness, μανία, or inspiration; but he most justly and nobly expresses the general idea of its opposite under the term ὕβρις, which, in the *Phaedrus*, is divided into various intemperances with respect to various objects, and set forth under the image of a black, vicious, diseased, and furious horse, yoked by the side of Prudence or Wisdom (set forth under the figure of a white horse with a crested and noble head, like that which we have among the Elgin Marbles) to the chariot of the Soul. The system of Aristotle, as above stated, is throughout a mere complicated blunder, supported by sophistry, the laboriously developed mistake of temperance for the

essence of the virtues which it guides. Temperance in the mediaeval systems is generally opposed by Anger, or by Folly, or Gluttony: but her proper opposite is Spenser's Acrasia, the principal enemy of Sir Guyon, at whose gates we find the subordinate vice "Excesse," as the introduction to Intemperance; a graceful and feminine image, necessary to illustrate the more dangerous forms of subtle intemperance, as opposed to the brutal "Gluttony" in the first book. She presses grapes into a cup, because of the words of St. Paul, "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess"; but always delicately [quotes 2. 12. 56].

W. H. SCHOFIELD (*Chivalry in English Literature*, p. 147). Spenser exalts the same knightly qualities as Malory, the same goodly temperance, steadfastness, and golden mean as are lauded in the *Order of Chivalry*. "Chivalry maketh thee to love wisdom," we read in the book just named; and "without temperance a knight may not maintain the order of chivalry, ne may not be in place where virtue dwelleth." By "wisdom's power and temperance's might," wrote Spenser, "the mightiest things enforced be." Wisdom and temperance, however, on Spenser's lips undoubtedly meant more than earlier met the ear. Old times had changed. The order of chivalry was rapidly giving way to what More called the order of the learned.

EDWARD DOWDEN ("Spenser, the Poet and Teacher," pp. 331-3). Man in relation to God being first studied, Spenser then proceeds to consider man in relation, so to speak, to himself; and the subject of the second book is temperance, or, as we might say, self-control. "Incontinence in anger," says Aristotle (*Nic. Eth.*, 7. 5), "is less disgraceful than incontinence in appetite." And Spenser, following Aristotle, deals first with the less depraved form of incontinence. "People are called incontinent," says Aristotle, making a distinction between the scientific and the metaphorical use of the word, "even with respect to honour and gain." Spenser, again following Aristotle, leads his Knight of Temperance into the delve where Mammon lurks, sunning his treasure, and to Pluto's realm, where Queen Philotime, the patroness of worldly honour, as Gloriana is of divine honour, sits enthroned in glistening splendour. From temptations of the pride of the flesh—Phaedria, mere wanton frivolity, a bubble on the Idle Lake, leading on to the enchantress Acrasia, subduer of so many stout hearts. With a tragic incident the second book of the *Faery Queen* opens—an incident which presents in all its breadth the moral theme of the legend. After his first error through anger—being angry, as Aristotle would say, with the wrong person (for he is on the point of setting his lance in rest against his fellow-servant St. George)—Guyon, accompanied by the Palmer, hears the piercing cries of a woman in distress, and discovers the hapless Amavia lying upon the dead body of her husband, and bleeding to death from the stroke of her own hand. It is all the work of Acrasia. Mordant, the dead knight, had been the victim of her sensual snares; through his wife's devotion he had been delivered from them, and restored to his better self; but the witch had pronounced a spell [quotes 1. 55. 4-6]. Coming to a well, Mordant stooped and drank the charm, found its fulfilment, and of a sudden he sank down to die. . . . Mordant, although he has escaped from the garden of Acrasia, still bears the sinful taint in his veins, and he is slain by the sudden shock of purity. So awful is innocence; so sure to work out their mischief, soon or late, are Acrasia's spells. Mordant, the

strong man, lies a ruin of manhood because he could not resist pleasure; his gentle wife perishes because she cannot with womanly fortitude endure pain. Both are the victims of intemperance; both die because they lack that self-control which forms the subject of the entire legend:

The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weake through smart.

Guyon, with such piteous examples in view, must learn to resist alike the temptations of pleasure and of pain.

KATE M. WARREN ("Introduction" to *The Faerie Queene, Book II*, pp. x-xiii) finds Spenser's treatment of Temperance unlike Aristotle's, since it implies restraint only, like Giotto's drawing of Virtue holding a sword bound to its scabbard. The knight of Temperance is Spenser's most colorless hero. The Second Book lacks a heroine. Though Belpheobe enters here, her story really is told not here but in later books. Medina and Alma, though charming, are faint drawings compared with his other women. Book II is pitched lower than Book I.

Spenser's conception of Temperance inspires no such pictures as Una teaching the Satyrs, the true and the false Florimel, Amoret in the lap of Womanhood; it evokes none of his characteristic "playful talk of friends," or "graceful, human love-making"; it stopped him from handling things that he most liked. But he shows the full strength of his imagination in delineating the opponents of Temperance—Mammon's Cave, Phaedria's Isle, the Garden of Acrasia, and Maleger, Furor, etc.

Spenser's conception of Temperance makes Guyon and the Palmer at times inhuman, as in their moralizing over Amavia's death, and their condescension at her burial. The Palmer with Puritan hardness restrains Guyon (5. 24) from rescuing Pyrochles a second time. Though here his allegory is at war with human feeling, yet there are instances of the poet's humanity, as when the varlet Atin is loyal to his master, and Archimago acts with compassion (6. 43-51).

J. S. HARRISON (*Platonism in English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 12-26, in abstract). The Platonic doctrine of the Heavenly Beauty had mingled with Christian teaching in the Christian ideas of the mystical ascent its passions Plato furnished his conception of Temperance "based upon an analysis of the soul sufficiently comprehensive to cover the entire scope of its activities"; of the soul towards heaven. To Christian discipline in the warfare of the soul with in fact, "the necessary condition for the presence of any virtue in the soul." The vitality of this teaching in English poetry is found in the Second Book. Plato divides the soul into the rational and the irrational part; and the irrational part into the irascible and the appetitive instinct (*Republic* 9. 580-1). Cantos 1-6 show Guyon in conflict with his irascible instinct; cantos 7-12 show him in conflict with his appetitive instinct; and in both it is his rational part or reason which saves him. "And would you not say," asks Socrates, "that he is temperate who has these same elements in friendly harmony, in whom the one ruling principle of reason, and the two subject ones of spirit and desire are equally agreed that reason ought to rule, and do not rebel?" (*Republic* 4. 442).

Guyon's right reason thrice rules his angry impulse. The first instance is when he restrains his righteous indignation against the falsely slandered Red Cross

Knight (1. 10-31). The second instance is his struggle with Furor and Occasion (4. 3-36). The third instance is a trial of his reason by a "species of wrath so wilfully furious that it runs to seek an occasion for a quarrel." Pyrochles is its representative.

Likewise Guyon endures three trials of his reason in conflict with his appetite. The first is frivolous Phaedria's attempt to win him from warlike enterprise to delights of sense, but he "was wise, and warie of her will" (canto 6). The second is the temptation to covetousness (Mammon) and gluttony in Proserpina's garden (canto 7), but he "was warie wise in all his way." The third is Acrasia and the Bower of Bliss together with the voyage thither. Again and again the Palmer (Reason) restrains him (st. 28-9, 34, 69). At length he has become strong enough by overcoming temptation to destroy the Bower and so accomplish his quest.

The story of Medina, Elissa, and Perissa (2.13 ff.) is an allegory of Aristotle's doctrine of temperance as a mean between the defect and excess of pleasure (*Nir. Ethics* 3. 10). Yet even this is touched with Platonism; the three daughters of one sire (the soul) are reason (Medina), wrath or spirit (Elissa), and sensual desire (Perissa). So too are their lovers: Hudibras, rash and foolhardy (2. 17), is the irascible impulse; Sansloy, given "to all lawlesse lust" (2. 18), figures the appetitive impulse.

Temperance is not constituted, however, by this struggle between the rational principle and irrational elements in the soul. It is the harmony and order resultant in the soul after reason has established rule over the disturbing passions, and is conceived by Plato as the very health of the soul. "'Healthy,' as I conceive," says Socrates, "is the name which is given to the regular order of the body, whence comes health and every other bodily excellence. . . . And 'lawful' and 'law' are the names which are given to the regular order and action of the soul, and these make men lawful and orderly: and so we have temperance and justice" (*Gorgias* 504). Such phrases as "goodly governaunce" (1. 29. 8), "faire governaunce" (1. 54. 6) reflect this idea as does the knight's demure and comely bearing (1. 5-7, 14, 34).

LILIAN WINSTANLEY ("Introduction" to ed. of Book II, pp. liv-lxxii, condensed). Spenser's Temperance is more Platonic than Aristotelian. Aristotle applies the term more to pleasures of the body, but Plato's Temperance is "a true balance and poise of the whole nature, moderation in all things, in the passions of the mind and the desires of the heart, no less than in the pleasures of the body." It includes both Aristotle's Temperance and his Continence. Spenser has added the courage (*ἀνδρεία*) necessary for temperance (*Protagoras*), and the mean between cowardice and recklessness.

Aristotle's theory of virtue as a mean between two extremes "is not really inspiring," and in Spenser's allegory is "somewhat lacking in charm."

In canto 2 Medina seems to include Aristotle's virtue of Gentleness. Of this there are four opposites—Irascibility, represented by Sansloy (st. 18); Quick Temper, represented by Perissa (st. 38); Sullenness by Elissa (st. 35), and Sternness by Sir Hudibras (st. 17, 37).

The distinction between Moral Purpose and Passion (*Eth.* 3. 4) is exemplified by the conflict between Guyon and Pyrochles (see 5. 16).

Spenser's Courage, as embodied in Guyon, though more Platonic than Aristotelian, nevertheless stands like Aristotle's mean between the two extremes, Foolhardiness, represented jointly by Pyrochles and Cymochles, and Cowardice in the person of Braggadocchio.

But Spenser really is following Aristotle's description of Continence (*Eth.* 7. 1-11) rather than his Temperance (*Eth.* 3. 13). Canto 1 gives the general subject in the story of Mortdant, victim of Acrasia (Incontinence); canto 2 sets forth the theory of the mean and extremes; canto 3 shows Courage which is the foundation of Temperance; cantos 4-6 exhibit Guyon struggling with Incontinence in various forms of anger—Phedon, Furor, Occasion, Pyrochles; canto 7 recounts how Guyon proved himself continent when tempted by Mammon (god of wealth and worldliness, 7. 8, 11) and Philotime. "The whole conception of Mammon is, however, beyond comparison greater than anything suggested by Aristotle; it is really drawn by Spenser, like the material of his First Book, from scholastic theology." The daughter Philotime is Aristotelian—*φιλοτιμία*.

In the House of Alma the maiden Shamefastnesse is Aristotle's *αἰδώς*, appropriate as he says to youth alone (*Eth.* 4. 15; *F. Q.* 2. 9. 40-1).

Aristotle declares (*Eth.* 7. 1) that the opposites of vice, incontinence (*ἀκρασία*), and brutality or bestiality are respectively virtue, continence, and divine virtue. Thus Maleger, deriving strength from brute earth, in his conflict with Arthur represents brutality in conflict with divine virtue.

But Guyon's chief triumph is over Acrasia, incontinence in bodily lust. An incontinent person, says Aristotle, is like one asleep or mad or intoxicated. His recovery is like becoming sober or waking up (*Eth.* 7. 5). So Acrasia makes her lovers "drunken mad" with her witchery (12. 52); and her victim Verdant, sunk in drunken slumber by her enchantments, awakes in his right mind when Guyon triumphs.

Lastly Arthur embodies certain of the qualities of Aristotle's "high-minded" man (*Eth.* 4. 7-8). The root of High-mindedness or Magnanimity or Magnificence in Aristotle is an assured, deep-seated sense of distinction. "A high-minded person is one who regards himself as worthy of high things, and who is worthy of them: he does not estimate his own desert either too much or too little, the thing for which he cares most is honour. The high-minded man as being worthy of the highest things, must be in the highest degree good, for it is the crown of all the virtues. The gifts of fortune contribute to high-mindedness because wealth and political power help a man to honour. All this is carefully represented in Spenser's character of Arthur: he is of the noblest possible descent, he is great and esteems himself highly but not too highly. Among the characteristics of high-mindedness which Aristotle gives are: (1) to shrink from encountering small dangers but to be ready to encounter great dangers; (2) to be fond of conferring benefits but ashamed of receiving them; . . . (6) to be free from self-assertion; (7) to avoid fussiness or hurry; (8) to act seldom but effectively; . . . (12) to be little given to admiration; (13) not to bear grudges; . . . (16) to prefer nobleness to profit." Similar is Arthur—conferring benefits, not self-assertive, dignified, acting seldom but effectively and at the crucial moment, bearing no grudges, and preferring nobleness to profit. But Arthur differs from Aristotle's high-minded man in certain particulars. The Greek paragon is justified in his contempt for inferiors,

is ashamed of receiving benefits, and little given to admiration. Arthur is courteous to everyone, is properly humble, and rejoices in the virtues and graces of others.

J. J. JUSSERAND ("Spenser's 'Twelve Private Morall Vertues as Aristotle Hath Devised,'" pp. 4, 9). Temperance remains, and is the only one of Spenser's six virtues truly and plainly corresponding to one of Aristotle's. . . .

That Spenser knew something of Aristotle, and that some of the maxims and ideas of the great philosopher remained in his mind, cannot be doubted. Either through direct or indirect borrowings, he took from him his notion of the middle or virtuous state, standing between two faulty extremes. He did not try, as Aristotle did, to apply this theory to every virtue; it is only incidentally dwelt upon, forming the episode of Guyon's visit to Medina (canto 2).

WILLIAM F. DEMOSS ("Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues 'According to Aristotle,'" pp. 29, 35-6, 249-252) maintains that throughout the *Faerie Queene* Spenser keeps his promise to follow Aristotle much more faithfully than Jusserand has contended. Especially is this true of cantos 1 and 2 of Book 2, which are by no means so incidental and negligible as Jusserand has asserted them to be.

Even Jusserand admits that Spenser's Temperance "truly and plainly corresponds" to one of Aristotle's virtues. Indeed the Second Book draws upon Aristotle's outline of temperance in *Ethics* 2. 7, and his fuller discussion in 3. 13-5, and throughout Book 7.

It is Spenser's well-known practice to develop his titular virtues "by showing their opposites and by presenting various phases of the virtue and its opposites," and "to make any given virtue all-inclusive. From the book of any one of Spenser's virtues a good case could be made out for all the virtues." In the case of Temperance he treats the same phases of the matter as Aristotle. This appears in his development throughout the Second Book of Aristotle's Continence with respect to anger, wealth, ambition, and carnal lust.

Especially in canto 1, in the story of Mordant and Amavia, does Spenser develop Aristotle's saying that Temperance is a mean state in respect to the extremes of pleasures and pains, though less of pains than of pleasures (*Eth.* 2. 7). And he also shows Aristotle's idea that suicide is effeminate in the death of Amavia. Aristotle opposes steadfastness to effeminacy (*Eth.* 7. 7): "If a person gives way where people generally resist and are capable of resisting, he deserves to be called effeminate. . . . It is only unpardonable where a person is mastered by things against which most people succeed in holding out, and is impotent to struggle against them." And again, "It is people of a quick and atrabilious temper whose incontinence is particularly apt to take the form of impetuosity; for the rapidity or the violence of their feeling prevents them from waiting for the guidance of reason." And again (3. 11) he says: "It is effeminacy to fly from troubles, nor does the suicide face death because it is noble, but because it is a refuge from evil." These passages, with some of their terms, are reflected in stanzas 57-8 of canto 1. The incident of Mordant and Amavia is by no means episodic, for it is their fate springing from the enchantments of Acrasia which causes Guyon to undertake his great quest.

Canto 2 is a particular elaboration of Aristotle's mean in regard to Temperance in the strict sense. Especially compare the Medina episode with *Eth.* 2. 7; 3. 11; 7. 17.

But the whole book is a study of the mean, and canto 12 is a series of such studies. Compare 11. 1-2 where the poet "lays down the general principle that Reason is the determiner of the mean in regard to Temperance." The Palmer, as an embodiment of Reason, is suggested by Aristotle's remark: "As a child ought to live according to the direction of his tutor (παιδαγωγός), so ought the concupiscent element in man to live according to the reason" (*Eth.* 3. 15). Guyon is the Palmer's "pupill" (2. 8. 7. 5). The same allegory is implied at 2. 1. 34; 2. 4. 2; 2. 12. 38.

FREDERICK M. PADEFORD ("The Virtue of Temperance in the *Faerie Queene*") agrees with DeMoss that "not only did Spenser derive his moral virtues from Aristotle, as he himself asserted, but like Aristotle he developed or defined each virtue by presenting it as the mean between two contrasted extremes, and by contrasting it with its opposite. It is the aim of the present study to supplement Professor DeMoss's paper by making, in the light of Aristotle's discussion of the virtues, a detailed analysis of the Legend of Sir Guyon."

Spenser's Temperance is really Aristotle's Continence, as already noted, contrasted with Temperance (σωφροσύνη) in the *Ethics* 7. Padelford says: "Whereas the temperate man is equable by nature so that he does not experience strong desires, the continent man is of a more energetic nature and therefore does experience such desires, yet governs them according to the dictates of reason. Again, whereas the licentious man, lacking in both moral and physical fibre, acts on the moral hypothesis that he ought always to pursue the pleasure of the moment, the incontinent man recognizes that he ought not to pursue pleasure immoderately, but pursues it nevertheless. The continent man thus possesses a more ardent and positive nature than the temperate man; he is subject to strong impulses and aspirations, and holds himself in control only by making reason the guide of life.

"Again, the temperate man is hardly susceptible of angry passions, but not so the continent man, for he may well experience anger, though he will feel just the right degree and for the right cause and at the right time. Finally, the temperate man is not sufficiently ardent to give himself to the pursuit of victory, honor, wealth, and the like, but the continent man pursues these aims with enthusiasm, and is only saved from the excesses of ambition and of greed by reason.

"Aristotle's analysis of the sphere and kinds of continence is briefly as follows: Pleasures and pains are the sphere in which continence and incontinence are displayed. These pleasures may be physical, residing in the processes of nutrition and of sexual love, or they may be of the spirit, the desire for victory, honor, or wealth. The excessive pursuit of the pleasures of the first class results in gluttony and lust; of the pleasures of the second class, in miserly greed and overweening ambition. The pains are those which attend excessive anger."

The Second Book follows Guyon in his proof of his continence in just these particulars which Aristotle specifies. "The book resembles a musical composition in the interweaving and reiteration of these dominant themes, and closes with a brilliant *stretto*, in which they are picturesquely reviewed in rapid sequence."

In the first incident Holiness and Temperance are brought into accord. To the Puritan zeal Spenser opposes "the Hellenic theory that all things should be done in moderation, and that life should result in an harmonious development of

many powers. When, despite the efforts of Archimago to create enmity between them, Sir Guyon and the Red Cross Knight recognize one another and exchange greetings, the Reformation and the Renaissance—in so far as the Renaissance was a reacceptance of Greek philosophy—are wedded in the poet's thought. . . .

"In the episode of Mordant and Amavia . . . incontinent sexual desire and incontinent grief, or incontinence in pleasure and incontinence in pain, are contrasted." Medina and her sisters represent the mean and the extremes in courtesy and also in physical continence. Sansloy, the licentious, is the counterpart of Perissa, and Hudibras, the mate of Elissa, is "a surly malcontent, like his Shakespearean counterpart, Malvolio, a Puritan sketch." Both knights are incontinent in the matter of courage, foolhardy and overconfident (st. 17, 18).

"In the third canto Spenser introduces two incomparable grotesques, Braggadochio and Trompart, to illustrate conceit and meanmindedness, those qualities which Aristotle contrasts with highmindedness, the noblest of the virtues. . . . Thus conceited folk are characterised as follows: 'Conceited people, on the other hand, are foolish and ignorant of themselves, and make themselves conspicuous by being so; for they try to obtain positions of honor under an impression of their own deserts, and then if they obtain them, prove failures. They get themselves up in fine dresses, and pose for effect, and so on, and wish their good fortune to be known to all the world, and talk about themselves, as if that were the road to honor' (*Eth.* 4. 9). . . .

"Spenser certainly developed the character of Braggadochio with an open copy of the *Ethics* before him. Thus Aristotle says: 'It would be wholly inconsistent with the character of the highminded man to run away in hot haste, or to commit a crime.'" So Braggadochio flees from Archimago and hides from Belpheobe; he steals Guyon's horse, and would ravish Belpheobe. The highminded man despises ordinary honors, and will not be excessively depressed or elated by bad or good fortune. Braggadochio is foolishly elated at Trompart's cringing, and his heart swells in jollity to get Guyon's horse, but is crestfallen at the turn of his luck. He is at all points in contrast with the highminded man, who is ready to encounter great danger for honor's sake, who will not talk much about himself, who is slow of movement and deep of voice. Braggadochio seeks cheap conquest, brags, is undignified, and roars.

Cantos 4-12 are given essentially the same interpretation as by Dowden and Winstanley. They deal with continence and incontinence in anger, sensuality, gain, honor, and again sensuality.

The episodes of the last canto are commonly thought to be loosely connected with the main theme, and to follow no well defined order of arrangement. "As a matter of fact, Spenser has ordered his episodes with great care, aiming to give a spectacular review of all the various kinds of incontinence. Thus it is not accident but design that determines the particular places at which the Wandering Islands and the Mermaids, for example, shall appear in the narrative. If the canto presents Gothic richness, it yet deliberately follows the principles of design. The first five encounters, the Gulfe of Greedinesse, the Rocke of Vile Reproach, the Wandering Islands, the Quicksand of Unthriftyhed and the Whirlpool of Decay, all variously illustrate incontinence in the pursuit of wealth or of ambition; the next four, the Deformed Monsters who lash the sea into a fury, the Pitiful Maiden,

the Mermaids, and the Harmefull Fowles met in the Fog, all illustrate incontinence in passion; and the encounters in the Isle of Bliss itself, illustrate incontinence in the appetites, that is, gluttony and lust."

The Gulf and the Rock are opposed to each other as the extremes of miserliness and prodigality, and a man must steer a mean and straight course between. Their obverse is the Quicksand, symbol of the fate of one prodigal of material interests, and the Whirlpool, symbol of the doom of the slave of such interests. Thus the two pairs say: "In avoiding avarice, beware of thriftlessness; in avoiding thriftlessness, beware of avarice." Between the two pairs are the Wandering Islands, suggesting lack of purpose, and a warning against the paired quartet of failings on either hand. The ugly monsters, symbolizing wrath, are dispersed by the Palmer (Reason). In contrast are the maiden and the Mermaids, representing effeminacy. Then come the loathsome birds flitting in the fog, which may quite as well represent envy as anger. Such is the smoke in Dante (*Purg.* 16). "The fluttering and chattering of the birds, as well as the beating of their evil wings, is peculiarly apposite to envy."

The concluding group of episodes concerns the sins of the flesh, with the beasts standing for both gluttony and lust, "hungers poynt or Venus sting" (12. 39. 3), the bowl offered by Genius and the cup by the woman being a twofold illustration of gluttony, and the maidens in the fountain and Acrasia wooing Verdant being a twofold illustration of lust. Gryll, the one beast who resents restoration to human form, is a swinish symbol of Aristotle's Brutishness, which is lower than Incontinence.

"Upon a foundation of severely classical philosophy this English Renaissance poet rears an ornate Gothic structure, charmingly rich and varied. One sees herein the free fusion of two very noble traditions."

CHARLES G. OSGOOD ("Comments on the Moral Allegory of the *Faerie Queene*," pp. 502-3). Professor Padelford has made clear that Spenser is really discussing not Temperance, but Aristotle's Continence. The poet's reasons for shifting the term will perhaps be obvious on a moment's reflection. Aristotelian Temperance is static; it is a moral state in which, by practice, adjustment, and habit, Reason has gained absolute and unexceptional control over the emotions. But Continence, for artistic purposes, is more satisfactory. Continence involves a struggle with the emotions, a psychomachia, always more interesting and instructive than Temperance, and it was Spenser's Horatian object to make his poem both. But why, then, did he not call the Book "Of Continence," not "Of Temperance"? Possibly because the term Temperance was more generally familiar to his readers; it still wore the high dignity and import of one of the four Cardinal Virtues; besides, Continence would suggest to the ordinary reader only carnal appetite, whereas Spenser, like Aristotle, would apply it to other moral matters.

The hint, if Spenser needed one, for the substitution of Continence for Temperance in his story, he may have caught from the discussion of virtuous and gentle discipline in the Fourth Book of *The Courtier*. Lord Julian interrupts Lord Octavian: "If I have well understood, you have saide that Continencie is an unperfect vertue, because it hath in it part of affection [passion]: and me seemeth that the vertue (where there is in our mind a variance between reason and greedie desire)

which fighteth and giveth the victory to reason [i. e., Contenance], ought to be reckoned more perfect, than that which overcommeth, having neither greedie desire nor any affection to withstand it" (p. 270, Everyman ed.). The Lord Octavian answered: "You have judged aright. And therefore I say unto you, that continencie may be compared to a Captaine that fighteth manly, and though his enemies bee strong and well appointed, yet giveth he them the overthrow, but for all that not without much ado and danger. But temperance free from all disquieting, is like the Captaine that without resistance overcometh and raigneth. And having in the mind where she is, not onely aswaged, but cleane quenched the fire of greedy desire, even as a good prince in civil warre dispatcheth the seditious inward enimies, and giveth the scepter and whole rule to reason." Perhaps the nautical allegory of Canto 12 may have been first prompted by Bembo's earlier remark: "Finally reason overcome by greedy desire, farre the mightier, is cleane without succour, like a ship, that for a time defendeth her selfe from the tempestuous sea-stormes, at the end beaten with the too raging violence of windes, her gables and tacklings broken, yeeldeth up to be driven at the will of fortune, without occupying helme or any manner helpe of Pilot for her safegarde" (p. 269).

H. S. V. JONES ("The *Faerie Queene* and the Mediaeval Aristotelian Tradition," pp. 283-297). In the ethical system of the *Faerie Queene*, while critics and commentators recognize an interestingly exact knowledge of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, they seem sometimes to have forgotten that we have here to do with Aristotle not primarily as he was known in ancient Athens but rather as he had come to be in the cloisters and schools of the Middle Ages. . . .

It is inconceivable that our poet in Christianizing his Aristotle or in Aristotelianizing his Christianity should have been uninfluenced by the tradition of Christian Aristotelianism that carried over from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. . . . At the end of a study [of this tradition leading up to the *Faerie Queene*] it should be clear that Spenser's ethics make in the period of the Renaissance a close contact with a line of ethical thought that, beginning with Aristotle and passing through the system of St. Thomas Aquinas, brings up at the Christian philosophy of the Protestant Melancthon.

[Mr. Jones then shows the gradual mingling of the religious with the ethical consideration, starting from *Nic. Eth.* 10. 10, continued in the later *Eudemian Ethics* and the *Magna Moralia*, and finding its embodiment in the Red Cross Knight. See Book I, pp. 445-8.] The fellowship of the Red Cross Knight and Sir Guyon . . . symbolizes the kinship of reason and religion which is at the basis of both scholasticism and Spenser's ethical philosophy. . . .

The two main currents of ethical thought in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are respectively stoic and peripatetic. The former arising in the Ciceronian *De Officiis* is best represented in mediaeval literature by the *De Officiis Ministrorum* of Ambrose. The second derives from Aristotle, with Thomas Aquinas and Melancthon as its chief expositors for Catholic and Protestant Europe respectively. [For the documentary history of the *Ethics* in the Middle Ages, Mr. Jones cites C. Marchesi, *L'Etica Nicomachea nella Tradizione Latina Medievale*, Messina, 1904. Thomas Aquinas' distinction between the contemplative and the active life finds its origin in Aristotle, and its exemplification in the Red Cross Knight. He accommodates Aristotelian ethics to the requirements of Christian

thought chiefly in his *Summa contra Gentiles*, Part 3, and the *Summa Theologica*, Part 2. Melancthon, in his *Enarrationes* on the *Ethics* shows the common ground between the Ten Commandments and the *Ethics*. Thus "Thou shalt not commit adultery" becomes a positive precept of continence or chastity. But beyond this his treatise seems to have no relation to Book 2 at least.]

VIOLA B. HULBERT ("A Possible Christian Source for Spenser's Temperance," in abstract). [In brief this study traces the modification of Aristotle's conception of Temperance through later pagan writers, patristic and mediaeval writers, down to the Elizabethan Renaissance. "To be sure the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean and of reason as the determiner of the mean are stressed in the second book of the *Faerie Queene*, but it is equally true that these concepts occupy a like place in the popular treatment of temperance from the time of the Christian fathers on; true, also, that the church fathers and their successors, like Spenser, assign temperance a domain beyond sensual pleasures." The study then proceeds, with abundant quotation, from specimens of these writers, to show that Spenser's conception of Temperance is quite comparable to theirs, especially in three main respects: he associates Reason with Temperance; he applies to it the doctrine of the mean; Temperance in the church fathers as in Spenser is wide enough to cover all phases of conduct. This popular handling of Temperance as an inclusive virtue appears in many vernacular texts as well as in the more learned. It is especially embodied in a tract on the *Nicomachean Ethics* by Edward Brerewood, of Oxford, 1586, which may well represent the teaching on the subject to which Spenser listened during his Cambridge days. The study concludes with a detailed indication of evidence in the various cantos of Book 2, showing the modification of Spenser's Temperance according to the tradition of Aristotle's ethical teaching down to Spenser's time.]

Spenser's treatment of temperance is comparable to the discussions I have previously considered.

Bearing these discussions of temperance in mind, let us compare them with Spenser's analysis of temperance in Book II. In the first canto of Book II, we have Amavia overcome by grief committing suicide. Cicero warns his readers in his discussion of temperance in *De Officiis* to guard against depression, and Seneca stresses firmness in adversity. Ambrose and Alcuin connect "tristitia" with intemperance. Pomerius says that one of the functions of temperance is that of tempering moods; Isidore connects tranquillity of mind with the virtue, and other writers make a similar connection. Usually, to be sure, temperance as one of the cardinal virtues helps us in prosperity; it is fortitude which guards us in adversity. But this distinction does not always hold, as the authors mentioned in the preceding sections show. A vernacular tract, the *Sawles Warde*, moreover, states not only that the Christian temperance controls pleasure as well as grief but also that mankind has more difficulty in observing temperance in pleasures than in sorrows:

"For it behooves me," quoth Moderation, "both for the severity of harm and for lack of bliss, to have dread and care (sorrow); for many, on account of the too great hardship of woe that they suffer, forget our Lord, and nevertheless more, through softness (prosperity) and the lusts of the flesh, become oft-times reckless. Between hard and soft—between woe of this world and too much joy—between

much and little, in every earthly thing, the middle way is the golden (one)." In passing it is interesting to note that the teaching of this quotation that it is more difficult to observe moderation in pleasure than in pain, is similar to that of the opening lines of canto 6:

A harder lesson to learne continence
In joyous pleasure then in grievous paine.

On the other hand, as both Miss Winstanley and Dean Kitchin have pointed out, Spenser in these lines contradicts the dictum of Aristotle, who says that it is more difficult to sustain hardship than to abstain from things pleasurable.

But let us return to canto 2. In it we find Medina, Elissa, Perissa. . . . To explain these characters Miss Winstanley tortuously brings in various Aristotelian extremes. If one allows temperance to be drawn from Christian ethics, one can explain them without going beyond the province of temperance. Aquinas among others has temperance govern gluttony, lust, cruelty, immoderate play and mirth, immodesty in dress and deportment, arrogance and pride.

In the third canto Braggadochio is like the "miles gloriosus" mentioned by Cicero in connection with intemperance. Ambrose, Isidore, Alanus de Insulis, Hildebertus also caution us to be humble if we would be temperate. Trompart, Braggadochio's varlet, represents deceit and flattery. Seneca likewise warns us against flattery, Alanus de Insulis against obsequiousness. The boasting of Braggadochio and the lying of Trompart represent of course the necessity of bridling one's tongue by temperance. Cicero, Seneca, Pomerius, Hildebertus, Alanus de Insulis, Aquinas mention this aspect of temperance; many of the writers in the vernacular whom I have cited do likewise. Thus Braggadochio and Trompart can be explained without going beyond the Christian temperance; on the other hand, one cannot connect them with the Aristotelian concept but is forced to go to the extremes of other Aristotelian virtues to find their counterparts.

The fourth and fifth cantos have to do with different aspects of anger. Cicero discusses control of anger under "clementia," and as a subdivision of "clementia" it appears in the numerous Christian discussions of temperance. In the sixth canto Phaedria, floating on the Idle Lake, comes under the Christian intemperance as one who has violated "modestia." Cicero warns us against immoderate indulgence in amusements and jesting; Seneca cautions us "to be tractable but not fickle," to laugh without uproariousness. Ambrose, of course, follows Cicero. Pomerius and Macrobius speak of the necessity of decorum in speech and laughter. Alcuin connects sloth with intemperance. Ratherius warns us against trying to avoid things which ought to be done and so serving the vice of sloth. Again, then, one can find an explanation of Phaedria in the Christian temperance, whereas one has to go outside the Aristotelian concept to explain her presence in Book II.

In the seventh canto, Guyon is tempted with various aspects of avarice and ambition. But spurning such temptations, Guyon replies (st. 39):

All that I need I have; what needeth mee,
To covet more than I have cause to use?

One is reminded of the Senecan dictum: "Consider how much nature needs and not what desire craves." Peter Cantor, in quoting the passage "*radix omnium malorum est cupiditas*," defines "*cupiditas*" "*quae est plus habendi quidlibet quam*

satis est." Through "cupiditatem" ("potestatem et amorem pecuniae"), says Peter Cantor, the Devil tempts mankind. Ambrose lists avarice and ambition as passions which temperance must control. St. Augustine definitely affixes to temperance the function of keeping the soul free from love of worldly things and desire of honor. Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus under continence touch upon avarice. Alanus de Insulis states that a temperate man should love virtue and good fame and reject empty glory and vain honors. Aquinas connects desire of riches and worldly glory with intemperance.

In canto nine Guyon meets in Alma's "goodly parlour" a fair damsel, modest in deportment and so ill at ease in his presence that Guyon inquires of his hostess as to her identity. Alma replies (st. 43):

. Why wonder yee,
Faire sir, at that, which ye so much embrace?
She is the fountaine of your modestee,
You shamefast are, but Shamefastnesse itselfe is shee.

It is to be remembered that Aquinas makes "verecundia" one of the integral parts of temperance; La Primaudaye gives a whole chapter to this connection in his discussion of temperance.

Acrasia in her Bower of Bliss in the last canto is the Christian incontinence in its strictest sense, for Aquinas (*Secunda Secundae, Pat. Lat. Series Secunda, Quaestio clv, Articulus 1, Col. 1095*) remarks "Quidam enim continentiam nominant per quam aliquis ab omni delectatione venerea abstinet." In the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* under "temperance," we read that in early Christian usage continence was identical with sexual purity. Consequently when Spenser understands by Incontinence (Acrasia), sexual impurity, he is following Christian ethics. Many Christian writers, following Cicero, touch upon lust under continence, one of the divisions of temperance. It is also to be noted that Hildebertus pointed out that delicate luxuries and exotic odors bring about a temperate man's downfall and that Alanus de Insulis states that sweet smells and seductive sounds bring the man with undisciplined senses under the power of Venus and Dionysus—into The Bower of Bliss.

If we compare Book II of the *Faerie Queene* with the Christian treatments of temperance, we see that they agree in nice points. In the Christian treatments of temperance the mean and reason are emphasized just as they are in the *Faerie Queene*, whereas in the *Nicomachean Ethics* these aspects are no more stressed in temperance than in the other virtues. The figures of Medina, Elissa and Perissa with Sans-loy and Hudibras are not the means and extremes of the Aristotelian temperance. Even if the Aristotelian temperance is made to include the Aristotelian continence, it is still too narrow to cover the characteristics of these figures. The meeting of Guyon with Shamefastnesse gains meaning when one considers that "verecundia" is an integral part of temperance in Christian ethics. The episode with Phaedria is in keeping with the pitfalls which intemperance, according to Christian teachings, prepares for the unwary; Braggadochio and Trompart can be explained without going beyond the bounds of Christian temperance whereas, if one insists upon an Aristotelian source for them, one has to go to vices other than those connected with the Aristotelian temperance. Incontinence, Acrasia, and Chastity, Belphoebe, are parts of the Christian temperance.

EDITOR. See Appendices III and X.

APPENDIX V

SPENSER AND MILTON

EDWIN GREENLAW ("A Better Teacher than Aquinas," pp. 202-210). Classical elements in Spenser's exposition of the virtue of Temperance are as follows: Plato divides the soul into three principles, one rational, and two irrational. The irrational principles are anger or spirit (*θυμός*), and sensuality. Temperance, represented by Guyon, is the harmony resulting when the rational spirit rules. Fundamentally, Guyon's story is an exposition of the Platonic ideal, but certain Aristotelian elements are present, manifested in part through the systematic way in which the whole content is presented; in part through specific incidents, such as the story of Perissa, Medina, and Elissa (the golden mean), and in part through the use of figures and incidents representing "excess," such as Philotime (*φιλοτιμία*) or Ambition in the unfavorable sense, and Acrasia (*ἀκρασία*) or Incontinence. But this material is presented in a way highly original with Spenser, not merely because the Legend of Guyon is an admirable example of philosophy made concrete through story, which as we have seen expresses Spenser's and Milton's fundamental conception of the province of poetry, but also because the method of Spenser's allegory is unique in a sense better understood by Milton than by some of Spenser's modern interpreters.

In the first place, the apparently episodic structure of one of the books of the *Faerie Queene* is organic, not a matter of chance. The seemingly unrelated Episodes in the first six cantos of Book II are *exempla* illustrating the evil effects of anger, or spirit in the unfavorable sense. Amavia, Pyrocles and Cymocles, Furor, etc., illustrate this method admirably. Besides this *exemplum* method we have, in this part of the book, the formal Aristotelian allegory of Perissa, Medina, and Elissa. In the last six cantos the stories of Maleger, Acrasia, etc., illustrate the evils of sensuality, while the story of Alma, once more scholastic allegory, presents the philosophic content in somewhat different form: Alma represents the soul in perfect command of the body. This symmetry of structure is further marked by the fact that the two great "adventures" in this book as well as in Book I represent climaxes in the development of the hero, who is not an abstraction, but a man pre-eminent for the virtue which is being expounded. Spenser here combines, in each of his great heroes, the method of characterization found in the medieval romances with his formal allegory. Just as Gawain is the type of courtesy in innumerable romances of the Arthurian cycle, so Redcrosse is a man *striving* for Holiness or pre-eminent for Holiness, Guyon for Temperance, Artegall for Justice, etc. What is even more interesting is the function of the companions of these heroes. The conventional interpretation of the relation of Una, the Palmer, and Talus to the knights whom they accompany is, I believe, incorrect. These attendants are the *abstractions*: Una is Holiness, the Palmer is Temperance, Talus is Justice, in the abstract, never tempted, never at fault, always true to type. But Redcrosse, Guyon, and Artegall, while distinguished for the virtues which they represent, are human in the sense of imperfection, or to put it more accurately, they are men who strive

toward perfection in that virtue. The great importance of this observation will be at once apparent. Spenser's genius is nowhere more evident than in the way in which he transforms a well-known device in characterization found in medieval romance into a means of making allegory more vivid and human than would have been possible had he used the scholastic formalism exclusively. He combines the two, as in Guyon compared with Alma. He gains a double exposition by the device, also taken from the romances, of the attendant, who is here, however, made an abstraction. Most of all, he is able to represent, especially in Redcrosse and Guyon, the growth of the soul toward perfection. Thus even those phases of Spenser's work which are apparently closest to scholastic method are incomparably richer than anything found in that form of allegory for which he is supposed to stand.

I now give an abstract of the principal contents of the second book with special reference to analogous situations in *Paradise Lost*. What has just been said about Spenser's adaptation of the aims and methods of scholastic allegory will assist in showing how, in both form and content on the one hand and philosophic conception of the relations between virtue and sin on the other, Spenser seemed to Milton a better teacher than Aquinas. (I do not for a moment wish to be interpreted as holding that this second book of Spenser's poem is a source in the sense usually understood; I am trying to show the extraordinary similarity in method and philosophy, a far more important matter. But this similarity in conception yields some surprising parallels in incident, as will be shown.)

In the main, the Legend of Guyon, like *Paradise Lost*, is concerned with two great themes: the machinations of Satan, and the Bower of Bliss. Archimago in this book is not primarily representative of the Jesuits, or even of Hypocrisy, as is often said: he stands for Satan. The source, I believe, is Tasso, particularly in the attempts made by him to create enmity between Arthur and Guyon, who here correspond to Godfrey and Rinaldo, and in his employment of a beautiful witch, Duessa, as Tasso's Satan employs Armida. That Spenser has a Satan much like Milton's in mind is indicated by the statement, "For to all good he enemy was still"; and by the fact that he has escaped from confinement and fares forth to work mischief (2. 1. 5). His method is to work "by forged treason or by open fight," knowing his credit to be in doubtful balance. He uses Duessa, a witch representing beauty in distress, to mislead Guyon, but this bears no relation, except of suggestion, to Milton. He appears as an old man in many of the incidents, and he disappears, being supernatural, when foiled (2. 3. 11 ff.; 2. 6. 47). In canto 7 Mammon takes the place of Archimago, representing Satan in another form. This temptation, the first great crisis in Guyon's development, is of extraordinary interest. It takes three forms, lasting three days. On the first day Guyon is tempted by wealth and power; on the second day by ambition (Philotime); on the third the climax is presented in the mysterious temptation of the tree laden with golden apples. Spenser gives many classical references in order to show the beauty of this fruit; he does not mention Eden; he does not even make clear why the apples should be a severer test of Guyon's temperance than Mammon's chests of gold and promise of power or Philotime's promise of worldly fame. That it is so regarded by Spenser is clear from the fact that Mammon's aim was

To do him deadly fall
In frayle intemperaunce through sinfull bayt,

and that Guyon, half fainting from exhaustion (an exhaustion due to lack of food and sleep as well as to the severity of the temptation) stumbles from the place. As soon as he reaches upper air

The life did flit away out of her nest
And all his senses were with deadly fit opprest.

In all this trial Guyon has not been warned that he must not succumb to the temptations of Mammon; it is his own clear spirit that is his guide. But throughout the three days he is followed by a fiend who is ready, if he yields, to pounce on him and tear him to pieces.

The relation of this incident to our present inquiry is two-fold. In the first place, the three days temptation of Guyon concludes a series of incidents that pretty certainly influenced *Paradise Regained*, in which Christ proved his temperance in the sense understood by Spenser and Milton. Archimago representing Satan in the disguise of an old man; Mammon's proffer of riches, worldly power, fame; the three days without sleep or food, followed by exhaustion; the angel sent to care for Guyon after the trial is over; even the debates between Mammon and Guyon, which parallel Christ's rebukes of Satan, all illustrate this point. The fairy storm in *Paradise Regained* is an imitation of one in another part of Spenser's poem (3. 12. 2-3); the feast is described in Spenserian fashion, and, in general, Milton follows Spenser in representing objectively and sensuously spiritual states. In the second place, one type of intemperance, the subject of the first great crisis in Guyon's development, is unworthy ambition and lust for power; the corresponding theme in *Paradise Lost* is the fall of Satan, the first great "adventure" in Milton's epic, through yielding to the same form of intemperance.

Guyon's final "adventure," the overthrow of the Bower of Bliss, unquestionably influenced Milton's story of Adam's temptation and fall, not of course as the source of the story, but in a way fully as significant. Raphael corresponds to the Palmer, and warns Adam that reason (temperance) must control him just as the Palmer instructs Guyon. The climax of Raphael's instruction (8. 521-643) deals with the difference between heavenly and earthly love and beauty. The entire passage is a combination of Renaissance Platonism as illustrated in Bembo's speech in the fourth book of *Il Cortegiano* and Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes* with the warning against earthly love given to Guyon by the Palmer and illustrated by the episode of the Bower of Bliss. . . . I have already referred to the speech of Socrates in the *Phaedrus* in which he speaks of the evil that follows when temperance, which is the result of the rule of reason and judgment, is overborne by desire, or excess. This is the true theme of Raphael's speech, and the Spenser who influences Milton at this point is the creator of Guyon rather than the singer of mystical hymns in honor of heavenly love. The relations between Raphael and Adam are in all points similar to those between the Palmer and Guyon. Raphael, sent by God to warn Adam, is pure and incorruptible; Adam is free and innocent but is subject to temptation. So also the Palmer is the abstract quality of temperance; Guyon is the man striving toward temperance or self-control. The immediate parallels are in the twelfth canto of the Legend of Guyon. When they draw near the Bower of Bliss, Guyon and the Palmer pass the Gulf of Greediness and the Rock of Reproach; the Palmer moralizes on the evils of sensuality (stanzas 3-9). A little

later, Phaedria, who had once before tempted Guyon, again appears and is rebuked by the Palmer for immodesty (stanza 16). Various other perils of the sea are exorcised by the Palmer, who is the type of Christ, being able to still the tempest by his "vertuous Staffe" (stanza 26). A beautiful girl, apparently in deep distress, wins Guyon's pity and he orders the boat steered to where she is crying for help, but the Palmer rebukes him in almost the words used by Raphael to Adam (stanzas 28-9):

She is inly nothing ill apayd;
But onely womanish fine forgery,
Your stubborne hart t'affect with fraile infirmity,
To which when she your courage hath inclined
Through foolish pitty, then her guilefull bayt
She will embosome deeper in your mind
And for your ruine at the last awayt.

So in succeeding adventures, all of the same general nature, all symbolizing the danger in beauty to the unsteadfast mind. The Vision of Maidens is an admirable example of how the Palmer "with temperate advice discourseled" Guyon, for the knight was well-nigh overcome when his guide brought him to his senses (stanzas 66-9). Earlier in the story the Palmer had rightly phrased the warning (4. 34):

Most wretched man,
That to affections does the bridle lend;
In the beginning they are weake and wan,
But soone through sufferance growe to fearefull end.

Thus the Palmer does not talk of mystical vision when the crisis comes to Guyon; Guyon is living for the time the active, not the contemplative life; he is the true warfaring Christian, and the danger in which he finds himself is clearly pointed out by his guide. So also the issue is clearly pointed out by Raphael, whose true mission is to warn Adam on precisely this point. Love, he says, is judicious, has his seat in reason, not in passion. More specifically he warns him, in a passage the full significance of which seems to have escaped the commentators (635-8; 640-1):

Take heed lest passion sway
Thy judgment to do aught which else free will
Would not admit; thine and of all thy sons
The weal or woe in thee is placed; beware!
. . . Stand fast; to stand or fall
Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.

These are his final words. It is the climax of the long interview between Adam and the guide who was to him as the Palmer was to Guyon. Adam is free, as Guyon was free in the Cave of Mammon and in the Bower of Bliss. If disaster comes, it will be through the blinding of reason and judgment by passion. The provoking object is not an apple, sign of reasonless and arbitrary prohibition, but *Beauty*.

There is a certain resemblance between the Bower of Bliss and the Garden of Eden. Spenser has several similar descriptions, some of them more detailed than the one here given. But here the parallel apparently ends. Acrasia is the type of

the Earthly Venus, beautiful, and tempting through her beauty alone. Guyon has been so prepared by his long training and by the warnings of the Palmer that he does not hesitate but binds her in chains of adamant and destroys her pleasant garden. There is nothing of the tragic here, the characterization, the play and counterplay of dramatic motive which, as Professor Hanford points out, form so moving and impressive a part of Milton's story. Yet, in a sense, the influence of Spenser still dominates that story. For to all intents and purposes Eve becomes the enchantress. She is, *for the time being*, transformed into Acrasia. She has become, she thinks, as the gods; her flushing cheeks betray her; she calls on her lover to complete the "glorious trial of exceeding love" by sharing her fate, whatever it may be.

Against his better knowledge, not deceived
But fondly overcome with female charm,

he yields where Guyon was strong. Having yielded, his fate is precisely what Guyon's fate would have been had Acrasia triumphed. The first effect of his sin is that where his love should have proved the scale by which to mount to the vision of Heavenly Love, it is degraded into sensuality. Once more the Platonic philosophy is made concrete through example by a method analogous to that which Milton had in mind when he called Spenser a better teacher than Aquinas. Through trial Guyon, "the true warfaring Christian," is purified; knowing "the utmost that vice promises to her followers" he has acquired the power to "see and know, and yet abstain." Confronted by a similar trial, like Guyon warned and counselled by higher power, like Guyon free to choose evil or good, Adam fell. And if Guyon and the Palmer could have looked on him, he would have seemed to them to be that fair young man whom they discovered in the embraces of Acrasia,—

O horrible enchantment, that him so did blend!

APPENDIX VI

THE MORALITY THEME

LEWIS F. BALL ("The Morality Theme in Book II of *The Faerie Queene*"). There are several reasons for believing that Spenser may have been influenced by the morality plays. In the first place, since many of them were presented during his lifetime, it is highly probable that he saw some of them performed. Again, his "nine comedies" prove that he was interested in the dramatic form. Knowing what we do of his method, we may assume that no matter what style of play he intended to compose, he would have read and observed all the styles of drama that he could obtain. Furthermore, the evidence of Book I indicates that he was familiar with the morality form at least in its broader aspects.

In the morality play as it developed in England there is a regular formula. Man, or some abstract quality representing a human protagonist, first leads a life of virtue, is seduced by evil, despairs, repents, and is then forgiven, strengthened, and saved by Divine Grace. This, in short, is the structure of the first book of *The Faerie Queene*. The Redcrosse Knight falls into sin through his own failings, and so has to be saved from Despair by external means and be spiritually renewed by Holy Church. Obviously there is no such analogy in the story of Guyon, for he never falls from virtue, is never really in need of being saved, and is not prepared for his final adventure by religion, but by reading chronicle history. With the Palmer (Reason) for his guide, Guyon, after meeting with Amavia and the slain Mordant, sets out to destroy the enchantress Acrasia. As in the typical morality, the path is frequently beset with the forces of evil or guarded by the agents of righteousness. From Medina's house of moderation Guyon proceeds on his way, withstanding successively Furor and Occasion, idle pleasure typified in Phaedria, and all the temptations of wealth and power in Mammon's Cave. While in a state of exhaustion he is physically but not spiritually despoiled by the Paynim brethren, rescued by Arthur, and instructed in the House of Alma; and is finally victorious over sensuality in its most seductive form.

The difference then, between the books of Holiness and Temperance seems to correspond roughly to the difference between the early morality plays where the salvation of the soul was the dominant theme, and those later ones in which other themes of an ethical or social nature were introduced and indeed often occupied the foremost place.

It may be that Spenser wished to show how the principle of Temperance could in itself be a sufficient guide to a virtuous life. This would account for the fact that in Book II there is little apparent fluctuation on the part of the hero between good and evil.

In Henry Medwell's *Nature* (ca. 1490. John Farmer's "*Lost*" *Tudor Plays*, p. 122), although the protagonist falls into error, it is notable that he decides to change his mode of life without the intervention of abstract advisers. When Man-kind asks Reason where he may find preparatives against the sins, he is told,

Thou shalt find them within thine own breast.
 Of thee it must come; it must be thy deed;
 For voluntary sacrifice pleaseth God best.
 Thou canst not thereof have help or meed
 But if this gear of thine own heart proceed.

A late morality play, *The Trial of Treasure*, (1567) is reminiscent of Book II in structure, for the hero, Just, remains upright throughout and prevails against Lust and Inclination. It is true that the author takes care to remark that these victories were won through God's aid, but there was certainly no formal course of strengthening or purgation, and so this aid is hardly more than the gift of a sense of moral values. In the same play Just is contrasted with Lust, a character who remains vicious throughout. In *The Longer Thou Livest, the More Fool Thou Art* (1560?), the hero Moros also remains depraved in spite of all attempts to reform him. This type of play, according to Mackenzie, is due to French influence, and in a note he cites two similar French plays, *Bien Avisé, Mal Avisé*, and *L'Homme Juste et L'Homme Mondain*.

The old enemies of God and Man as set forth in Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, namely the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, are still present in Book II. It has been suggested that

in Mammon's Cave the World is overcome. Arthur prevails against the Devil in the person of Maleger, the captain of the vices. Guyon, in the bower of Acrasia, resists the temptations of the Flesh. The ninth canto shadows forth the struggle of the Soul within the body (Lydgate, *Assembly of Gods*, ed. Triggs, EETS., extra ser., no. 69, introduction, p. lxxxv).

This general idea is certainly correct, but I should think it open to question that Spenser had thought out the allegory in any such definite scheme as Dr. Triggs implies. If he did, however, it would not have been necessary for him to go back to early church Latin, for the same organization occurs again and again in later works, notably in the speech of the First Vexillator in *The Castle of Perseverance* (ca. 1425), and in Reason's address, with which the second part of *Nature* opens. So much for the broader outline.

[Mr. Ball's detailed observations are in summary as follows.

Various themes and ideas are common to Book II and the moralities. Idleness, which Spenser sets forth in forms of the Idle Lake, the dress of Genius (12. 46), young Verdant (12. 80), and the results of wealth (7. 10), is a morality theme from the time of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* down. Examples are Dame Nature's tunic in Alain de Lisle's *De Planctu Naturae*, and various poems of Chaucer and Lydgate. In *The Play of Wit and Science* (ca. 1545), Wyt, the suitor of Science, Reason's daughter, first succumbs to Idleness, but is reinforced for his final victory, like Guyon, by Study, Diligence, and Instruction.

The later moralities seem to emphasize the evils of wealth, perhaps because of the new riches and sudden fortunes of the times. Such plays as *The Trial of Treasure*, *The Tyde Taryeth No Man* (1576?), *The Longer Thou Livest*, and *All for Money* (1578) argue the evil of money ill-got, like Guyon in 7. 19. In *Nature* (Farmer, "Lost" Tudor Plays, p. 129) Liberality admonishes mankind that his wealth should be well-gotten, and that between spendthrift and miser he

should "take the midway" and flee the extremities. So too advises Liberty in *Magnificence* (1515?). In *The Trial of Treasure* Inclination reasons like Mammon on wealth as a means of success and implies the same evils of misused riches as those set forth in Book II, and in the Prologue of *All for Money*. *The Trial* also denounces ambition,

that sickness incurable;
A! wicked Adrastia, thou goddes deceivable,
Thus to plucke from men the sence of their mynde,
So that no contentation therein they can finde.

Philotime is a gorgeous lady, like Lady Treasure, and as Ambition was turned out of court by jealous Aman in *Queen Hester* (printed 1561), so Philotime was thrust from heaven by jealous gods. Judas and Dives in *All for Money* are like the wailing wretches in Spenser's Garden of Proserpina.

Guardian angels are common, but a striking instance is the "fayre Yonglyng of ful huge beaute" in Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. In *The Castle of Perseverance* is a warning angel, entrenchment in a castle, instruction, and futile attack by the captain of the powers of darkness. The conventional castle occurs in *Mary Magdalene* (ca. 1490) and in *Nature*; and *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* discusses the five gates of Alma's castle.

As Guyon bound Furor and Pyrochles released him, so in *The Trial of Treasure* Just bridles Inclination and Lust frees him. The power of vice to turn men into beasts is asserted in *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* and in Medwell's *Nature*.]

In *Nature* the character, Shamefacedness, who offers to help Mankind whenever he asks for it vaguely suggests Alma in *The Faerie Queene*. It may perhaps be worth noting that in the play, *Albion, Knight* (ca. 1560), the hero represents in addition to his moral qualities the spirit of England, apparently in somewhat the same way as Spenser's characters often do, and specifically Prince Arthur.

It may be seen, then, that there are in the literature under examination many ideas, analogues, and hints which are to be found in Book II. Many of these occur also in classical writings, but it seems more likely that Spenser received the chief imprint from late scholastic works and, since we know that he was interested in the dramatic form, from the morality plays in particular. Finally, it is not necessary to postulate any direct sources, since most of the features are conventional.

APPENDIX VII

SOURCES

DOUGLAS BUSH (*Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*, p. 114). Spenser's second book draws more from the classics than any other, and expounds the classical virtue of temperance in terms of the classical divisions of the soul, but even here the three chief adventures involve Celtic motives. The wanton Phaedria is a lady of the lake, and not merely an adaptation of Tasso's Armida (who belongs anyhow to the same romantic sisterhood). The *Odyssey* is romantic enough, but it is not such a repository of wonders, such an *omnium gatherum*, as Spenser's twelfth canto. Here we have matter from modern books of travel, from Celtic *imrama*, from Mandeville and possibly Lucian's *True History*; we have Ovidian and Homeric myths and an apparent recollection of Christ calming the waters; strange beasts from Gesner and from Plutarch the hoggish Grill (to whose stubborn individuality the irrational part of one's soul accords a degree of admiration); the guide Reason from Ariosto, music and enticing damsels from Tasso; and the framework of the latter part of the book is apparently based on an allegorical episode in Trissino's epic, *L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti*.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE

Spenser's borrowings in Book II from the classical writers are far too numerous and scattered to be detailed here. The significant parallels are recorded in the commentary and in the Appendix, "The Virtue of Temperance." See especially Miss Sawtelle's *The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology*, M. Y. Hughes's *Spenser and Virgil*, Lotspeich's *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser*, C. W. Lemmi's "The Symbolism of the Classical Episodes in the *Faerie Queene*" (*PQ* 8. 270-287), Lois Whitney, below, pp. 447-9, and, of course, the commentaries of Jortin and Warton and the editions of Upton, Todd, Kitchin, and Winstanley.

HOMER

DOUGLAS BUSH (*Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*, pp. 100-1). That Spenser sometimes uses material which is in Homer is obvious, but that he got it from Homer, as Miss Winstanley assumes, is another question. That he knew some Greek is also obvious; that he was in the habit of reading Greek literature is very unlikely. When one collects and examines the evidence for Spenser's use of Homer it proves to be slight. The voyage to the Bower of Bliss, for instance, has often been related to the *Odyssey*, and of course it is, ultimately, but here as in other cases there are far too many intermediaries. That canto is in the matter of sources a very gulf of greediness, yet it seems safe to argue that there are not ten lines in it which derive directly from Homer; it is a question if there be any. When ancient Latin or modern sources account for Spenser's material and his moral coloring, it seems best to leave Homer in the background.

Whether he takes material directly from Homer or not, he is constantly un-Homeric in the handling of it. His ethical attitude, his conception of Agamemnon and Ulysses as, in Homer's intention, "a good gouverneur and a vertuous man," is of course Renaissance orthodoxy, but it explains the way—a not ignoble way—in which Homeric as well as other classical matter is reinterpreted. Explicit moral and allegorical teaching, which turns characters and incidents into symbols, at once separates Spenser from the forthright objectivity, simple realism (and unobtrusive but healthy morality) of Homer. So the girdle of Aphrodite, becoming the girdle of Florimell, becomes also, by the way of folklore and Renaissance Platonism, a test for distinguishing true from spurious beauty. The golden chain of the *Iliad* is associated with Philotime in the cave of Mammon as a symbol of avarice and ambition; thus Comes interprets it. The meaning of the golden apples in the same canto is explained by Comes, who makes the apples of the Hesperides symbols of wealth, "which is given to men almost as a touchstone by which to test their souls." The episode of Circe, though probably felt by Homer as purely didactic, becomes much more so when incorporated in a book devoted to temperance. Thus, however much or little Spenser knew of the Homeric poems, he regularly alters the spirit of what he borrows, and so far as these items are concerned he needed no more of Homer than he could find, translated and moralized, in Comes and other higher critics.

[Miss WINSTANLEY's notes on Homer's influence may be found at 7. 57-61; 12. 3. 4—6. 3; 12. 4; 12. 31; 12. 34. See also notes on 12. 77; 12. 81-2.]

BIBLICAL

Miss GRACE W. LANDRUM ("Spenser's Use of the Bible," *PMLA* 41. 540) tabulates the Biblical allusions in the following passages in Book II: 2. 34. 7; 3. 7. 6; 3. 24. 6-8; 3. 28. 1; 3. 29. 7-8; 4. 36. 3-5; 5. 10. 2; 6. 15. 8; 6. 16. 8-9; 6. 24. 6, 7; 6. 36. 3-6; 7. 8. 1; 7. 8. 2; 7. 9. 1-2; 7. 12. 1, 2; 7. 15. 1-9; 7. 16. 7; 7. 61, 2-9; 7. 62. 3-6; 7. 62. 3-9; 7. 62. 8, 9; 8. 1. 8, 9; 8. 2. 5; 8. 28. 1-3; 8. 29. 1-6; 8. 40. 7, 8; 9. 21. 5-7; 9. 47. 1-3; 9. 57. 2; 10. 50. 2-4; 12. 3. 9; 12. 23. 6; 12. 52. 9; 12. 87. 6-8. See the notes on these passages.

MEDIEVAL

ALANUS DE INSULIS

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," pp. 220-4). Some years ago Professor Upham pointed out certain parallels between Spenser's description of the Castle of Alma and a passage in DuBartas. These parallels, and some few evidences of similarity between Spenser's description and other allegories of the body, familiar since Upton's time, do not completely explain Spenser's allegory. Of course the foundation in the microcosm and the macrocosm is a commonplace. The fact that it is found in Alanus is not therefore proof that Spenser was using *De Planctu*. There is other evidence, however, Spenser's theme is the dignity and beauty of the body while it is kept in sober government. Nothing in all God's works, he says (st. 1) can excel it when ruled by reason, but nothing is more foul and indecent when distempered through misrule and passion. After this

proem, we are told how Guyon and Arthur came to a goodly castle whose gates were fast locked long ere night.

[The author here summarizes cantos 10 and 11, concluding "Spenser's account of Maleger is one of his most powerful and dramatic conceptions, worthy to be ranked with Ibsen's allegory of the Boyg."'] The significant elements of the allegory are as follows:

1. The conception of the body as the castle of the soul, symbol of the perfect government of reason.
2. The heart as the abode of the moral qualities; the head as the abode of the intellectual qualities; and the outlying bulwarks, guarded by the senses, especially open to attack by passion.
3. The division of the head into three rooms, presided over by three sages that correspond closely to the three sages in Nature's allegory in Alanus.
4. The use of this entire allegory as an important link in Spenser's treatment of the virtue of Temperance, in which the distinction between lust and love is drawn as in Alanus.

I have introduced this material for two reasons. In the first place, the allegory is of the medieval type, different in form and spirit from much of Spenser's allegory. Here we have the soul beset by a thousand temptations; the senses as the gateway to evil; the dangers that God's fairest creation may be made foul through the entrance of lust. One needs only to compare it with his description of Phaedria or of Acrasia to detect the presence of an entirely different atmosphere. In the second place, the story as a whole fits very closely the material found in Prose II of *De Placitu Naturae*. Of course there are other medieval analogues, but there are certain details here that point unmistakably to Alanus as Spenser's chief source. An abstract of a portion of Alanus will make this clear.

The "Compleynt" lodged by Nature is against lust. God's fairest work, man, has been degraded by sensuality. This is set forth in Metre I and runs through the entire work. In this respect the work of Alanus departs widely from that of Boethius, to which he is indebted for many details of technique. After the author has stated his theme (Metre I) and has described in great detail the appearance of the goddess and her power (Prose I and II), he tells us that Nature began to complain of the way in which God's intention regarding man had been set at naught by lewdness. In a curiously wrought allegory that comprises the greater part of a long passage, Alanus works out an allegory of the body as type of a city-state. Nature rebukes him for his failure to perceive her purpose. She created the body. Arranging the different offices of the members for its protection, she ordered the senses, as guards of the corporeal realm, to keep watch, that like spies on foreign enemies they might defend the body from external assault. By this means the body might wed its spouse the spirit. Next, Nature says that the spirit rules through three powers: a power of native strength which hunts subtle matter; a power of reason; and a power of memory, hoarding in the treasure chest of its recollection the glorious wealth of knowledge. Thus the basis of Spenser's allegory is found in Alanus: the senses as defenders of the body against outside foes; Alma or Anima, the spirit, in perfect control of the body; the three powers through which Alma

rules: "Native strength," reason, and memory. After a paragraph in which this marriage between soul and body is dwelt upon, Nature proceeds to develop an allegory of the body as the symbol of a most excellently ordered state:

Hujus ergo ordinatissimae reipublicae in homine resultat simulacrum. In arce enim capitis imperatrix sapientia conquiescit, cui tanquam deae caeterae potentiae velut semideae obsequuntur. Ingenialis potentia namque potestasque logistica, virtus etiam praeteritorum recordativa, diversis in capitis thalamis habitantes, ejus fervescunt obsequio. In corde vero, velut in medio civitatis humanae, magnanimitas suam collocavit mansionem, quae sub prudentiae principatu suam professa militiam, prout ejusdem imperium deliberat operatur. Renes vero, tanquam suburbia, cupidinariis voluptatibus partem corporis largiuntur extremam, quae magnanimitatis obviare non audentes imperio, ejus obtemperant voluntati (Wright, 2. 453).

In this passage we have what appears to be the source of Spenser's allegory. Alanus' conception of the body as type of the city-state, Spenser changes to the idea of a castle, fitting his romance better, and conforming to the feudal castle with its outlying provinces. In the breast is magnanimity as ruler. This is the Aristotelian virtue of which Arthur is Spenser's personification, and Arthur, not Guyon, delivers the castle from its enemies. In the head are separate rooms in which dwell inborn understanding, logic (reason), and memory. This detail Spenser copies very exactly, his Phantastes being characterized as possessing "a sharp foresight and working wit" (st. 50), while Reason and Memory are precisely the same as in Alanus. Moreover, the outlying districts ("tanquam suburbia"), given over to passionate pleasures, Spenser uses as the basis for his story of the twelve troops besieging the bulwarks of the senses, and, in canto 11, adds his powerful allegory of Maleger, or passion. Finally, the curious style of Spenser in the entire passage corresponds to the style of Alanus as markedly as it differs from his own usual style. He draws on other sources for some of these devices, as for example in the passage on which Sir Kenelm Digby commented at length, but the whole is filled with the grammatical jargon so highly characteristic of Alanus. Like Alanus, he seems determined to conceal the mystery lest he disregard the Aristotelian precept that he who divulges secrets to the unworthy lessens the majesty of mysteries. [See H. S. V. Jones's note on canto 11.]

ITALIAN ROMANCES

ARIOSTO

In addition to the following extract from Miss MacMurphy, see the notes in the commentary from Warton, Upton, Todd, Kitchin, and Dodge. DODGE gives in his article (*PMLA* 12. 199-200) a tabulation of the passages which seem to have been taken from Ariosto: 1. 26; 2. 24; 3. 4; 3. 17; 3. 18; 3. 22 ff.; 4. 18; 5. 4-5; 8. 30; 8. 42; 9. 2; 10. 1-4; 11. 5 ff.; 11. 33 ff.; 12. 56; 12. 86. See also A. H. Gilbert's note on 2. 11.

SUSANNAH J. MCMURPHY (*Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory*, pp. 24-30). As he studied Ariosto, what influence did that poet's allegory, and the allegorical interpretations put upon him by others have on Spenser's own creations? Did he put it all aside as irrelevant? Did he accept only to alter, to overgo Ariosto as an

allegorist? Was he stimulated to further pondering of the problems of human experience?

Let us first examine those parts of Ariosto's work which are undeniably allegorical, of which the most considerable instance is the temptation of the temperate man, in Cantos 6, 7, 8, and 10.

In the *Furioso*, the young knight, Ruggiero, mounted on the Hippogriff, which he cannot control, is borne over land and sea to the island kingdom of Alcina, far off in the Atlantic. On dismounting, he ties his winged steed to a myrtle tree, while he refreshes himself at a nearby stream. The horse tears the branches of the tree, which laments aloud. Ruggiero, hastening to amend his unwitting cruelty, learns that the tree is the English prince, Astolfo, who, through curiosity, had followed Alcina upon a seeming island, really a monstrous whale, and was brought to his kingdom over the stormy waves. He warns Ruggiero from his own experience, to shun the wiles of the enchantress, who transforms her discarded lovers into stocks and stones, or beasts. The young knight accordingly sets out resolved to avoid the borders of Alcina's city and to take the steep and stony path that leads to the citadel of her sister, Logostilla. As he goes forward on foot, leading his ungovernable steed, he encounters a rabblement of beast-headed men. While he is battling valiantly against them, two fair and beautiful ladies ride out from Alcina's city, and the throng of wretches retreats. The ladies commend Ruggiero's prowess and beseech him to undertake the conquest of a monstrous hag, Eriphile, Avarice, who keeps a bridge before the city. Of course the hero consents, and having overcome the hideous creature, follows his guides into Alcina's courts without further struggle. He is received with honor, and becomes the queen's favored lover. Meanwhile his betrothed, Bradamante, has sought him, sorrowing, and at length sends Melissa, the sorceress, to his rescue, with a magic ring, which reveals to him the real ugliness beneath Alcina's seeming beauty. Ruggiero flees from the palace of pleasure, but having learned to distrust the Hippogriff, he chooses this time an ordinary horse. Before he has gone far, he is attacked by Alcina's huntsman with his horse, dog, and falcon, but he repels them and follows a toilsome path through brambles, along the burning sands of the sea-shore, where in the noon-day heat of the journey, three ladies meet and seek to beguile him with refreshing wine and soft repose. When he refuses their proffers, they revile him, but he pushes on. Within sight of Logostilla's capital, he is met and ferried across the stream that bars his way, by an aged and wise pilot. He is received graciously, and sojourns in that realm, learning there to guide the winged horse, before so unmanageable, for the Hippogriff has been ridden to the citadel by Melissa, carrying with her Astolfo, released from enchantment.

Fornari explains that as Ruggiero is, or becomes, the continent man, his road to temperance is more painful than that of Astolfo, who is naturally temperate, and is misled, not by his appetites, but by curiosity. The finest thing in Ariosto's allegory is his description of this path to Wisdom, beset with bitter conflict, burning thirst, fatigue, and the old temptations in their most seductive form. Spenser, who receives from this tale a number of hints for his *Book of Temperance*, is apparently insensible to this opportunity. His treatment of the second of his virtues, unlike that of Holiness, is, however, conceived in too static a form for him to make use of Ariosto's plan. Guyon is not, in most of his adventures, the

man learning self-control by painful effort. He has already accepted Reason as his guide and looks upon all the passions that cross his path with a touch of scornful aloofness. With this basic alteration in the plan, however, Spenser uses much of Ariosto's material. Like Ruggiero, Guyon has a fiery, mettlesome horse, but it is not winged. Throughout the book he does not ride it, for it was stolen from him while he was seeking to aid Amavia at the spring, and only in the Fifth Book does he recover it from the thief Braggadocchio. The horses in Ariosto—the Hippogriff, Bayardo, Brigliadoro—mean, or are interpreted to mean, appetitive desire. Spenser undoubtedly took Brigadore from Ariosto—the name, Golden Bridle, probably delighting him as a follower of Aristotle—and he took it with the allegorical meaning, at least suggested by Ariosto:

Quantunque debil freno a mezzo il corso
Animoso destrier spesso raccolga,
Raro è però che di ragione il morso
Libidinosa furia addietro volga,
Quando li piacer ha in pronto.

Spenser apparently intends to tell us that the Temperate Man must practice abstinence until his virtue is full grown; then his right to his desires is proved by his ability to govern them. But compared to Ruggiero's mad flight across Europe, and his cautious leading of the Hippogriff as he first sets out from the sea-shore for Logostilla's realm, Spenser's incident of the theft of Brigadore and its tardy recovery is tame, and rather obscure. He compensates for the weakness, however, in his comic picture of Braggadocchio, mounted on a steed that he does not own—boasting of amorous passions that he does not feel—and fleeing at the first hint of opposition.

The tragedy of Mordant and Amavia may have been suggested by Ariosto. Mordant, like Ruggiero, abandons his rightful lady for the enchantress; like Bradamante, Amavia wanders in search of him; as Melissa appeals to Ruggiero's pride in the children one day to be his, so Amavia carries with her on her sorrowful journey Mordant's infant son. But the English, unlike the Italian poet, sees only tragedy as the outcome of the father's sin. Even the innocent child bears the taint of it. It may be this sterner view that prevents Spenser from picturing a Guyon stumbling, falling, and struggling up again from the Slough of Despond to the crest of the Hill Difficulty.

The House of Medina, the Golden Mean, seems to be an embodiment of Aristotle's central idea of virtue, but there are some suggestions in it of something else, resemblances to the ecclesiastical policy pursued in England, the middle course Elizabeth held between the warring factions, in the endeavor to secure peace:

But lovely concord, and most sacred peace,
Doth nourish vertue, and fast friendship breeds,
Weake she makes strong, and strong thing does increase,
Till it the pitch of highest praise exceeds.

There is a hint in the following lines of debt to Ariosto:

Therein three sisters dwelt of sundry sort,
The children of one sire by mothers three;
Who dying whylome did divide this fort

To them by equal shares in equal fee:
 But stryfull mind and diverse qualitee
 Drew them in parts and each made others foe:
 Still did they strive and daily disagree;
 The eldest did against the youngest goe,
 And both against the middest meant to worken woe.

Now Ariosto, in his description of Alcina's island, tells us that she possessed the greater part of it, having usurped what rightfully belonged to Logostilla, the sole heir, as the only legitimate daughter of her father. This Logostilla lived in chastity, while her two sisters, Alcina and Fata Morgana, born of incest, were vicious and wicked in their lives. They had conspired together, had brought an army against their sister, and had taken from her all her territory except a promontory cut off from the rest by a gulf of sea and uninhabitable mountains, as Scotland is separated from England. When we turn to Fornari, we learn that Logostilla represents the true faith, while the two bastards are respectively the Jewish and Mohammedan sects. This explanation impressed Harington, for he adds: "And there is another cosen of theirs called heresie, and the grandsire of them all, called Atheism that are of late very busie with her." The grandsire reminds one of Spenser's Aveugle, of whom Harington also may be thinking, but of this we shall see other hints later. I do not think the explanation of Ariosto would occur to the reader unaided, at least today. If Spenser used an edition with Fornari's notes, as is not unlikely, he must have been struck by the possibility of applying this figure of the three discordant faiths to England, an impression which the geographical comparison in Ariosto's description would fix in his mind. In this case he has elaborated into a situation what in the *Furioso* is merely a passing reference. It is to be noted that he has changed the rival sisters from bastards to equal heirs of the patrimony. Does Spenser really mean that all three creeds are of equal validity and are to live in tolerance and concord? If so, he is more liberal than was usual in his day.

Between Ruggiero's mounting the winged horse, and his arrival in Alcina's island, Ariosto injects the story of Ariodante and Ginevra, as we have seen, one of the most popular of his episodes with English readers. Spenser also turns to this tale on leaving the castle of Medina. It becomes with him the tragedy of Phaon. Of this romance Harington remarks: "Allegory there is none in this booke at all." Morally, Ariodante is an example of credulous jealousy, and his brother Lurcanio, who denounces Ginevra, exhibits the vehemence of wrong surmise. In this interpretation Harington and Toscanella agree. Spenser alters the situation found in all the other versions of the story by making Phaon the sole witness of the lady's fancied treachery; thus he combines in one person the whole gamut of passions, "wrath, gelosy, griefe, love," and greatly intensifies the emotion. He is not, however, altogether successful in turning this into part of his allegory, for the Temperate Man is apparently presented as binding another's rage, not his own, and this is rather the office of justice than of temperance.

At this point, Spenser, who has many kinds of intemperance to treat besides excessive indulgence in amorous passion, departs decidedly from Ariosto's allegory. In the five succeeding cantos there is nothing of importance from the *Furioso*. These are the cantos that relate the struggles with Pyrochles and Cymochles, the

conversation with Phaedria, and the visit to the cave of Mammon, the court of Philotime, and the gardens of Proserpine.

When we pass on to the castle of Alma, we find about it the beast-headed throng of monsters that beset Ruggiero's path when he first turned aside from entering in at Alcina's gates, and took the road to Logostilla's kingdom. Spenser elaborates the description in more detail than Ariosto. He omits, it is true, the beasts upon which Ariosto's rabble are mounted, but he draws up his misshapen sins in squadrons and directs them against the portals of the five senses; upon them he confers the character of shades that, wounded, neither bleed nor die; and whereas Ariosto makes swollen Sloth the captain of the rout—not inaptly, considering his whole design—Spenser elects his opposite, a lean, strenuous, terrifying ghost:

As pale and wan as ashes was his looke;
His body leane and meagre as a rake,
And skin all withered as a dried snake,
That seemed to tremble evermore and quake;
All in a canvas thin he was bedight,
And girded with a belt of twisted brake;
Upon his head he wore a Helmet light,
Made of a dead man's skull, that seemed a ghastly sight.

It seems from this and the description of his arrows against whose wounds salves and medicines are of no avail, that Spenser means death, or deadly sin. Arthur, the sum of all the virtues, alone is strong enough to overcome this fiend. Even he is impeded by human impotence and impatience. Spenser goes deeper than Ariosto, but the specific feature borrowed is not much improved, and it has not occurred to him to connect these monsters with Alcina's transformed lovers. It remained for Milton to extract the essence of truth from this conception. We may question also whether the deadly struggle between Arthur and Maleger has anything to do with temperance.

In the Castle of Alma there is so strong a similarity to the House of Medina as to confuse one's memory; both seem to be variations on one theme, as indeed Spenser has borrowed from the same episode in Ariosto for both. According to Harington, Logostilla's kingdom represents, from one viewpoint, the human body, of which the passions have possessed themselves, leaving only the one fort to reason. I do not find this in Fornari, Toscanella, or Porcacchi, and am unable to determine whether Harington got it from the 1584 edition, invented it himself, or possibly took it from the *Faerie Queene*. It is, however, the second point in this allegory in which Harington agrees with Spenser and with none of the Italian critics.

Except the black-robed pilot Reason, who directs Guyon's voyage across the wide and perilous waters to Acrasia's bower, there is in the Twelfth Canto little that may be traced to Ariosto. Rather the voyagings of Ulysses have been called into requisition. In the final disposal of the enchantress there is a marked difference. The transformed lovers are restored to their former shapes, without resistance in Ariosto, but in Spenser with wrath, with shame, and in one case at least with repinings and revilings. The enchantress Alcina, shorn of all her beauties by the magic ring, shows herself shrunken, old, and ugly, but Acrasia, all her beauty

unimpaired, is bound and sent to the Faerie Queene for judgment. Ariosto tells us that Alcina's palace stood untenanted while she and all her forces pursued Ruggiero, and that when he at last escaped them, she wished to destroy herself. In Spenser's allegory, on the other hand, Guyon and the Palmer lay waste the Bower of Bliss. Spenser has transferred to another point the revelation of Alcina's infirmities; in Duessa he horribly increases the hideousness of the exposure. It is as if Ariosto were saying: Sensual pleasure is not truly pleasure; seen aright it is disgusting; when we turn resolutely from its presence, it ceases to exist, for its life is only in our submission to it. And this is consistent psychology. But Spenser, with an intenser passion, replies: Falsehood, in truth, is ugly; but pleasure of whatever sort is still pleasure; we cannot wait for the reaction of satiated appetite to free us; we must learn to look upon it in all its beauty and allurements and bind it with chains of steel. Between these two views there is the width of Europe. Spenser's morality is naturally the more accordant to our northern taste, but why does he feel it necessary to destroy the Bower of Bliss? If Acrasia is to be bound, if we are to see her as alluring as ever, but conquered, why mutilate the mere physical, insensible scene of her enchantments, powerless if its tutelary genius is subdued? This seems like a strain of image-breaking Puritanism overcoming the artist.

TRISSINO

CHARLES W. LEMMI ("The Influence of Trissino on the Faerie Queene"). In the second book we again catch sight of Duessa, slinking among the trees. But the knight Guyon, deceived for a moment, shakes her off. He has no time for this jackal; his prey is the lean and terrible lioness called lust,—the enchantress Acrasia. Suddenly he comes upon her kill; on the green grass by a fountain, the knight stricken dead by the murderous cup he drank from, his crazed wife groaning in a pool of blood. Guyon and his wise companion, the Palmer, hasten on. They rest a space in that strange castle, with its thirty-two porters at the door, where Alma, the soul, rules with virtuous moderation; then on again. Finally they reach the lioness's lair: Acrasia's garden. The dainty, ineffectual wall, the gate "framed in precious ivory," offer no resistance; the porters are brushed aside; the fountain and its bathing temptresses are left behind. A few steps more, and the avengers behold Acrasia, surrounded by ambiguous boys and shameless women, toying in feline, dangerous languor with her last victim. In a moment they are upon her. Not for the false enchantress the chivalrous treatment accorded to the captives of knightly romance: heavily chained, she is led away to be delivered to that glorious queen at whose behest Guyon set forth to capture her; and her garden is utterly destroyed.

For most of the incidents touched upon above we shall look in vain whether in Boiardo, Ariosto, or Tasso; we find practically all in Trissino (*L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti* 4. 611 ff.), and in such specific detail as to convince us that here is no matter of chance.

Let me begin with the parallels to Bk. II, which are the more remarkable. A party of Belisarius's knights are sent to the rescue (Trissino, *L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti*, 4. 611 ff.) of certain of their comrades imprisoned in the beautiful garden (4. 445 ff. Cf. 4. 958 ff.) of the enchantress Acrasia (4. 656 ff. Cf. 5. 347)—

spelled Acrazia in the synoptical index. On the way, they are exposed to the wiles (4. 765 ff.) of a second enchantress (cf. 5. 347), Ligridonia. Next they come to a healing fountain, sprung in part from the tears of a woman, on the grassy plot where another woman died a violent death by order of Acratia (4. 873 ff. Cf. 4. 672 ff.). Finally, guided by a wise old man (5. 54. Cf. 2. 242) who is more than he seems to be (cf. 4. 656), they reach Acratia's garden, surrounded by a marble and alabaster wall with an ivory door (5. 165 ff.), and containing a palace where, attended by trusty porters (5. 208), deft boys (5. 202), and pretty damsels, the inmates spend their time in feasting and licentiousness (5. 202 *et seq.*). The knights seize Acratia and Ligridonia (5. 345 ff.), free their comrades (5. 388 ff.), destroy the power of the corrupting fountain situated in the garden (5. 520 ff. Cf. 5. 152), and deliver the enchantress, firmly bound (5. 487), to a queen (5. 686; 5. 822; 5. 925) whose enemy she is (4. 672 ff.). This same queen is an embodiment of virtue (as her name, Areta, signifies), and lives with Clemency, Chastity, Honor, Magnanimity, and others (5. 836 ff.), in a castle highly suggestive of ethical symbolism (5. 713 ff.) where the harmonious arrangement of the halls (5. 848-851) moves the knights to wonder, and the porches of twenty-two and thirty-two columns (5. 843) inclose a rectangular court thus not far in its proportions (for a possible explanation of these, see Vitruvius, 5. 1. 2) from that in *F. Q.* 2. 9. 22.

BOIARDO

HAROLD H. BLANCHARD (*PMLA* 4. 836) cites parallels in Boiardo's *Orl. Inn.* to the following: 3. 40-41; 4. 17 ff.; 5. 4; 6. 2-19. See the notes in the Commentary on these passages. See also the note on 3. 2. 48 ff.

TASSO

EMIL KOEPEL (*Anglia* 11. 348-9) lists parallels in Tasso's *Ger. Lib.* to the following: 3. 24. 6-7; 6. 5; 6. 15-7; 11. 32; 12. 58-9; 12. 62-8; 12. 71; 12. 74-6; 12. 78. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 205) adds parallels from Tasso's *Rinaldo* to the following: 3. 21-4; 3. 27; 3. 30; 3. 32; 3. 39; 12. 71. See the notes in the Commentary on these passages.

FRENCH

DU BARTAS

A. H. UPHAM (*The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 168-170; 506-519) cites parallels in Du Bartas, *La Prem. Sem.*, to the following stanzas in Canto 9: 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 45 ff., 46. See the notes in the Commentary.

CELTIC ELEMENTS IN BOOK II

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Spenser's Fairy Mythology," pp. 110-4). The story of Guyon, for instance, is full of suggestions of Celtic *faerie*. The prologue, as already noted, contains the distinction between the mysterious Otherworld realm and the literal identification of Fairy Land with Britain. Guyon's principal adventures are three in number, and they are closely related. The first is the Phaedria episode,

which fundamentally is the story of a *fée* who dwells in an enchanted island to which she lures mortals whom she desires to become her lovers. One of these, Cymochles, is already in her power when she tempts Guyon. Her island is reached by a magic boat, to which she invites her victim, but which moves of its own volition. The island is filled with flowers; wonderful music is heard. But Guyon is "wise, and wary of her will," so the enchantress has no power over him. Some details Spenser assuredly owes to Tasso's story of Armida, also a story of a *Dame du Lac*, but the management of the episode is such as to leave no doubt that he had in mind also other stories of amorous fays. (For a discussion of the *fée* known as *La Dame du Lac* see Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 167 ff. Miss Paton gives also a long list of instances in which a magic boat is employed as a means of entering the fairy world, p. 16, n. 1.)

Guyon's second adventure is the journey to the Underworld (canto 7), equally well known in romance and tradition. This episode owes much to classical literature, as Warton pointed out (1st ed. pp. 55 ff.), but here again Spenser adds many details not to be so explained.

Guyon meets, in a "gloomy glade" very remote from all human habitation, an uncouth wight who guards a treasure. Seeing the knight approach, the old man tries to hide his treasure, but is too late. Therefore he proposes that Guyon shall serve him. After some parley, the knight enters the Underworld, where he sees first, vast treasures; next, the goddess of worldly ambition (a beautiful woman whom the old man proposes to Guyon as his *amie*); and finally the garden of Proserpine, which is filled with trees bearing golden apples. The climax of the temptation is reached when the old man begs Guyon to take some of the golden fruit and to rest on a silver stool under the tree.

This story finds many analogues in Celtic folk tradition. Warton criticizes it as violating the pagan myth (p. 57). The answer is that Spenser was not depending on classical tradition alone; he is quite as much influenced, for example, by stories of the visit of a hero of romance to the Underworld; Arthur and Cúchulainn among others. The old man who guards a fairy hill is a stock character; sometimes he is a *leprechaun*, who guards a treasure that he tries to hide when he is caught by a mortal; sometimes he is a fairy king. Again, the idea that to touch any object in the Underworld will necessitate remaining in the power of the fairy owner is not only a part of the Proserpina myth, but of Celtic folk tradition generally. The very nature of Guyon's temptation: the offer of riches, love, fame, is in the story of Murrough (Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 440). Guyon's sight of souls suffering the tortures of hell, which seems to owe something to Dante, is analogous to the legends about magic islands converted into places of eternal punishment. But the most significant detail is that of the apples. Since Warton's time the relation between Spenser's account of the Garden of Proserpina and Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae* has been recognized. In this we have the famous golden bough. But while Warton sees in the silver stool "a new circumstance of temptation," he does not explain it. In Celtic tradition resting beneath an apple tree subjected one to danger from fays. Lancelot, for example, is sleeping under an apple tree when he is seized by fays and carried into captivity. (In the prose *Lancelot*. Cited by Paton, pp. 51-52, and the notes.) Ogier comes to an orchard, eats an

apple, and is soon in the power of Morgain. Avalon is "apple land." Cormac takes a branch bearing three golden apples on the invitation of an old man and this is the prelude to a series of adventures in the Otherworld (cited by Wentz, pp. 340 ff.). When Teigue reached the Happy Otherworld there were in it many red-laden apple trees, and at the third *dún* the hero met a mortal youth, with his *amie*, and the apple which caused his captivity was still in his hand, since it renewed itself as fast as it could be consumed (cited by Wentz, 348 ff. See also Paton, p. 3). The journey of Teigue through the Otherworld is somewhat like Guyon's, in that there is a series of magic palaces. But the temptation motif is not stressed.

Besides his reference to the apple as a means of binding a mortal to the powers of the Otherworld, Spenser may also have in mind another commonplace, the cauldron of plenty, as the basis for his vivid description of the dwarfs stirring the cauldrons filled with molten gold. Arthur made a journey to Annwn, similar to Cúchulainn's raid on the stronghold of Scáth, to get possession of such a cauldron (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, 1. 264-266, 276). Spenser's substitution of a scene that reminds one of a modern blast-furnace more than of anything suggesting food is explicable because of the peculiar nature of the temptation to which Guyon is being subjected. But the dwarfs stirring the treasure cauldrons are good fairy folk. As to the temptation motif, though it is perfectly true that the majority of tales in which a mortal becomes a denizen of *faerie* through some such device of enchantment as the apple convey the sense of good fortune rather than of sin, there is precedent for Spenser's idea that the good man will refuse to be so entrapped. For example, there is the adventure of Collen:

Collen is summoned on three successive days to an interview with Gwyn ab Nûd, king of Annwn, "on the top of the hill at noon." (For stories about Gwyn, who was a Fairy King well-known in Welsh tradition, see Rhys, 341, 364, 391, etc.; *Mabinogion* ed. Guest, 263. His castle was on Glastonbury Tor. According to one tradition, he was the lover of Cordelia, daughter of Lear. Certain features of his story,—his connection with the underworld, his rule over the elves, etc., suggest Spenser's Guyon. Spenser stresses Guyon's connection with the elves.) After the third summons, he obeys, and enters from the hill a fair castle filled with beautiful youths and damsels and with the most exquisite music. The king welcomes Collen and desires him to eat. "I will not eat the leaves of the tree," says Collen, and after some further parley, he throws holy water on their heads, and they vanish, "so that there was neither castle, nor troops, nor men, nor maidens, nor music, nor song, nor steeds, nor youths, nor banquet, nor the appearance of any thing whatever, but the green hillocks." (Summarized from Lady Charlotte Guest's version in the *Mabinogion*, pp. 264-265. It is also in Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 338-340.)

The last of Guyon's adventures is the two days' journey to the enchanted island which contained Acrasia's Bower of Bliss. Here the debt to Tasso for details is more marked than in the Phaedria passage, though both incidents go back to the familiar Celtic theme. On the way to the island, Guyon and his companions pass other enchanted islands, on one of which they see (12. 14)

A daintie damsel dressing of her heare,
By whom a little skippet floting did appeare.

She calls to them but they pass on. There is no need to summarize the familiar story of the Bower. Acrasia is a *fée*, and when Guyon and his companions find her she is in the company of her mortal lover. The whole adventure is motivated by Guyon's acceptance, at the beginning of his book, of the task of avenging the babe with bloody hands, whose father had been enticed by the *fée* and his mother driven to suicide because of the tragedy. Thus Acrasia possesses the characteristic of so many *fées*, cruelty and lust.

Finally, it is worth observing that these three adventures of Guyon, producing as they do a totality of effect quite different from anything in Tasso or Ariosto, suggest the Celtic *imrama*. Two of the three fairy worlds in which the marvelous adventures take place are islands, reached by a journey over seas filled with marvels. The other, the Underworld to which the strange old man leads Guyon, is not an island, but it is curious to observe that Spenser introduces the incident by comparing his hero's course to that of a mariner on perilous wave. (The Celts, according to Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 329-330, had two ideas about the realm of the dead. One was an island, the other "a fairy settlement entered through a hill such as Mider inhabited in some Irish legends, and such as the fairies are most commonly believed to inhabit in Wales." A *tor* might be called an "island" in Welsh; so it was with Glastonbury—Avalon.) On the way to the Bower of Bliss, also, Guyon and his companions pass other marvelous islands, on which a hero like Maelduin or like Bran, for instance, would have stopped for delightful adventures. Other comparisons with the *imrama* will suggest themselves to any one who has followed the discussion of Guyon's adventures. (Those who see in the Mammon passage, for instance, nothing but Vergilian influence, may find interest in a paper on "Vergil's *Aeneid* and the Irish *Imrama*: Zimmer's Theory," by W. F. Thrall, in *Modern Philology*, December, 1917. Mr. Thrall, of course, says nothing about Spenser.) Guyon's story owed much to other sources, but the influence of Celtic romance is constant and pervasive.

LOIS WHITNEY ("Spenser's Use of the Literature of Travel in the *Faerie Queene*," pp. 149-155, 161-2). Miss Whitney's study is summarized in her concluding paragraph: "It has been my only purpose to attempt to illumine somewhat a very small portion of the vast background of tale and legend which must have contributed at some time or other to the storehouse of Spenser's mind before he wrote the *Faerie Queene*. About the common theme of the voyage and the fairy otherworld there became associated in his mind such facts and fancies as lingered there from many and varied sources, ideas which came into play when he started to write his own voyage to the Bowre of Blisse. Fairly certainly one of these contributing tales was some version of the St. Brendan legend. Possibly certain other Celtic myths and legends contributed. Without doubt some of the very prolific tales of the travelers helped to make up the background whether or not Spenser got his material directly from the specific sources noted. Possibly there remained associated together in his mind a group of details from the *True History* [Lucian]—the ivory gates, the blended music, the couch of flowers, the floating islands. Finally one of the sources which he knew the most intimately, or possibly had read the most recently, was the description of the Garden of Armida from the *Gerusalemme Liberata*."

The Legend of St. Brandan survives in many versions in various languages—English, Latin, French, Anglo-French, Irish. Of several of these Miss Whitney gives the bibliography. Thus the legend was easily accessible to Spenser, especially in the English prose version of the *Golden Legend* published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1527, and in a Middle English metrical version in the *Southern Legend Collection* (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; both versions, edited by Thomas Wright) in vol. 14 of the Percy Society Publications. The *Golden Legend* version seems nearest to Spenser, though in the detail of the overwhelming fish dispersed by the Palmer (stanzas 21, 25-6), Miss Whitney fancies a closer—but not very convincing—resemblance to the Middle English poem.

Like Guyon, St. Brandan sails in search of the Londe of Beheest through many dangers from tempest, fowl, sea monsters, and marvelous islands. From these he defends his monks by counsel and prayer. Both voyages end in a kind of happy otherworld. The monks land on a floating island, which, unlike the island in Spenser (stanzas 11-7) turns out to be a huge fish. In the legend are two fish episodes—an attack by a dangerously spouting whale, and the threat of a multitude of fish at length dispersed by St. Brandan. Spenser may have combined these in stanzas 21, 25-6. Both expeditions pass through a dark fog or mist just before they sight the happy end of their quests (stanzas 25, 34, 37). At one point in their voyage, but not during the fog as in Spenser, a strange bird, or "grype", assailed the monks, somewhat as the "innumerable flight" attacks Guyon. The miraculous bird, and the mist surrounding the otherworld, are conventions of Celtic legend.

St. Brandan's Londe of Byheest, like the Bower of Bliss, abounds in flowers, fruits, pleasant meadows, and enjoys eternal day and mild weather. But these and other details are common to other Celtic *imrama* or tales of sea voyages. They all employ strange and remarkable islands, supernatural events, and women of alluring beauty. "It is possible and not the least improbable that Spenser, with his interest in fable and legend of every sort, may have picked up some of these tales during his long residence in Ireland." Though he is not known to have read Irish, he may at second hand have learned of the otherworld, in the legend of Condla, or in the voyage of Teague not unlike the Bower. There are the bright-hued woods, the streams, the minstrelsy of birds, the fragrance, the grapes, the women, the gold, silver, and precious jewels. "Before one draws any hasty conclusions, however, it should be remembered that many of these features, especially the fragrance, the music, the equable temperature, and the beautiful landscape, are conventions which are common not only to Celtic, but to non-Celtic descriptions of the happy otherworld." Such are the *Vision of Saturnus*, the *Visio Pauli*, the *History of Barlaam and Josophat*, the Old English *Phoenix*, and *The Land of Cockayne*; see Alfred Nutt, "The Happy Otherworld," in *The Voyage of Bran*, ed. by K. Meyer, 1. 229-230, to whose list Miss Whitney adds the *Oceanica* of Iambulus found in Diodorus Siculus 2. 4, and in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Bk. 1, chap. 8. "It is hard to conceive that as wide a reader as Spenser could have been unacquainted with at least some of these accounts, but their very multiplicity makes it utterly useless to attempt to set up any one of them as a direct source.

"The situation seems to be slightly different, however, in the case of a possible Greek source, the *True History* of Lucian, the tale of a voyage across the ocean and through space to many wonderful islands and countries, among them the Isle of the Blest. While there is no single parallel between Spenser's account and the *True History* significant enough in itself to establish a definite relationship between them, there are enough similarities in details to make out a fairly good case. The *True History* was easily accessible to Spenser. There were a number of Latin translations of the *Works*, two Latin translations of the *True History*, one published in 1475 and one in 1493, and there was a French translation of the *Works* published in 1583."

[See notes in the Commentary, on Canto 12, stanzas 4, 7, 8, 10-3, 18-9, 21-6, 43-5, 54-7, 63-9, 70-6, and 77.]

See commentary at beginning of Canto 12 for quotation and summary of PAULINE HENLEY'S *Spenser in Ireland*.

THE BACKGROUND IN CHRONICLE AND LEGEND

CARRIE A. HARPER (*The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*, pp. 1-30). Spenser incorporated in the *Faerie Queene* an almost complete rhymed chronicle of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader. This he divides into two parts. The first part, in Book II, Canto 10, takes the form of a narrative which Prince Arthur reads from an old book called "Briton Moniments." With the accession of Uther it ends abruptly. The second part, in Book III, Canto 3, appears as a prophecy which Merlin makes to Britomart. He describes the "famous Progenee" which shall spring from her marriage with Arthegall. Beginning with her son, a king who may be identified with Conan, the second in succession after Arthur, the prophecy continues to the last of the British kings, Cadwallader. The only important omissions from the chronicle are the stories of Arthur and his successor, Constantine.

The two parts are bound together by the similarity of the elaborate invocations that precede them. As Queen Elizabeth is supposed by Spenser to be descended from Prince Arthur and that "royall maid of yore," Britomart, the ancestors of Arthur and the descendants of Britomart are both in the Queen's ancestral line, and to chronicle their history was a tribute to the Queen [quotes 2. 10. 1; 3. 3. 4]. . . .

In this way Spenser emphasized the unity of the two parts, which otherwise might have been somewhat obscured by the difference in form,—a difference forced upon Spenser by the plan of the *Faerie Queene*, which presented Arthur as the principal hero, and placed the time of the action immediately before Arthur's accession to the throne. The reign of Arthur was therefore naturally omitted, and the history of the kings who followed him was inevitably given as a prophecy. Neither the omission nor the change of form affects the essential character of the passages under consideration, or appreciably lessens their right to the title of a chronicle of British kings.

The material of which the chronicle is composed was first published to the world about 1136, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the *Historia Regum Britannie*. . . . For all practical purposes, Geoffrey may be accepted as the ultimate

source, not of every statement in the history of the British kings, but of the narrative as a whole.

Geoffrey's narrative was more or less completely reproduced by many later writers, but was much modified in the successive repetitions. Almost from the beginning it came into conflict with authentic history recorded by both Roman and Anglo-Saxon writers. As a result, omissions, additions, and changes were made in the interest of historical accuracy. Finally, after a period of distrust, the growth of historical acumen led to the complete rejection of Geoffrey's material. But before this came about, changes other than those due to a desire for truth had resulted from the usual careless mediaeval attitude toward sources and the inevitable errors of copyists. Because of its great and long-continued popularity, the *Historia* was translated and retranslated into both French and English, prose and verse. It was sometimes epitomized, sometimes embellished and expanded. Each redaction, through accident or design, was marked by variations from the original. Then the earlier versions were compared and compounded in all possible ways to make the later versions. In the time of Elizabeth, consequently, the chronicle of the British kings, not yet completely rejected, was known to the reading public in many forms that agreed in general outline, but differed widely from one another in details, and even in matters of considerable importance. . . .

Warton seems to have been the first critic to call attention to the chronicle history material in the *Faerie Queene*. In his *Observations on the Faerie Queen*, 1754, he groups Canto 10 of Book II and Canto 3 of Book III, as both containing "historical genealogies of future kings and princes of England." "This part of our author," he writes, "is manifestly taken from the former part of John Hardyng's Chronicle." The story of the giants, however, put him in mind of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Upton, the next scholar to approach the chronicle, was the first to make a detailed study of it. In the notes to his edition of the *Faerie Queene* he assumed that Geoffrey of Monmouth was Spenser's source and therefore gave a summary of the *Historia*. He added quotations from the works of Tacitus, Bede, Gildas, Hardyng, Ross, Holinshed, and Stow, and from the *History of Arthur* (*Morte d'Arthur*), the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, Camden's *Britannia*, Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Milton's *History of England*, Sir Richard Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*, and Gordon's *Itinerarium septentrionale*. Upton's intention, apparently, was to explain the text of his author, and to indicate that the statements contained in it were not due to the creative imagination of Spenser, but were matters of ordinary knowledge, and in some cases represented actual facts. Although he named most of the probable sources of Spenser and quoted many of the most exact parallels in Spenser's predecessors, he made no effort to study the relation of one source to another, or to determine which Spenser actually used, as is sufficiently proved by his frequent quotations from later books, such as Drayton's *Polyolbion* (first part, 1612) and Milton's *History* (1670).

Todd, in his edition of Spenser, 1805, contented himself with repeating Upton's statement that Geoffrey was the chief source of Spenser's history. So far as the chronicle material is concerned, he added nothing of value to Upton's notes.

Forty years later Craik also repeated Upton's opinion. . . .

The next work of importance was the edition of Spenser by Professor F. J. Child, whose brief notes represent the results of independent investigation. . . .

The latest commentator on any considerable portion of Spenser's chronicle is Kitchin, who took up the work of illustrating and explaining the first part with a zeal like Upton's, and with much the same method. . . .

In a study of Spenser's sources the importance of Kitchin's work is less than would appear at first sight, because on inspection the quotations, chosen more or less at random from a few chronicles, prove misleading rather than useful. The fact that a considerable body of material was common to nearly all the chronicles, was, it would seem, overlooked. . . . Moreover, Kitchin frequently introduces confusion by quoting improbable sources like William of Malmesbury and "Robert of Gloucester," whose chronicles existed in Spenser's time only in manuscript, and impossible sources, like Milton and Samnes. And a third difficulty is introduced when Kitchin undertakes to disentangle the fiction of the chronicles from the facts of history. In all these respects Kitchin's work is like Upton's. But it is less valuable, from the point of view of a study of the sources, because of his disregard of Geoffrey as the ultimate source. . . .

The one writer who has shown an appreciation of the problems connected with Spenser's chronicle and a willingness to cope with them, although in a limited field, is Perrett, who in his *Story of King Lear* has made a careful study of the few stanzas in the *Faerie Queene* which deal with that subject. . . .

The present confusion will best appear from a brief summary of the results which have been treated above in more detail. According to Warton, Spenser's source was Hardyng; according to Upton and Craik, it was Geoffrey of Monmouth; according to Professor Child, Spenser used both Geoffrey of Monmouth and Holinshed; according to Kitchin, he used Holinshed, Hardyng, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, and possibly Camden and Stow; according to Miss Warren, he used Geoffrey "and some of the many Elizabethan Chroniclers"; and finally, according to Perrett, in one section of the chronicle, he used only Geoffrey, or more probably, notes from Geoffrey.

A complete and systematic re-examination of the subject is evidently necessary, if the truth is to be established. . . .

When we put the manuscripts to one side, there remain the following books that were in print before 1590, and may have been consulted by Spenser:

I. Histories that in part cover the ground of the *Historia*.

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, of which, according to Hardy, there had been nine continental editions before 1590, although no edition had been printed in England.

Gildas, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, printed by Polydore Vergil, 1525; new edition by John Joscelyn (secretary to Archbishop Parker) 1568.

II. Books which present some of the material of the *Historia*, though not in chronicle form.

Perceforest, a French romance which includes a list of the British kings, Paris, 1528, 1532.

Mirror for Magistrates: the edition of 1571 was the first to contain the heroes and heroines of Geoffrey's story. These were Albanact, Humber, Locrinus, Elstride, Sabrine, Madan, Malim, Mempricius, Bladud, Cordila, Morgan, Ferrex, Porrex,

Kimarus, Morindus, and Nennius. The edition of 1578 added Guiderius, Carassus, Hellina, Vortiger, Pendragon, and Cadwallader. The additions in 1587 were Jago, Brennus, Caesar, and Guiderius.

Itinerarium Cambriae, by Giraldus Cambrensis, published by Powel, London, 1585.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1586.

Albion's England, by William Warner, 1586. This includes accounts of Brutus, Guendoleyne, Mempricius (brief), Leir, Ferrex and Porrex, Dunwallo, Brenn and Belyn or Beline (at length), the sons of Morindus, the invasion by Caesar, a brief mention of several kings, then accounts of Voadia or Voadicia, Constantine, Vortiger, Arthur (with the romance attributes omitted), and Cadwallader.

III. Geoffrey's *Historia*, and the chronicles based upon it.

Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, printed at Paris, 1508 and 1517, and at Heidelberg, by Commeline, in *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, 1587.

Caxton, *Chronicles of England*, printed by Caxton, 1480 and 1483, and by W. de Worde, 1497, 1502, 1515, 1520, and 1528.

Ralph Higden, *Polychronicon*, translated by Trevisa, printed by Caxton, 1482, by W. de Worde, 1495, by Peter Treveris, 1527.

Jacobus Philippus Foresti, Bergomensis *Supplementum Cronicarum*, first edition, Venice, 1486.

Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, London, 1516, 1533, 1542, 1559.

Johannes Nauclerus, *Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium Gentium Chronici Commentarii*, Tübingen, 1516; Köln, 1579.

Alain Bouchart, *Les Grandes Croniques de Bretagne*, 1518, 1531, 1532, 1541, 1545.

John Rastell, *The Pastime of People*, London, 1529.

Polydore Vergil, *Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVI*, printed at Basle, 1534, 1546, 1555, 1556, 1556-7, 1570.

Ponticus Virunnius, *Britannicae Historiae Libri sex*, at Augsburg, 1534; by Powel, 1585; by Commeline, 1587. This is an abridgment of the first six books of Geoffrey.

John Hardyng, *Chronicle*, two editions printed by R. Grafton, London, 1543.

Wace's *Brut*, Paris, 1543, 1584.

Arthur Kelton, *A Chronycle with a Genealogie . . . Newly compyled in Metre*, printed by Grafton, London, 1547.

Thomas Cooper, *Epitome of Chronicles*, earlier part by Thomas Lanquet, London, 1549, 1554, 1559, 1560, 1565, 1569.

Gyles Codet, *Chronicle*, London, 1560.

Richard Grafton, *Abridgment of the Chronicles of England*, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1570, 1572.

John Stow, *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, 1565, 1567, 1570, 1573, 1575, 1579, 1584, 1587.

Richard Grafton, *Manuell of the Chronicles of England*, 1565.

Flores Historiarum, Matthew of Westminster, London, 1567, 1570; Matthew Paris, 1571.

Richard Grafton, *Chronicle at Large*, London, 1569.

Humphrey Llwyd, *Commentarioli Descriptionis Britannicae Fragmentum*, 1572; translated into English by Thomas Twyne, and published under the title *The Breuiary of Britayne*, 1573.

Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande, and Ireland*, 1577; revised edition, 1587.

David Chambers, *Histoire abrégée*, Paris, 1579.

John Stow, *The Chronicles of England*, London, 1580; under the title, *The Annales of England*, 1584.

EDITOR. Miss Harper makes the "complete and systematic re-examination" of which she speaks, in a study which Carpenter characterizes as "solid, careful, and intelligently planned," and shows the exact relation of each historical statement in Spenser to the various chronicles and histories. The notes to the pertinent stanzas in canto 10 give her findings in detail.

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Spenser's Fairy Mythology," pp. 118-121). We come now to a consideration of the place of the chronicles in the *Faerie Queene*. These are found in 2. 10, in which is given a rhymed chronicle of British kings from Brutus to Uther, and in 3. 3, where the history is continued in the form of Merlin's prophecy to Britomart concerning her descendants as far as Cadwallader, last of the kings. Only Arthur and his son are omitted. Miss Carrie M. Harper, in her excellent study of the sources of Spenser's history, has suggested that the British point of view and the interest in Welsh tradition, "may be partly accounted for by the Welsh blood of the Tudors." It is safe to go much farther than this. Far from being mere episodes, these chronicles are important structurally. This is indicated by the elaborate invocations prefixed to the cantos containing the historical material, and also by Spenser's repeated statements that in this poem he is celebrating the ancestry of the Queen. Moreover, while Spenser's chronicle deals only with British kings and is thus a recognition of Elizabeth's British ancestry, the point is driven home by means of the fairy chronicle, which is definitely referred to the Tudor house. Most of the fairy monarchs have the word *elf* incorporated in their names, from Elfe, the founder of the dynasty, who wedded a fay, through Elfin, Elfinan, Elfile, Elfinell, Elfant, Elfar, Elfinor, down to Elficleos, who is identified with Henry VII. Oberon (Henry VIII) succeeded, since Elferon (Prince Arthur) died before his father, and the last reigning monarch is Tanaquil (Gloriana), by whom Spenser means Elizabeth.

By this means Spenser is able to bridge the gap in chronology necessary to his design; he omits all reference to Saxon or Norman kings, or to kings of England prior to Henry VII. The past, both near and remote, is blended with the present. Arthur and Gloriana are in one sense the ancestors of Elizabeth; in another sense they are now living, rulers of England. This fact may be plainly seen if we add to these two chronicles the revelation of Britomart's descendants as given to her by Merlin (3. 3. 26 ff.). Artegall, whom Britomart is to wed, is not a fairy, though he thinks he was born from the union of an elf with a fay. In truth, Merlin says, he is son of Gorlois and brother of the Cornish king, Cador. The name Artegall comes from the chronicles and, as Miss Harper observes (pp. 143-4), the device

makes up for the omission of the historical Arthur here and in Book II. At the end of Merlin's list of kings we are told that the Britons will be driven out first by a Raven (the Danes) and then by the Lion of Neustria (William of Normandy), but that "when the term is full accomplished . . . a sparke of fire" shall break forth from Mona and

So shall the Briton blood their crowne agayn reclame.

Thus Spenser once more covers the period from 1228 when Llewellyn, the last British prince, gave up Wales and retired to Anglesey (Mona), where Henry VII was afterwards born. By this means the chronological interim is bridged, as by the device of the fairy genealogy in 2. 10, and we are once more brought to the Tudor regime.

Preparatory to an interpretation of these facts it is necessary to recall the various aspects under which Elizabeth appears. As Gloriana, she typifies not only the glory but the "rule" of England. As Belphebe and, to a certain extent, as Britomart, she typifies chastity. But as Britomart she is primarily representative of British power, the warlike might of England. (Strictly speaking, the third book deals with the rescue of Amoret. Scudamore, the knight who should be the hero of the book, does not succeed in accomplishing his "adventure," so Britomart comes to his assistance. Thus Britomart is the counterpart of Arthur in the other books, with the difference that while Arthur renders assistance to Redcross and Guyon in their hour of need, each of the titular heroes of the first two books achieves his final "adventure" without any aid from the "greatest knight in the world." It is this well-known romance convention that Spenser makes use of in his poem, not the idea that no one virtue is sufficient but that Magnificence includes them all.) As Mercilla, she is Elizabeth the merciful, the poet's interpretation of her unwillingness to sentence Mary of Scotland to death. She is also, of course, Cynthia, a conception parallel to that of Belphebe; and Tanaquil, the daughter of Henry VIII. Of all these conceptions, that of Gloriana *plus* Britomart is by far the most constant and important. The union between Arthur and Gloriana and that between Artegall and Britomart then become significant of Spenser's fundamental conception in the structure of the poem. How closely knit the two stories are is indicated by the facts, already pointed out, that Artegall parallels Arthur in an important sense in the chronicles, and that Britomart, in Book III at least, plays Arthur's rôle. The full significance of this conception it is now possible to define.

By *Fairy* Spenser means *Welsh*, or, more accurately, *Tudor*, as distinguished from the general term British. He looks on England as Britain, ignoring, for the purpose of his poem, post-Conquest history. The Tudor dynasty, therefore, brings back the ancient British line, and one purpose of the poem is to celebrate this fact in compliment to the Queen. But Gloriana, the Faerie Queene, is *Elizabeth Tudor*. The old British spirit, the real England, represented in Prince Arthur, finds in her "glory," in the rich connotation given that term in the Renaissance, and also the powerful government ("rule"—see the proem to Bk. III, stanza 5) that was making England a great European power and was the prophecy of the coming British imperialism. Thus the epic celebrates both the ancestry of Elizabeth, the return of the old British strain, and also her greatness as an individual. The title that Spenser chooses for his poem takes on new significance.

It remains only to add that the Britomart-Artegal story relates primarily to Great Britain. The deeds of Artegal, for example, as I have pointed out elsewhere, reflect the international relations of Elizabeth's government, especially the conflict with Philip of Spain. But the Arthur-Gloriana story, complementary to this, is concerned with the return of the native British race to power. Spenser has left evidence of this distinction in the passage (3. 2. 7-8) in which Britomart says that she has come from her "native soyle, that is by name The greater Britaine," to "Faery lond," where she has heard that many famous knights and ladies dwell. That is, fairy land, for the moment, is Wales, the last stronghold of Britain. This is quite in agreement with the entire conception. Avalon, Fairy Land, Wales, is ruled by a *fée* who became the protector of Arthur, healed his wound, and preserved him until the time for his return, in the Tudor house, to worldly empire. The only addition that Spenser makes is that the great *fée*, in the person of Elizabeth, herself assumes the rule of Great Britain.

[See Greenlaw's contributions in the Appendices, "The Historical Allegory" and "The Date of Composition."]

APPENDIX VIII

THE CASTLE OF THE BODY

C. L. POWELL ("The Castle of the Body," in abstract). The allegorical conception of the body as a world, city, or castle, was a not unusual conceit in middle English times. That it may be found in continental literature as well as in English, is illustrated by its use by Doni in Italy (J. M. Berdan, "Doni and the Jacobean," *PMLA* 22. 291-7) and DuBartas in France (*Divine Weeks*, first week, sixth day); and that it became a favorite motif in England is shown by Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Fletcher's *Purple Island*, and Bunyan's *Holy War*. (This conceit is of course similar to the Greek idea of microcosmos, but it did not come into English writing from the Greek.) In the *Ancren Riwele* (ed. Morton, p. 48) and the *Pricke of Conscience* (ed. Morris, 1. 5820), we find slight suggestions of the idea; but in the works considered below, the conceit is pursued in extended detail, and the passages resemble one another sufficiently to point towards a relationship among them. The *Ancren Riwele* passage takes its source from Proverbs 4. 23, "Omni custodia serva cor tuum, quia ex ipso vita procedit," and that of the *Pricke of Conscience* from St. Bernard's lines,

Bonum castrum custodit
Qui corpus suum custodit,

both of which passages are quoted in the respective texts.

The earliest of the extended allegories is Robert Grosseteste's translation into Anglo-Norman of the French *Le Chateau d'Amour* (ed. Halliwell, 1849, p. 29 ff.) in the first half of the thirteenth century. Here, the castle, which takes the place of the world in the microcosmic idea, is an allegorized representation of the body of the Virgin Mary and of certain properties pertaining thereto. It will be noticed that no parts of the body are given allegorical significance, and similarly the details of the castle have no physical counterparts. . . .

The next example of this castle conceit is found in the old homily *Sawles Warde* (ed. Wagner, Bonn, 1908, 1. 13 ff.), which was written, it is thought, somewhere in the first half of the thirteenth century. The four cardinal virtues, the guardians of the castle, are the same as in the *Castle of Love*, except that Worship is replaced by Temperance. . . .

The Constable in the *Castle of Love* is Charity; in the *Sawles Warde*, Wit or Intelligence. So far as the allegorical value of the two poems is concerned, we may say that the former makes more of the physical features and the latter of the living or spiritual. . . . The most important of these new details are man's soul, represented by the treasure, Wit and Will, together with the strife between them, and the external enemies to the castle, headed by the devil. The use of the five wits in other works prevents us from attaching much importance to their introduction here.

In the *Vita de Dowel, Dobet and Dobet*, the second part of *Piers the Plowman* (ed. Skeat, A text, Pas. 10. 1. 1 ff.), the same castle allegory occurs again. . . .

The similarity of the allegory here to that of *Sawles Warde* lies not only in the main idea but in not a few of the details as well. The chief of these are: the various inhabitants of the two houses, particularly Wit and Inwit; the opponents without, led in each case by the devil; the governing power of the house, invested in Intelligence, and the distress of the body, or home, when this power is absent; and the soul, in *Sawles Warde* represented as a treasure and in the *Vita* personified into the form of a woman, which is made the greatest object of value to be guarded from hostile forces. . . .

Spenser's allegory differs from the preceding ones chiefly in the parallelism established in physical aspects, in which the parts of the body are worked into the form of a castle with great detail. It seems pretty clear that he took this part of the conceit from DuBartas. There is, however, nothing in DuBartas suggestive of the spiritual, or non-physical, part of the allegory; and if Spenser is indebted to any previous work for this, it must be to one or more of those discussed above.

It will be readily seen from the passage of Spenser here referred to that the general situation is again the same,—a fleshly castle in which the chief dweller is the soul (Anima or Alma), who is opposed by hostile forces from without and defended by members of the household. The castle is ruled by reason and bulwarked against the enemy by the five senses. In the Spenser version, it is further defended by the Knight of Temperance, corresponding in part to Wit and Inwit of the earlier poems, who fulfills his allegorical character by beating off the horde of evil spirits. On the whole, less is made of the spiritual significance in Spenser's poem than in the *Vita*; and the moral idea as expressed in the stanzas quoted, though strangely similar to that of both *Sawles Warde* and the *Vita*, is not allegorically portrayed, as it is in both the other works. The minor details which seem to point to a dependence by Spenser upon the preceding poems, are: the two damsels attending Alma, who may (or may not) be taken from Dobet and Dobest; the chamber of Alma, being the heart or parlor; and the location of the governing power in the head. The conception of Alma herself, who, like Anima, "ouer al in the bodi wandureth," is, of course, the chief point of similarity between the *Vita* and the *Faerie Queene* versions, aside from the general idea.

APPENDIX IX

ELIZABETHAN PSYCHOLOGY

EDWARD DOWDEN ("Elizabethan Psychology," pp. 394-6). The senses make their reports concerning the external objects which have impressed them to the brain. Perhaps those reports do not agree with one another; a marble, which the eye recognizes as only one, may be felt by the fingers, if crossed, as two. There is need of some judge to compare and decide between the reports of the several senses. This judge is the inner wit, or inner sense, which Trevisa, translating Bartholomew, names also the common sense. As Bartholomew uses this term "common sense" it has a generic meaning, including under it the inner senses of imagination, reasoning, and memory. But different writers employ the term in different ways. With Davies it means the imagination; with Burton it is the kind of reason or judgment which is concerned only with things sensible, as distinguished from the higher faculties of "understanding"; he describes it as the moderator of the other senses—"all their objects are his, and all their offices are his." In the allegorical poem of Phineas Fletcher the meaning is identical with that of Burton. His Common Sense is a Counsellor of middle years and seemly personage,—“Father of laws, the rule of right and wrong,” who tries the causes submitted to him by the five outward senses. However the term "common sense" may be applied, it was generally agreed that the inner senses of the sensible soul are three—reason, imagination or phantasy, and memory. The brain consists of three cells, or ventricles, or wombs,—each of these names was in common use,—and in each of these one of the three faculties had its residence; each can, however, pass on ideas to its neighbor faculty. Spenser, agreeing in this with Bartholomew and with Phineas Fletcher, places his Phantastes in the foremost cell, that is in the cell of the brain which is nearest to the forehead. He is a young man, swarthy, of crabbed hue,

That him full of melánocholy did shew.

His chamber is "dispaigned with sundry colours" in which were writ "infinite shapes of things dispersed thin." But Burton placed phantasy in the middle cell of the brain. The hindmost cell is assigned with little difference of opinion to memory. Certain writers add a fourth cell devoted to the special work of elaborating the animal spirits. . . . [See RUTH L. ANDERSON below.]

But the word "motion" comprehends more than this. It includes the motions of the internal parts of the body, such as the passage of blood through the veins; and these are perhaps rather of a vegetable or vital origin than dependent upon the animal spirits. It includes the power of appetite, and appetite is either sensitive, which is common to man and brutes, or intellective, which is possessed by man alone, and which in a well-regulated nature controls and directs the sensitive appetite. Behind this intellective appetite—if it does not, as some hold, belong rather to our immortal part—lies the reason or the common sense; its proper functions are to seek good and to avoid evil in sensible things. In its function of seeking

what is desirable, it is named the "concupiscible" appetite; in its function of repelling or evading evil it is named the "irascible" appetite. Hence arise all the affections and passions, or, as they are commonly called, "perturbations" of man. . . .

The division of the Passions into two groups—the irascible and the concupiscible—determined the plan of the second Book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, that which tells the legend of Sir Guyon, Knight of Temperance. The theme of the Book is discipline in self-control; through the first six cantos the dangers and errors to which the soul of man is exposed through the irascible passions are exhibited in the allegory; in the last six the temptations are those offered by the concupiscible passions, chief among which are the lust for money, the lust for false glory and gross ambition, and the lust for sensual pleasure. The cave of Mammon, the throne of Queen Philotime, the Bower of Bliss, with Acrasia in all her deceiving loveliness, are successively exhibited.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES ("Burton on Spenser," pp. 560-567). [References in this article to *The Anatomy of Melancholy* are to the edition of J. W. Moore, Philadelphia, 1847.] Burton classified love and jealousy as perturbations because for him they were only two of many passions which treated self-control, the ideal which both he and Spenser, following an army of examples in the literature of the Renaissance and even of the Church fathers, derived ultimately from Aristotle, Plato and the Stoics. Melancholy itself Burton conceived as a disease resulting from psychological disturbances which could all be conveniently grouped under the technical name, inherited from Roman Stoicism, of perturbations.

Tully maintains in the second of his *Tusculans* "omnium insipientium animi in morbo sunt, et perturbatorum," fools are sick and all that are troubled in mind: for what is sickness but as Gregory Tholosanus defines it, "A dissolution or perturbation of the bodily league, which health combines"; and who is not sick or ill-disposed? in whom doth not passion, anger, envy, discontent, fear, sorrow, reign? ("Democritus to the Reader," pp. 28-9.)

For Spenser also the great enemies of the harmony or league which is psychic health were the perturbations [*F. Q.* 2. 5. 1 quoted].

In this concept of Temperance as self-mastered calm encircled, like Alma's House of Temperance (*F. Q.* 2. 9), by a thousand beleaguering passions we have, I believe, the essence of Spenser's psychological theory of that virtue as well as of the structural principle of the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene*. Upton, in his notes to his edition of 1758, took this for granted and found most of his parallels to Spenser's thought in Cicero's philosophical writings and in Plutarch. Recent scholarship has taken a narrower view. Mr. DeMoss argues that Spenser is a strict and loyal Aristotelian and attacks M. Jusserand and Professor Erskine for their suggestions about his debts to the Italian syncretists of Platonic and Aristotelian thought, Giraldis Cinthio and Alessandro Piccolomini. Miss Winstanley sees in Spenser's Temperance a combination of Aristotle's *ἐγκράτεια* and *σωφροσύνη* with Plato's *ἀνδρεία*, and she concludes that "it is in this wider, Platonic sense that Spenser interprets the virtue." Both she and Mr. DeMoss limit their discussions to the question whether or not the origins of Spenser's thought were Hellenic and inevitably arrive at an emphatic affirmative, but they take no account of the problems of transmission and modification.

For the reader with no axe to grind other than a wish to understand Spenser, Burton is the best commentator. In the First Part of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* he devotes his longest "Member" to an analysis of the perturbations which destroy happiness and self-control. He reduces them all to two inclinations, the "irascible and concupiscible." So Spenser (2. 1. 57-8). . . .

Burton lets us see that this division of the perturbations had been a commonplace for centuries.

The Thomists [he recalls] subdivide them into eleven, six in the coveting, and five in the invading. Aristotle reduceth all to pleasure and pain, Plato to love and hatred, Vives to good and bad. . . . All other passions are subordinate to these: love, joy, desire, pride, jealousy, anxiety, mercy, shame, discontent, despair, ambition, avarice, &c., are reducible unto the first; and if they be immoderate, they consume the spirits and melancholy is caused by them (1. 2. 3. 3, pp. 161-162).

Burton's list of perturbations recalls many of the topics of Spenser's allegory. He immediately plunges into a systematic discussion of them all (1. 2. 3. 4-15), some features of which throw light upon Spenser's Legend of Temperance.

Burton's list begins with sorrow and proceeds as follows, devoting a subsection to the discussion of each: fear, shame and disgrace; envy, malice and hatred (treated together), emulation, discontents; concupiscible appetite, as desires, ambition (under which he includes "love of women which will require a just volume by itself"), covetousness; love of gaming and pleasures immoderate; philautia or self-love; love of learning. Spenser agrees with Burton that sorrow may justly challenge first place in "this irascible appetite." His first canto tells the story of a woman, Amavia, whose grief for her husband is so immoderate that it kills her and her fate prompts Sir Guyon to remark that "Temperaunce, with golden squire, . . . can measure out a meane, Nether to melt in pleasures whott desyre, Nor Frye in hartless grief and dolefull tene." Burton, characteristically, makes allowance "with Plutarch," Seneca and Solomon, for indulgence of grief, but concludes with

. . . Germanicus' advice, that we should not dwell too long upon our passions, to be desperately sad, immoderate grievors, to let them tyrannize, there's "indolentiae ars," a medium to be kept: we do not (saith Austin, lib. 9. cap. 9, *De Civitate Dei*) forbid men to grieve, but to grieve overmuch. . . .

Though Aristotle deny any part of temperance to be conversant with sorrow, I am of Seneca's mind, (Epist. 85) "he that is wise is temperate and he that is temperate is constant, free from passion and he that is such a one is without sorrow"; as all wise men should be (2. 3. 5, p. 374).

Elizabethan literature might be made to furnish many instances of the prestige of the Stoic principle that grief for dear ones ought to be kept within a mean, and akin to it is the idea that makes pity a vice as the Palmer calls it in two of his admonitions to Guyon (*F. Q.* 2. 5. 24. 6 and 2. 12. 29. 2). Claudius takes advantage of it to deprecate Hamlet's grief for his father (1. 2. 11. 87-108), and the Duke in Ford's *Love's Sacrifice* appeals to it (1. 1). Spenser makes Aldus vindicate the ideal mean in grief with conventional Stoico-Christian reasoning as he stands beside his supposedly dying son, Aladine (6. 3. 5):

Such is the weaknesse of all mortall hope;
So tickle is the state of earthly things,
That ere they come unto their aymed scope,

They fall too short of our fraile reckonings,
 And bring us bale and bitter sorrowings,
 In stead of comfort, which we should embrace:
 This is the state of kesars and of kings.
 Let none therefore, that is in meaner place,
 Too greatly grieve at any his unlucky case.

About the perturbation of fear Spenser has nothing to say and in the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene* his only allusion to envy is in the serio-comic story of the entertainment of Sansloy and Hudibras by Medina. Envy makes both of those ill-balanced gentlemen socially impossible (*F. Q.* 2. 2. 19). But in Book I (4. 30-32) and in Book V (12. 28-42) he has tremendous allegorizations of envy based upon the definition of that deadly sin which Burton quotes, "Tristia de bonis alienis." Freedom from envy is a main character of all Spenser's Utopias, the Temple of Venus (*F. Q.* 4. 10. 28) and the Garden of Acrasia (*F. Q.* 2. 12. 58), and the golden age described in the prologue to Book V. The idea in the first two cases is probably a convention of the literature of courtly love (cf. *An Hymne of Love*, vv. 259-267).

Anger Burton defines as "furor brevis" (1. 2. 3. 9, p. 169), calls it a main cause of insanity, and says that its victims often "irascuntur de levibus causis," and that it is a habit which must be checked in its beginnings. Spenser's allegory of Pyrochles and Occasion reflects all these commonplaces, and Guyon's exhortation to Pyrochles implies that his chronic wrath is a form of incipient insanity (2. 5. 16). . . .

Three of Burton's remaining perturbations, "love of gaming and pleasures immoderate," "philautia or vain-glory" and "love of learning" Spenser neglects. Covetousness and concupiscible appetite he treats in succession as Burton does, but in reverse order (1. 2. 3. 11-12). The ideas in Burton's subsection on Φιλαργυρία advance *pari passu* with those in Spenser's debate between Sir Guyon and Mammon (1. 2. 3. 12, pp. 176-7):

"From whence," St. James asks [Burton's passage begins] "are wars and contentions amongst you?" I will add usury, fraud, rapine, simony, oppression, lying, swearing, bearing false witness, &c., are they not from this foundation of covetousness, that greediness in getting, tenacity in keeping, sordity in spending; that they are so wicked; "unjust against God, their neighbor, themselves"; all comes hence.

Guyon's exordium in his debate with Mammon phrases the same commonplaces (2. 7. 12). . . . Burton, who had the root of the economic interpretation of history in him, goes on to inveigh against avarice as "a plague subverting kingdoms" as Guyon does against the "realmes and rulers both" confounded by Mammon (*F. Q.* 2. 7. 13. 2). Finally Spenser ends his story of the adventure in Mammon's delve with the vision of Philotime (*F. Q.* 2. 7. 44-51), "that was Ambition, rash desire to sty" (*F. Q.* 2. 7. 46. 8). His crowned woman with the rout of idolators about her has long been suspected of kinship with (*Hous of Fame*, Part 3, 221) "our own gentil lady Fame," of whom a glimpse was once vouchsafed to Chaucer. Burton suggests that she belongs to a far-flung sisterhood (1. 2. 3. 13, p. 179):

Cebes in his table, St. Ambrose in his second book of Abel and Cain, and Lucian in his tract *de mercede conductis*, hath [sic] excellent well deciphered [ambitious]

men's proceedings in his picture of Opulentia, whom he feigns to dwell on the top of a high mount, much sought after by many suitors.

Burton grounds his ideas of the perturbations upon a psychology which, though simple as he explains it, went back through a long and complex history ultimately to Aristotle's *De Anima*. He explains in his "Anatomy of the soul" that there are three souls; the vegetative, sensible and rational, and that between the sensible soul, which we have in common with the beast, and the rational soul, which makes us human, there is ceaseless war.

Where sense is there are pleasure and pain, [and the two] powers or inclinations, concupiscible or irascible: . . . Concupiscible covets always pleasant and delightful some things and abhors that which is distasteful, harsh, unpleasant. Irascible, "quasi aversans per iram et odium," as avoiding it with anger and indignation (1. 1. 2. 8, p. 103). [From the sensible powers] come all those headstrong passions, violent perturbations of the mind; and many times vicious habits, customs, feral diseases; because we give so much way to our appetite and follow our inclination, like so many beasts (1. 1. 2. 11, p. 108).

The "intellective faculty" of the soul "commands the other two in men, and is a curb unto them; and men are like beasts by sense, giving rein to their concupiscence and several lusts" (1. 1. 2. 8, p. 103).

This is the psychological basis of that warfare of Reason with Passion throughout the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene* and of its final allegorization in Spenser's version of the Circe story. Acrasia's victims in the Bower of Bliss had all been transformed into beasts and when the Palmer reversed the charm (*F. Q.* 2. 12. 86). . . . Spenser's Legend of Temperance and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* are both, in very different ways, studies of the siege laid to the human by the non-human part of man. "Feral diseases" is Burton's favorite synonym for those "stubborn perturbations" which served both him and Spenser as the general terms of modern psychiatry serve us. And this is one reason, among many others which are better appreciated, for calling both men by the much-abused name of humanist.

RUTH L. ANDERSON (*Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays*, pp. 14-7, 138 n). Writers disagree regarding the classification and number of the internal processes of perception. Batman, in considering the relation of the soul to the body, names five virtues:

The first whereof . . . is feeling, and by that vertue the Soule is moued, and taketh heede to the bodylye wittes, and desireth those things, that belong to the bodye. . . . The second power is wit: that is the vertue of the soule, whereby shee knoweth things sensible and corporall, when they bee present. The third is imagination, whereby the Soule beholdeth the lykenesse of bodylye things when they bee absent. The fourth is "Racio," Reason, that deemeth and iudgeth betweene good and euill, truth and falsenesse. The fift is "Intellectus," understanding and inwit. The which comprehendeth thinges not material but intelligible, as God, Angel, and other such. (*Batman vppon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum*, London, 1582, Book 3, ch. 6. Almost the identical passage appears in *Wits Theater of the Little World*, p. 37.)

The first three virtues cannot function apart from the body; they are common to man and beast. Reason and understanding may be separated from the body; hence

they are immortal. Farther on (Bk. 3, ch. 10), Batman names as inner senses imagination, sensible reason or a virtue estimative, and memory; he assigns each respectively to the foremost, the middle, and the hindmost ventricle of the brain. Edmund Spenser gives a similar classification. (*F. Q.* 2. 9. 47 ff. He calls the power dwelling in the forepart of the brain fantasy. The second power, which he does not name, is clearly a form of reasoning.) Coeffeteau (*A Table of Humane Passions*, Edward Grimeston, tr., London, 1621, Preface), Sir John Davies ("Nosce Teipsum"), Burton (*Anatomy of Melancholy*), and Phineas Fletcher ("The Purple Island") consider common sense, imagination or fantasy, and memory the internal senses. (Sir John Davies makes the term imagination synonymous with common sense; the second power of the internal senses he calls fantasy. Some writers call fantasy or imagination, the estimative or cogitative virtue. See Burton, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 182.) Coeffeteau has nothing to say about the localization of these powers. The others agree in placing memory in the hindmost cell. Sir John Davies and Burton assign common sense to the foremost and fantasy or imagination to the middle portion of the brain. Fletcher reverses this localization. [See DOWDEN above.]

Common sense, imagination, and fantasy, La Primaudaye says, were sometimes differentiated and sometimes described as a single power, ordained to collect images from the external senses and to prepare them for the consideration of reason. He accepts the term common sense as the name of a virtue which receives impressions from the outer world and reduces them to a unit of apperception. No distinction need be made between imagination and fantasy, he says, as names of a power which continues the formation of ideas (*The French Academie; Fully Discoursed and Finished in Foure Books*, London, 1618, pp. 401, 410, 414). Batman apparently follows those who do not differentiate the terms. La Primaudaye (pp. 414, 416-7) and John Davies of Hereford ("Mirum in Modum," ed. Grosart, 1. 7), although they distinguish between the functioning of common sense and the imagination, place both powers in the forepart of the brain and assign reason, a faculty usually said to be a part of the rational "soul," to the middle cell. Their classification agrees essentially with that which Batman gives; one cannot be certain, however, that their "reason" corresponds exactly to his "sensible reason." The reason which they describe is clearly a part of the immortal "soul."

From these and other divergent opinions it appears that there existed during the Renaissance several theories as to the faculties of the mind. Certain writers, we have seen, consider common sense, imagination, and memory as three separate powers arising from the sensible "soul"; with some variations in opinion they assign each to a separate cell of the brain. Batman, also insisting upon localization, divides the "inner wit" into imagination, sensible reason, and memory. Spenser, La Primaudaye, and John Davies of Hereford probably continue this theory. Some writers do not divide the faculties of mind into the sensible and the rational. They call imagination, reason, and memory powers of the rational "soul," oppose theories which confine the operations of a faculty to a single portion of the brain. (See for example, John Huarte, *Examen de Ingenios*, translated into English by "R. C." from an Italian translation of the original, London, 1596, pp. 51 ff.) . . .

The extent to which the idea of conflict among the faculties of the soul pervaded thought during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is not to be estimated

solely by its widespread expression in philosophical treatises. It appeared as a motive in Christian literature as early as A. D. 400 in Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, an allegorical epic consisting of a series of single combats between such characters as "Ira" and "Patientia." It formed the basis of Middle English debates between the body and the soul, between the eye and the heart, and of Lydgate's *Reason and Sensuality*. The predominant theme of the moral plays is a strife between the good and the bad powers of the soul for the control of man. In Sydney's *Arcadia* (ed. Feuillerat, 1. 339-340) there is an account of a skirmish between "Reason" and "Passion" in which seven "reasonable" shepherds engage in an argumentative skirmish with seven "appassionated" shepherds. The idea of conflict underlies the second book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, John Davies of Hereford's "Humours Heauen on Earth," and many other works of the period.

DANIEL C. BOUGHNER ("The Psychology of Memory in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," pp. 90-6). The present study purposes to set forth one aspect of his [Spenser's] system of psychology—his psychology of memory in the allegory of the Castle of Alma, to make clear the relationship of his system to the current Elizabethan doctrines, and to establish the purpose of certain departures from those doctrines. . . .

A close perusal of Spenser's allegory brings into prominence certain distinct characteristics of memory: (1) the faculty is localized in the back of the head; (2) although it receives and hoards impressions and ideas which previously have undergone the heightening charm of the imagination and the sober adjudication of the reason, these ideas and impressions are apparently not interchangeable between the faculties; (3) memory is very old, but intellectually vigorous; (4) the capacity of memory is infinite; (5) it pigeon-holes the objects submitted to it, and preserves them uncorrupted, though they show evidence of long storage and use; (6) it labors ceaselessly; (7) certain articles of memory are sometimes mislaid or not immediately accessible, in which cases the faculty is aided by the reminder; and (8) articles of memory are delivered directly to him who calls for them.

Several theories as to the faculties of the mind existed during the Renaissance. Writers disagreed regarding the classification and the number of the internal processes of perception. Certain thinkers consider common sense, imagination, and memory as three separate powers arising from the sensible "soul," and with some variation of opinion they assign each to a separate cell of the brain. With regard to memory, Thomas Wright posits a series of pertinent questions to which his contemporaries found various answers. "In what part of the Braine," he asks, "resideth the formes fit for memory? How do we remember? What helpeth and hindereth Memory, and by what manner? Why doth Memory faile in old men? Whether Memory be a faculty distinguished from our understanding, or no? How can possibly be conserved, without confusion, such an infinite number of formes in the Soule . . . ? How, when we would remember, can we single a Fly from the university of Beasts, Foules, and fish?" (*Passions of the Minde in Generall. In Six Bookes. Corrected, enlarged, and with sundry new Discoveries augmented*, London, 1630, p. 304.)

Although Juan Huarte (*Examen de Ingenios, The Examination of mens Wits*, tr. out of the Spanish tongue by M. Camilli, Inglished out of the Italian by R. C[arew], London, 1596, pp. 51 ff.) and Pierre Charron (*Of Wisdome three*

bookes, tr. by Samson Lennard, London, 1658, p. 48) oppose the writers who would confine the operations of a faculty to a single portion of the brain, Batman in his translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (tr. and enlarged by Stephen Batman under the title *Batman vppon Bartholome, His Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum*, London, 1582, Book 3, ch. 16) and John Davies of Hereford (*Complete Works*, 2 vols., A. B. Grosart ed., Chertsey Worthies' Library, Edinburgh, 1878, v. 1, *Mirum in Modum*, 6 ff.) in a passage whose architectural symbolism is strongly reminiscent of Spenser, agree with Spenser in localizing memory in the hindmost cell of the brain. To this cell, according to Batman, are committed sense impressions which previously the imagination has acted upon and the reason or judgment weighed; the reason, moreover, is guardian of the cell: What the imagination "shapeth and imagineth, she sendeth it to the judgment of reason. And what that reason taketh of the imagination, as a judge, judgeth and defineth it sending to the memory" (3. 16). Charron, however, makes the imagination the keeper of the cell of memory, the "custodian that lays up reports from the understanding as well as of its own court," when he writes that the "memorative faculty is the Gardian and Register of all the species or kindes and images, apprehended by the sense, retired and sealed up by the imagination" (p. 47). This theory Huarte seconds. The process of memory may thus be described: images that have been subjected to the selective disposition of the common sense are given over to the imagination or fantasy, which continues the thought process, recommends to the consideration of the reason forms that are of importance, and sends ideas to memory to be recorded. The imagination retains impressions longer than does the common sense and judges of them.

Writers do not agree in ascribing to memory a steadfastness of retention as does Spenser. Batman says that the memory receives those things that were put in the intellect or understanding, and keeps them until called upon to bring them forth. With him John Davies of Hereford is quite in accord: "she safely keeps that which to her is sent" (p. 6). Sir John Davies, however, dissents, for memory "doth remember much, and much forget" (*Works in Prose and Verse*, A. B. Grosart ed., 3 vols. Fuller Worthies' Library, v. 1, *Nosce Teipsum*, p. 112).

Memory records impressions much as a writer sets down on paper the things he would not forget: "the imagination writeth in the memorie the figures of the things knowne by the five senses, and by the understanding, as also some others of his own framing; and when it will remember ought . . . it turneth to behold & contemplate them." The faculty is conceived of as a "tendernes" of the brain, disposed with a "certaine kinde of moisture" whose function is to admit and preserve that which the imagination apprehends (Huarte, 78-9). Hence the vigor of the faculty will vary with the composition of its cell—it must not be too hard or dry lest it fail to receive impressions; nor must it be too soft or moist lest it fail to retain impressions (John Davies of Hereford, p. 9):

Yet the moyst braine conceives more readily,
But the drie braine retaines more steadily.

The figures, ideas, and impressions have ready access from the cell of one faculty to the cell of another, so that a lively intercommunication goes on between the several ventricles of the brain (*ibid.*, p. 9). . . .

Now although Spenser has the precedent of Batman in making reason the immediate neighbor of the memory and in attributing to memory an infinite capacity for retention (to this point John Davies of Hereford assents), and of Sir John Davies in the conception of an intellectual memory, he runs counter to the main body of Elizabethan psychological thought in several important particulars:

There is no functionary of the brain which corresponds to Anamnestes or the reminder—the boy who aids the ancient Eumnestes. This may be an allegorical representation of the contemporaneous belief in the unstinted activity of memory in youth.

Once an idea or impression finds lodgment in the memory, Eumnestes never allows it to slip unawares from his repositories. Since he had made memory infinite, and since Eumnestes is quite a hoary figure (memory is the eldest of the faculties), Spenser sensed the need for a helper to assist in the recovery of hidden or inaccessible stores of knowledge. Such a bulwark to memory he provided in Anamnestes, the reminder. This implied sanction of the notion of an infinite capacity for retention is quite at odds with the Elizabethan belief that a hot, dry brain will not receive, nor a soft moist brain retain impressions.

Spenser's memory is a warder only. When he has laid away the impressions furnished him by the reason, or when he has taken an object from his registers for delivery to the man who asks for it, memory's work is done. He does not devise "figures" of his own framing as does the laboratory memory of the Elizabethans.

The intellectual power of Spenser's memory grows and accumulates with age, whereas the conventional belief credited memory with great power only in youth, and assigned to the faculty a gradual decrepitude.

The accepted Elizabethan doctrine places memory next to imagination, which becomes its custodian; but Spenser will have all sensations given into the power of reason before they are turned over to Eumnestes.

In Spenser there is no such thing as an intercommunication between the master faculties. Memory is represented in the allegory of the Castle of Alma as receiving only those impressions that have undergone the sober and all-seeing judgment of the reason.

A final analysis leads to the conclusion that memory in the House of Temperance—in the brain of the man who holds his body in check by self-discipline—is selective, and the basis of selection is ethical. The memory that is shaped by Spenser's ethical concepts is infinite in the beauties and virtues of the sober and seemly temperament. The poet, apparently, tapped the main current of Elizabethan psychology, and although he left unchanged those beliefs that accorded with his general design, he reinterpreted for the uses of his ethical allegory a considerable part of the principles he thus took over. To Spenser's mind his poem was chiefly significant for its moral allegory. In the words of Professor Dodge, it was as a thinker in poetry that he felt his merit lay, and his claim to a just renown, both among his contemporaries and with posterity, consisted in the importance of the ethical idealism which in his *Faerie Queene*, the noblest of all courtesy-books, he sought to inculcate. Thus, although in Book 2, Canto 9, he draws on the psychological literature of his day, he recasts his material so as to reconcile it with his moral teaching. In his psychology of memory he converts his science into a sort of minister of right conduct.

APPENDIX X

THE STRUCTURE

ERNEST A. STRATHMANN ("The Structure of Book II of the *Faerie Queene*," abstracted by the author). The key to the structure of Book II is the recognized parallelism to Book I. In each the knight succeeds in several hard adventures, falls into difficulty from which he is rescued by Arthur, receives instruction by way of preparation for his final great adventure, and then goes forth to accomplish his mission. The parallelism cannot be dismissed as merely external; in other books Spenser departed from this structure, and its use in Book II may well indicate that the structure has been adopted for other reasons than the sake of artificial consistency. Certain variations support this assumption. In Canto 11, Arthur, who has already duplicated his role of Book I by rescuing Guyon, has a further independent adventure. Again, the parallelism cannot be applied mechanically. Dean Kitchin (pp. vii-viii) makes the reading of chronicles in Canto 10 of Book II the equivalent of Canto 10 of Book I, wherein Red Cross is prepared in the House of Holiness for his great mission; but *structurally* Canto 10 of Book II is an addition to Canto 9, with which it makes a single narrative episode. I do not question its importance: it may be, as Miss Winstanley suggests [see note to Canto 10], part of a larger plan for the whole poem, never completed; the significance which the Renaissance attached to a knowledge of history and statcraft in the education of a gentleman may account for its place in the didactic scheme of Book II; Professor Greenlaw [Appendix, "The Background in Chronicle and Legend"] has explained its nationalistic and patriotic meaning. The structural equation, however, is between Canto 10 of Book I and Canto 9 of Book II.

The problem, then, is primarily to explain in what way Canto 9 prepares Guyon for his final mission, as it must if the parallelism which I have postulated is correct; and secondarily to explain why the defense of the House of Alma in Canto 11 is assigned to Arthur rather than to Guyon. Canto 9 has been criticized by commentators as an ingenious episode of questionable taste, not essential to the moral teachings of the Legend of Temperance. For example, Dean Kitchin (p. 215) and Miss Winstanley (p. 268) call it an allegory within an allegory; and Professor Padelford (SP 18. 343) explains it by reference to Aristotle, in that "one might show an excessive fondness for pleasant sights and sounds and odors." I hope to show that the Canto is an important unit in the structure of Book II.

I

The basis of the explanation is the psychological element in the *Faerie Queene*, recognized by Professors Edward Dowden and Merritt Y. Hughes, both of whom suggest in passing the possibility of its bearing on the structure of Book II. [See Appendix, "Elizabethan Psychology," and M. Hoffman's notes on Cantos 9 and 11.] Failure to consider this element and modern over-emphasis on Spenser's

direct indebtedness in Book II to Aristotle,—specifically to the *Ethics* and *Politics*,—are responsible for the seeming isolation of Canto 9. *De Anima* and *De Partibus Animalium* are also among the works of Aristotle, who, "like Plato, developed his ethical doctrines in the closest connection with his psychological theories" (W. A. Hammond, *Aristotle's Psychology*, p. lxxviii). So, I believe, did Spenser. Elizabethan psychology was traditional, ultimately derived from Aristotle and Plato; and by its very nature Elizabethan psychology implied a physiology. As Miss Lily B. Campbell (*Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*, p. 79) concludes after an examination of contemporary treatises, the relationship between this psychology and physiology,—between mind or soul and body,—was recognized as fundamental by moral philosophers of the Renaissance no less than by modern psychologists. The important point is that Spenser and his readers would not look upon Book II as an abstract study in ethics; the problems of human conduct were associated inevitably with human limitations. How popular and widespread knowledge of psychology was in the age of Elizabeth is well illustrated by the scope of the literature treated by Miss Campbell and by Miss Ruth L. Anderson in her University of Iowa monograph, *Elizabethan Psychology in Shakespeare's Plays*.

A brief summary of the principal points in the system (and reference to the selections in the Appendix, "Elizabethan Psychology") may help to make my thesis clear. Man has three souls: the vegetative, in common with plants and animals; the sensible, in common with animals; the rational, peculiar to man. The vegetative soul (or vegetative power of the soul in some accounts) deals with nourishment and growth, as the name suggests. The sensible soul knows and desires. The exterior parts of the sensible soul, the five senses, communicate with the interior parts in the brain by means of the sinews. In the brain are located the common sense, the imagination, and the memory. (See D. C. Boughner's study of Spenser's psychology of memory.) In its second function the sensible soul has the power of desiring (the "concupiscible") and the power of exciting to wrath and action to overcome obstacles (the "irascible"). Since it both knows and desires, the sensible soul has also the moving power, control over the parts of the body which by motion carry out the purposes of the soul.

The rational soul understands, knows, or judges in one of its functions, and exercises the will or "intellectual appetite" in the other. The reports of the senses on external things are judged by the Understanding, whose judgments are acted upon by the Will. If the system works properly, the Will effects the dictates of Reason; but perfect operation of the system is subject to a host of obstacles,—bad education, bodily defects, a perverse Will, or the deceptive powers of evil, which may disguise as desirable something actually injurious. Reason loses its ascendancy if it gives way to the siege of the affections, or if the Will refuses to effect the judgments of Reason. (For a more detailed summary, upon which this account is based, see *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*, especially pp. 65-7.)

Condensed and incomplete as it is, this sketch suggests the parallels in Canto 9: Guyon and Arthur witness the functioning of the vegetative and sensible souls under the guidance of Alma, the rational soul. Spenser is content to sketch the main outlines of the psychological theory; but for his purposes the outline is sufficient. (Aside from Cantos 9 and 11, Book II contains explanations of, or allusions to, current psychological theory in 1. 57-8, 4. 7, 4. 34-5, 5. 1, 5. 16.) Even

earlier than Canto 9 Spenser recognizes the interdependence of soul and body, in Guyon's fainting when he comes from the Cave of Mammon (7. 65. 3-5):

For want of food, and sleepe, which two vpbeare,
Like mightie pillours, this fraile life of man,
That none without the same endure can.

This incident, with its emphasis on bodily weakness in a story of moral strength, is followed significantly by the visit to the House of Alma, where Guyon learns, among other things, of his physical limitations. Again Spenser is giving expression to a current idea; even Hooker observes that "to live virtuously it is impossible except we live."

The meaning of Canto 9 is indicated by its opening stanza, the idea of which is repeated in the first two stanzas of Canto 11. Then, fortified with the knowledge of the operation of the tripartite soul in the body, Guyon and Arthur go forth to victory.

II

The case I have presented could be further strengthened by enlargement in details; for the present I turn to additional evidence of other kinds: (1) the language used in the poetical description of the House of Alma agrees closely with current explanations of physiology; and (2) the parallel treatment of the subject by Spenser's disciple, Phineas Fletcher, corroborates the interpretation.

Although we are accustomed to regard the description in the House of Alma as highly allegorized, the language is in fact close to the "scientific" writings of the day. Inevitably metaphor and allegory are present; but when the scientists themselves resorted freely to figures of speech to make clear their points, the breach between the poet and the physiologist was narrower than it now appears to us, who read only the poet. The conception of the body as a house, tower, or castle is commonplace in literature. [See Upton's notes on 7. 65. 4 and 9. 23 ff.; M. P. Tilley's note on 9. 24. 1-8; and Appendix, "The Castle of the Body."] The following parallel from Thomas Wright's *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* may illustrate the use of the figure by the psychologist:

For these rebellious Passions are like craftie Pyoners, who, while Souldiers liue carelesly within their Castle, or at least not much suspect, they vndermine it, and breake in so vpon them, that they can hardly escape: in like maner, these Affections vndermine the vnderstanding of men, for while the wits are eyther carelesse, or imployed in other affaires, there creepeth vp into their hearts, some one or other peruerse Passion which transporteth the Soule cleane another way, in so much as that with extreame difficultie she can recall her selfe againe, and reduce her affections vnto their former quietnesse and peaceable temper. (Ed. of 1621, pp. 69-70.)

The example is not unique, and the case is the same with details. Spenser's four officers of the hall and kitchen,—Diet, Appetite, Concoction, and Digestion,—correspond partly with Stephen Batman's four particular virtues,—appetite, digestion, retention, and expulsion. (*Batman Vppon Bartholome*, 1582, fol. 16^r, col. 1.) Spenser's description of the stomach (9. 29. 4-9) is paralleled by Thomas Vicary's account of the shape and position of the liver, in his *Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, 1577:

The proper place of the Lyuer is vnder the false Ribbes in the righte side. The forme of the lyuer is gibbous or bunchy on the back side, & it is somewhat hollow, like the insyde of an hande. And why it is so shapen, is, that it should be plicable to the stomacke, like as a hande dothe to an apple, to comferte her digestion; for his heate is to the stomacke as the heat of the fyre is to the Potte or Cauldron that hangeth ouer it. (Part I, Early English Text Society, Extra Series No. 53, p. 69.)

Similar correspondences occur elsewhere in Book II. Pyrochles' description of himself after his encounter with Furor (6. 44. 1-5) may serve as one of the many possible examples of the descriptions of emotions, and should be compared with what Batman writes of choleric men:

[They] be generally wrathful, hardie and vnmeeke, light, vnstable, vnmercifull: in the body long, slender, and leane: in colour brown, in haire black and crispe, hard and stiffe, in touche hotte, in pulse strong and swifte, . . . There is pricking and burning in the stomack of a hot fume, that puncheth and nippeth the sinewes of the stomacke, loathing with cholarick spuing, with thirst and drinesse of the tongue. (*Op. cit.*, fol. 32^v.)

There is no question of sources: the physiology of the Elizabethans, as well as their systems of ethics and psychology, was an inherited tradition, and mere verbal similarity is no evidence of borrowing. Further, parallels in the "literary" works of an age which versified science, geography, and history would be as easy to find as the few I have cited in avowedly "scientific" works. Nor is there any need to accumulate examples: I have noted in the *Faerie Queene* well over two hundred passages, from phrases to entire stanzas, which become clearer when explained by reference to contemporary theories of psychology and physiology. The above analogues in detail from an obsolete scientific belief are cited to show in what light Spenser was read by his contemporaries. For them, I believe, Canto 9 was more directly didactic and somewhat less allegorical than it is for us.

A second indication of the interpretation to be put upon Canto 9 is found in the methods used by Phineas Fletcher in the *Purple Island*, the very woodenness of which makes it an excellent foil for the study of Book II. Where Spenser was content with a general sketch, his disciple elaborates a treatise in rhyme, supported by a heavy framework of marginal notes. The first half of the poem, six cantos, develops to the last detail the description of the body, here depicted as an island. In Cantos 7 and 8 Fletcher presents the attacking forces, the sins to which man is subject; in 9 and 10, the defending virtues; in 11 and 12, the battle between these ancient foes. The fight bogs down heavily, and man is saved only by divine intervention,—somewhat suggestive of the heavenly aid brought to Guyon in Canto 8 of Book II. Fletcher follows closely Aristotle's *Ethics* in the eighth canto, citing his references in the marginal notes.

The *Purple Island*, therefore, like many another Elizabethan treatise on psychology in verse or prose, fuses the study of physiology, psychology, and ethics. Over half the poem is devoted to establishing a physiological basis for the psychological and ethical study. The fact is significant as evidence that modern distaste for the House of Alma canto on esthetic grounds is not a valid objection in historical criticism. Fletcher's enthusiasm for the canto and the tone of the commendatory verses prefixed to Fletcher's work illustrate the Seventeenth Century

fondness for didactic poetry of this kind. As an avowed imitation, the *Purple Island* is of assistance in the interpretation of Book II of the *Faerie Queene*.

III

Awareness of the psychological element in Book II and brief reference to the Letter to Raleigh are sufficient to explain the place of Canto 11 in Book II. As Spenser states his plan:

So in the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth magnificence in particular, which vertue for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke.

But the defeat of Pyrochles and Cymochles, fierce as the struggle was, is not comparable in allegorical significance to the defeat of Orgoglio. Arthur has conquered types of anger, previously subdued by Guyon. The feat is hardly an adequate demonstration of temperance.

In Canto 11 Arthur establishes beyond question his claim to the virtue by defeating the enemies of the five senses, but he adds little to what Guyon's adventures have taught us about Temperance. In Guyon's presence the Palmer had anticipated the lesson of Canto 11 in his lecture on psychology for Phedon's benefit (4. 34-35), and there are more specific instances of duplication. The most "huge and violent" of the assailants of the "bulwarke of the Sight" (11. 9. 1) are beauty and money. Guyon had encountered the first in Phædria (6. 3) and was to encounter it even more dangerously in Canto 12; money he had refused as "eye-glutting gaine" in the Cave of Mammon (7. 9. 8). Likewise, Mammon had offered him the "Bad counsels, prayses, and false flatteries" (11. 10. 8) which attacked the fort of Hearing. Most, if not literally all, the tests of Canto 11 have their approximate equivalents elsewhere in the book. By assigning Arthur, instead of Guyon, the task of defending the House of Alma, Spenser avoided repetition and adhered to his announced plan,—to "mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke."

To summarize, the structure of Book II is modelled on that of Book I, and depends for its interpretation on recognition of the interrelationship of ethics, psychology, and physiology in contemporary thought. Guyon resists successfully a number of temptations, but faints after the hard adventure of Mammon's Cave. He is rescued by Arthur from two previously conquered adversaries. Guyon and Arthur are then instructed in the interdependence of body and soul, by way of preparation for their adventures in Cantos 11 and 12. Canto 11 presents the theme of Book II in epitome, for the sake of Arthur's part in the poem as a whole. In Canto 12, Guyon, strengthened by trial and knowledge, accomplishes his mission.

APPENDIX XI

THE TWENTY-SECOND STANZA OF CANTO 9

This recondite stanza called forth the earliest learned commentary on Spenser, Sir Kenelm Digby's *Observations*, which we have reprinted entire.

Two interpretations have been urged—the mystical, neo-Platonic one, which discerns in the stanza an allegory of the mystical relations of soul and body, form and matter, male and female; and the more literal one, which sees in the stanza only a description of proportions and dimensions of the human body. The first was urged by Digby and Upton, and accepted by Kitchin; the second was proposed by Morley and Child; the two are combined by Robin.

SIR KENELM DIGBY (*Observations on the 22. Stanza. . . .*) *My most honour'd Friend*, I am too well acquainted with the weaknesses of mine abilities (far unfit to undergo such a Task as I have in hand) to flatter myself with the hope I may either inform your understanding, or do my self honour by what I am to write. But I am so desirous you should be possest with the true knowledge of what a bent will I have upon all occasions to do you service, that obedience to your command weigheth much more with me, then the lawfulnessse of any excuse can, to preserve me from giving you in writing such a testimonie of my ignorance and erring Phantasie as I fear this will prove. Therefore without any more circumstance, I will, as I can, deliver to you in this paper, what th'other day I discoursed to you upon the 22. Staffe of the ninth *Canto* in the second Book of that matchlesse Poem, *The Faery Queen*, written by our English *Virgil*; whose words are these:

[quotes stanza]

In this Staffe the Author seemes to me to proceed in a different manner from what he doth elsewhere generally through his whole Book. For in other places, although the beginning of his Allegory or mysticall sense, may be obscure, yet in the processe of it, he doth himself declare his own conceptions in such sort as they are obvious to any ordinary capacitie: But in this, he seems onely to glance at the profoundest notions that any Science can deliver us, and then on a sudden (as it were) recalling himself out of an Enthusiasme, he returns to the gentle Relation of the Allegoricall History he had begun, leaving his Readers to wander up and down in much obscuritie, & to come within much danger of erring at his Intention in these lines? Which I conceive to be dictated by such a learned Spirit, and so generally a knowing Soul, that were there nothing else extant of *Spencers* writing, yet these few words would make me esteeme him no whit inferiour to the most famous men that ever have been in any age: as giving evident testimonie herein, that he was thoroughly verst in the Mathematicall Sciences, in Philosophy, and in Divinity, to which this might serve for an ample Theme to make large Commentaries upon. In my praises upon this subject, I am confident that the worth of the Author will preserve me from this Censure, that my Ignorance onely begets this Admiration, since he hath written nothing that is not admirable. But that it

may appear I am guided somewhat by my own Judgement (tho' it be a meane one) and not by implicate Faith, and that I may in the best manner I can, comply with what you expect from me, I will no longer hold you in suspense, but begin immediately, (tho' abruptly) with the declaration of what I conceive to be the true sense of this place, which I shall not go about to adorne with any plausible examples drawne from other writings (since my want both of conveniency and learning would make me fall very short herein) but it shall be enough for me to intimate mine own conceptions, and offer them up to you in their own simple and naked form, leaving to your better Judgement the examination of the weight of them, and after perusall of them, beseeching you to reduce them and me if you perceive us erring.

Tis evident that the Authors intention in this *Canto* is to describe the bodie of a man inform'd with a rationall soul, and in prosecution of that designe he sets down particularly the severall parts of the one and of the other: But in this *Stanza* he comprehends the generall description of them both, as (being joyned together to frame a compleat Man) they make one perfect compound, which will the better appear by taking a survey of every severall clause thereof by it self.

The Frame thereof seemd partly Circular,
And part Triangular—

By these Figures, I conceive that he means the mind and body of Man; the first being by him compared to a Circle, and the latter to a Triangle. For as a Circle of all Figures is the most perfect, and includeth the greatest space, and is every way full and without Angles, made by the continuance of one onely line: so mans soul is the noblest and most beautifull Creature, that God hath created, and by it we are capable of the greatest gifts that God can bestow, which are Grace, Glory, and Hypostaticall Union of the Humane nature to the Divine, and she enjoyeth perfect freedome and libertie in all her Actions, and is made without composition, which no Figures are that have Angles (for they are caus'd by the coincidence of severall lines) but of one pure substance which was by God breath'd into a Body made of such compounded earth as in the preceding *Stanza* the Author describes. And this is the exact Image of him that breathed it, representing him as fully as tis possible for any creature which is infinitely distant from a Creator. For, as God hath neither beginning nor ending: so, neither of these can be found in a Circle, although that being made of the successive motion of a line, it must be supposed to have a beginning some where, but his circumference no where: But mans soul is a Circle, whose circumference is limited by the true center of it, which is onely God. For as a circumference doth in all parts alike respect that indivisible Point, and as all lines drawn from the inner side of it, do make right Angles within it, when they meet therein: so all the interiour actions of mans soul ought to have no other respective Point to direct themselves unto, but God; and as long as they make right Angles, which is, that they keep the exact middle of virtue, and decline not to either of the sides where the contrary vices dwell, they cannot fail, but meet in their Center. By the Triangular Figure he very aptly designes the body: for as the Circle is of all other Figures the most perfect and most capacious: so the Triangle is most imperfect, and includes least space. It is the first and lowest of all Figures; for fewer than 3 right Angles cannot compre-

hend and inclose a superficies, having but 3 angles they are all acute (if it be equilaterall) and but equall to 2 *right*; in which respect all other regular Figures consisting of more then 3 lines, do exceed it.

(May not these be resembled to the 3 great compounded Elements in mans bodie, to wit, Salt, Sulphur and Mercurie, which mingled together make the naturall heat and radicall moisture, the 2 qualities whereby man liveth?) For the more lines that go to comprehend the Figure, the more and the greater the Angles are, and the nearer it comes to the perfection and capacitie of a Circle. A Triangle is composed of severall lines, and they of Points, which yet do not make a quantitie by being contiguous to one another: but rather the motion of them doth describe the lines. In like manner the Body of man is compounded of the foure Elements which are made of the foure primarie qualities, not compounded of them (for they are but Accidents) but by their operation upon the first matter. And as a Triangle hath three lines, so a solid Body hath three dimensions, to wit, Longitude, Latitude and Profunditie. But of all bodies, Man is of the lowest rank, (as the Triangle is among Figures) being composed of the Elements which make it liable to alteration and corruption. In which consideration of the dignitie of bodies, I divide them by a generall division, into sublunarie (which are the elementated ones) and Aethereall, which are supposed to be of their own nature, incorruptible, and peradventure there are some other *species* of corporeall substances, which is not of this place to dispute.

O work divine!

Certainly of all Gods works, the noblest and perfectest is Man, and for whom indeed all others were done. For, if we consider his *soul*, it is the very Image of God. If his *bodie*, it is adorn'd with the greatest beautie and most excellent symmetry of parts, of any created thing: whereby it witnesseth the perfection of the Architect, that of so drossie mold is able to make so rare a fabrick: If his *operations*, they are free: If his end, it is eternall glory. And if you take *all together*, Man is a little world, and of God himself. But in all this, me thinks, the admirablest work is the joyning together of the two *different* and indeed *opposite* substances in Man, to make one perfect compound; the *Soul* and the *Body*, which are of so contrary a nature, that their *uniting* seems to be a Miracle. For how can the one inform and work in the other, since there's no mean of operation (that we know of) between a spirituall substance and a corporeall? yet we see that it doth: as hard it is to find the true proportion betweene a Circle and a Triangle; yet, that there is a just proportion, and that they may be equall, *Archimedes* hath left us an ingenious demonstration; but in reducing it to a Probleme, it fails in this, that because the proportion between a crooked line and a straight one, is not known, one must make use of a Mechanick way of measuring the *peripherie* of the one, to convert it to the side of the other.

These two the first and last proportions are.

What I have already said concerning a Circle and a Triangle, doth sufficiently unfold what is meant in this verse. Yet twill not be amisse to speak one word more hereof in this place. All things that have existence, may be divided into three *Classes*; which are, either what is pure and simple in it self, or what hath a

nature compounded of what is simple, or what hath a nature compounded of what is compounded. In continued quantitie this may be exemplified by a Point, a line, and a superficies in Bodies: and in numbers, by an unity, a Denary, and a Centenary. The first, which is onely pure & simple, like an indivisible point, or an unity, hath relation onely to the Divine nature: That point then moving in a sphericall manner (which serves to expresse the perfection of Gods actions) describes the Circles of our souls, and of Angels, and intellectual substances, which are of a pure and simple nature, but receiveth that from what is so, in a perfecter manner, and that hath his, from none else. Like lines that are made by the flowing of points; or Denaries that are composed of Unities: beyond both which there is nothing. In the last place, Bodies are to be rankt, which are composed of the Elements: and they likewise suffer composition, and may very well be compared to the lowest of the Figures which are composed of lines, that owe their being to Points (and such are Triangles) or to Centenaries that are composed of Denaries, and they of Unities. But if we will compare these together by proportion, God must be left out, since there is as infinite distance betweene the Simplicities and Perfection of his nature, and the composition and imperfection of all created substances, as there is between an indivisible Point and a continue quantitie, or between a simple Unitie and a compounded number. So that onely the other two kinds of substance do enter into this consideration: and of them I have already proved, that mans Soul is of the one the noblest, (being dignified by hypostaticall Union above all other intellectual substances) and his elementated Body, of the other the most low and corruptible. Whereby it is evident, that those two are the first and last Proportions, both in respect of their own Figure, and of what they expressed.

The one imperfect, Mortall, Feminine:
Th'other immortall, perfect, Masculine.

Mans Body hath all the proprieties of imperfect matter. It is but the Patient: of it self alone, it can do nothing: it is liable to corruption and dissolution if it once be deprived of the form which actuates it, and which is incorruptible and immortall. And as the feminine Sex is imperfect and receives perfection from the masculine: so doth the Body from the Soul, which to it is in lieu of a male. And as in corporall generations the female affords but grosse and passive matter, to which the Male gives active heat and prolificall vertue: so in spirituall generations (which are the operations of the minde) the body administers onely the Organs, which if they were not employed by the Soul, would of themselves serve for nothing. And as there is a mutuall appetite between the Male and the Female, betweene matter and forme; So there is betweene the bodie and the soul of Man, but what ligament they have, our Author defineth not (and it may be Reason is not able to attaine to it) yet he tels us what is the foundation that this Machine rests on, and what keeps the parts together; in these words.

And twixt them both, a Quadrate was the Base.

By which Quadrate, I conceive, that he meaneth the foure principall humors in mans Bodie, viz. *Choler*, *Blood*, *Phleme*, and *Melancholy*: which if they be dis-tempered and unfitly mingled, dissolution of the whole doth immediately ensue:

like to a building which falls to ruine, if the foundation and Base of it be unsound or disordered. And in some of these, the vitall spirits are contained and preserved, which the other keep in convenient temper; and as long as they do so, the soul and bodie dwell together like good friends: so that these foure are the Base of the conjunction of the other two, both which he saith, are

Proportion'd equally by seven and nine.

In which words, I understand he meanes the influences of the superior substances (which governe the inferiour) into the two differing parts of Man; to wit, of the *Starres* (the most powerfull of which, are the seven Planets, into his body: and of the Angels divided into nine Hierarchies or Orders) into his soul: which in his *Astrophel*, he saith is

By soveraigne choice from th'heavenly Quires select,
And lineally deriv'd from Angels race.

And as much as the one governe the Body, so much the other do the Minde. Wherein is to be considered, that some are of opinion, how at the instant of a child's conception, or rather more effectually at the instant of his Birth, the conceived sperme or tender Body doth receive such influence of the Heavens as then raigne over that place, where the conception or birth is made: And all the *Starres* or virtuall places of the celestiall Orbes participating the qualities of the seven Planets (according to which they are distributed into so many Classes, or the compounds of them) it comes to passe, that according to the varitie of the severall Aspects of the one and of the other, there are various inclinations and qualities in mens bodies, but all reduced to seven generall heads and the compounds of them, which being to be varied innumerable wayes, cause as many different effects, yet the influence of some one Planet continually predominating. But when the matter in a womans wombe is capable of a soul to inform it, then God sendeth one from Heaven into it.

—Eternall God,
In Paradise whilome did plant this Flower,
Whence he it fetcht out of her native place,
And did in Stock of earthly flesh inrace.

And this opinion the Author more plainly expresses himself to be of, in another work, where he saith:

There she beholds with high aspiring thought
The cradle of her own Creation;
Eamongst the seats of Angels heavenly wrought.

Which whether it have been created ever since the beginning of the world, and reserv'd in some fit place till due time, or be created on emergent occasion; no man can tell: but certain it is, that it is immortall, according to what I said before, when I spake of the Circle which hath no ending, and an uncertain beginning. The messengers to convey which soul into the bodie, are the Intelligences which move the Orbes of Heaven, who according to their severall natures communicate to it severall proprieties: and they most, who are Governours of those *Starres* at that instant, who have the superioritie in the planetary aspects. Whereby it comes to

passee, that in all inclinations there's much affinitie betweene the Soul and the Body, being that the like is betweene the Intelligences and the Starres, both which communicate their vertues to each of them. And these Angels, being, as I said before, of nine severall Hierarchies, there are so many principle differences in humane souls, which participate most of their proprieties, with whom in their descent they made the longest stay, and that had most active power to work on them, and accompanied them with a peculiar *Genius* (which is according to their severall Governments) like the same kind of water that running through various conduits wherein severall aromatike and odoriferous things are laid, do acquire severall kinds of tastes and smels. For it is supposed, that in their first Creation, all Souls are alike, and that their differing proprieties arive to them afterwards when they passe through the spheres of the governing Intelligences. So that by such their influence, it may truly be said, that

Nine was the Circle set in Heavens place.

Which verse, by assigning this office to the nine, and the proper place to the Circle, gives much light to what is said before. And for a further confirmation that this is the Authors opinion, read attentively the sixt *Canto* of the 3. Book, where most learnedly and at large he delivers the *Tenets* of this Philosophie; and for that, I commend to you to take particular notice of the 2d. and thirty two *Stanzaes*: as also the last of his *Epithalamion*: and surveying his works, you shall finde him a constant disciple of *Platoes* School.

All which compacted, made a goodly Diapase.

In Nature there is not to be found a more compleat and more exact Concordance of all parts, then that which is betweene the compaction and conjunction of the Body and Soul of Man: Both which although they consist of many and most different faculties and parts, yet when they keepe due time with one another, they altogether make the most perfect Harmony that can be imagined. And as the nature of sounds, that consist of friendly consonancies and accords, is to mingle themselves with one another, and to slide into the eare with much sweetnesse, where by their unity they last a long time and delight it: where as contrarily, discords continually jarre, and fight together, and will not mingle with one another: but all of them striving to have the victory, their reluctance and disorder gives a speedie end to their sounds, which strike the Eare in a harsh and offensive manner, and there die in the very beginning of their Conflict: In like manner, when a mans Actions are regular, and directed towards God, they become like the lines of a Circle, which all meet in the Center, then his musick is most excellent and compleat, and all together are the Authors of that blessed harmony which maketh him happie in the glorious vision of Gods perfections, wherein the minde is filled with high knowledges and most pleasing contemplations; and the senses, as it were, drowned in eternall delight; and nothing can interrupt this Joy, this Happinesse, which is an everlasting Diapase: Whereas on the contrary, if a mans actions be disorderly, and consisting of discords, (which is, when the sensitive part rebels and wrestles with the Rationall, striving to oppresse it) then this musick is spoiled, and instead of eternall life, pleasure and joy, it causeth perpetuall death, horror, paine, and misery. Which infortunate estate the Poet describes elsewhere; as in

the conclusion of this Staffe he intimates: the other happy one, which is the never-failing Reward of such an obedient bodie, and ethereall and vertuous minde, as he makes to be the seat of the bright Virgin *Alma*, mans worthiest inhabitant, *Reason*. Her I feele to speake within me, and chide me for my bold Attempt, warning me to stray no further. For what I have said (considering how weakly it is said) your Command is all the excuse that I can pretend. But since my desire to obey that, may bee seene as well in a few lines, as in a large Discourse, it were indiscretion in me to trouble you with more, or to discover to you more of my Ignorance. I will onely begge pardon of you for this blotted and interlined paper, whose Contents are so meane that it cannot deserve the paines of a Transcription, which if you make difficulty to grant it, for my sake, let it obtain it for having been yours.

And now I return to you also the Book that contains my Text, which yesterday you sent me, to fit this part of it with a Comment, which peradventure I might have performed better, if either I had afforded my selfe more time, or had had the conveniencie of some other books apt to quicken my Invention, to whom I might have been beholding for enlarging my understanding in some things that are treated here, although the Application should still have been my own: With these helps perhaps I might have dived further into the Authors Intention (the depth of which cannot be sounded by any that is lesse learned than he was). But I perswade my self very strongly, that in what I have said there's nothing contradictory to it, and that an intelligent and well learned man proceeding on my grounds might compose a worthie and true Commentarie on this Theme: Upon which I wonder how I stumbled, considering how many learned men have failed in the Interpretation of it, and have all at the first hearing, approved my opinion.

But it was Fortune that made me fall upon it, when first this Stanza was read to me for an indissoluble Riddle. And the same Discourse I made upon it, the first halfe quarter of an houre that I saw it, I send you here, without having reduced it to any better form, or added any thing at all unto it. Which I beseech you receive benignely, as coming from

Your most affectionate Friend
and humble Servant,

KENELM DIGBY.

JOHN UPTON (2. 480-1). Pythagoras and his followers made use of mathematical sciences in almost all their metaphysical and abstract reasonings; and they illustrated by figure and number, just as poets by similitude. And so our Pythagorean poet, using mathematics as a kind of mean between sensible and intellectual objects, says

The frame thereof seemed partly circulare
And part triangular. . . .

Circular refers to the mind, and triangular to the body. The most simple figure, the first conceived, and the element of all figures, is a triangle, made up of three right lines, including space, and hence aptly applied to body. Compare Plato's *Timaeus*, pp. 53-4, ed. Steph. The most perfect, beautiful and comprehensive of all figures is the circle: it has neither beginning, middle nor end: "immortal, perfect, masculine." "Dux atque imperator vitae mortalibus animus est—incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habe-

tur" . . . Sallust, *Bell. Iugurth.* Compare Plato's *Timaetus*, p. 33, ed. Steph. and Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* 2. 18. The center of God is every where, and his circumference no where: and with respect to the mind of man, the image of his great Creator, all intellectual science begins and ends within its own circumference: mind is all things intellectually, *πάντα νοερώς*. Compare M. Anton, 12. 3, and see how he applies the allegorical sphere of Empedocles; and in the same manner are we to explain the sphere of Parmenides in Plato, *Sophist*, p. 244, ed. Steph. The world itself is *σφαιροειδής*. See Plato's *Timaetus*, p. 33. And hence is to be explained the following verses of Manilius, 1. 211:

Haec aeterna manet, divisque simillima forma,
Cui neque principium est usquam, nec finis in ipso,
Sed similis toto remanet, perque omnia par est.

Spenser says the triangular frame, imaging the Body is mortal and imperfect: this I believe wants no interpretation; and that the circular frame, imaging the more divine part, is immortal and perfect, nor does this need any comment. But why does he call the Body feminine, and the Mind masculine? He seems to have taken this from the Pythagorean philosopher mentioned above, *τὸ εἶδος λόγον ἔχει ἀγγενός τε καὶ πατρὸς*, "Idea autem," i. e. "forma, rationem habet maris et patris." The Mind is the form generating, as it were, the working into essence the passive and feminine matter: *ἃ δ' ὕλα θήλέος τε καὶ ματέρος*, "materia autem faeminae et matris." *Timaetus* Locrus, p. 95, edit. Steph. How easy is the interpretation considering Mind as Form, and Body as Matter? And how aptly is the one called masculine, and the other feminine? But we shall be more diffuse on this subject, of Form, Matter, and Privation, when we come to consider Spenser's allegory, of the Gardens of Adonis, in Book 3, Canto 4. [See vol. 3, Appendix, "Garden of Adonis," esp. under STIRLING.] He says,

And twixt them both, a quadrate was the base.

i. e. betwixt the Mind and Body, represented emblematically by the circle and triangle, the sacred TETRAKTYΣ, the fountain of perpetual nature, (as called in the Pythagorean verses) the mysterious quadrate, was the base. This quadrate or sacred quaternion, comprehended all number, all the elements, all the powers, energies, and virtues in man: *Νοῦς, Ἐπιστήμη, Δόξα Αἰσθησις*; Temperance, justice fortitude, prudence. Hope, fear, joy, grief. Cold, hot, moist, dry. Fire, air, earth, water. . . . Hierocles, p. 169. Compare Plato's *Timaetus*, p. 32. He adds,

Proportiond equally by seven and nine.
Nine was the circle sett in heavens place:
All which compacted made a goodly diapase.

This stanza is not to be understood (I believe) without knowing the very passage our poet had in view, namely Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, which Macrobius has preserved and commented upon: "Proportioned equally," agrees with "them both," viz. mind and body; which receive their harmonic proportion, relation, and temperaments from the seven planetary orbs, and from the ninth orb, infolding and containing all the rest. What influence the seven planets have upon man, you may learn from Manilius, and the astrologers: but the ninth orb,

—The circle sett in heavens place,

"Summus ipse Deus, arcens & continens caeteros,"—What theist doubts this influence? This is the source, the sea, the sun, of all beauty, truth and mind. But hear Cicero, "Novem tibi orbibus, vel potius globis connexa sunt omnia: quorum unus est caelestis extimus, qui reliquos omnes complectitur, summus ipse deus, arcens et continens caeteros, in quo infixi sunt illi, qui volvuntur, stellarum cursus sempiterni: cui subjecti sunt septem qui versantur retro contrario motu," [Macrobius, *Som. Scip.* 1. 17. 2.] See what he says afterwards of the music of the spheres; and compare with Macrobius, 1. 6. And Pliny, 2. 22: "Ita septem tonos effici quam diapason harmoniam, hoc est universitatem concentus." It will appear (as I said) very plain what Spenser means by,

Nine was the circle sett in heavens place,

After considering the passage above cited from the *Somnium Scipionis*, with Macrobius' comment, and the following diagram, of "the nine infolded spheres," as Milton calls them in his poem, intitled *Arcades*, where (from Plato's 10th book of the republic) he mentions that "harmony," which is heard only by philosophical ears, "of the celestial Sirens,"

That sit upon the nine infolded spheres.

[Illustration.]

EDWARD DOWDEN ("Elizabethan Psychology," pp. 391-2). In truth it needs no long commentary to explain the architecture of the Castle of Alma; it needs no more than reference to a passage of Bartholomew Anglicus, a passage which at the same time gives, we can hardly doubt, the true explanation of Shakespeare's "precious square of sense." Following elder authority, Bartholomew declares that the vegetable soul, with its three virtues of self-sustainment, growth, and reproduction, is "like to a triangle in Geometrie." The sensible soul is "like to a quadrangle, square and four cornerde. For in a quadrangle is a lyne drawn from one corner to another corner, afore it maketh two tryangles; and the soul sensible maketh two tryangles of vertues. For wherever the soule sensible is, there is also the soule vegetabilis." Finally, the rational soul is likened to a circle, because a circle is the most perfect of figures, having a greater power of containing than any other. The triangle of the Castle of Alma is the vegetative soul; the quadrate—identical with Shakespeare's "square of sense"—is the sensible soul; the circle is the rational soul.

As to Spenser's numbers, seven and nine, possibly the explanation given in the Clarendon Press edition of *The Faerie Queene*, Book II [merely a *résumé* of UPTON by KITCHIN, without acknowledgment], may be right; the seven is there taken to refer to the seven planets, "whose influences on man's life and nature are mysteriously great"; the nine, says the editor, "is obviously the ninth orb of the heavenly sphere, enfolding all things." But Spenser is speaking of the Castle of Alma, not of the planets or the spheres. The triangle of the vegetative soul and the quadrate of the sensible soul give us the number seven, which sums up the corporeal part of man; but the rational soul is also necessary for man's life, and this, with its two faculties of understanding and will, raises the total number from seven to nine. The powers are (1) life, in the sense of self-maintenance, (2)

growth, (3) reproduction; (4) the common sense, (5) imagination, (6) reason, (7) memory; (8) understanding, (9) will.

The functions of the vegetative soul are, as we have seen, self-maintenance, growth, and reproduction. The processes by which these functions are accomplished are four—appetite or "attraction" as Burton calls it, digestion, the retention of what is needed for nutrition, and the expulsion of what is useless or superfluous. Such is Bartholomew's enumeration, and what is substantially identical appears in the verse of Sir John Davies:

Here she attracts, and there she doth retain;
There she decocts and doth the food prepare;
There she distributes it to every vein;
There she expels what she may fitly spare.

And in Alma's Castle we are led into a hall where the marshal is Appetite, and to the kitchen where the clerk is named Digestion, whose retainers bear away the prepared food where it is needed, while all that is "nought and noyous" is carried off by its proper conduit to the Port Esquiline.

H[ENRY] M[ORLEY] ("Spenser's *Faerie Queene*"). Now, there is no impenetrable darkness in all this. The design being given—to describe the Body in outline with mystic signs and figures—let us follow the sketch line by line, and trace it as we go upon a piece of paper.

The frame thereof seemed partly circulare.

We will draw a circle, therefore. That represents the head.

And part triangulare.

Leaving a space for the "quadrate," we draw beneath the circle an isoscles triangle;—"imperfect" without the base. It represents the legs, slightly parted. Passing to lines 6 and 7—

And 'twixt them both a quadrate was the base,
Proportioned equally by seven and nine.

We draw a parallelogram between the circle and triangle, its proportions being as 9 in length to 7 in breadth. This is the trunk, in which the arms are included hanging naturally upon either side. Measure this trunk in any well-formed man, from the top of the shoulder to about the knuckles, and across from hand to hand. Test the result by rule of three, and you will find the two measurements to be really as 9 to 7.

Nine was the circle set in heaven's place:—

the "circle set in heaven's place" being, of course, the head. Measure the circumference of the head across the crown and chin, represented by the circle in our diagram, and a piece of tape which surrounds it will be found exactly equal to the length of the trunk before represented by the number 9.

Returning now to lines 3, 4, 5, which are descriptive of the circle and the triangle.—

These two the first and last proportions are.

The head is the first, and the legs are the last; that is quite obvious.

The one imperfect, mortal, fœminine;
Th' other immortal, perfect, masculine.

The one—the triangle—is "imperfect"; having, in the body, but two sides, and its base formed by the ground. It is "mortal"; because, altogether fleshly, it contains no spiritual part. "Fœminine"; because it includes the gift of sex, and woman is the type of the generative power. The other—the circle—is perfect; containing the mind of man, "immortal"; and as it is immortal, so it is "masculine,"—is of the sex which represents the sexless state of spirits, God being described as male.

And then, at the end of this general outline the poet knits all parts together with the final line:

All which compacted made a goodly diapase.

That is to say, which, fitted together, made the most perfect concord.

This seems sufficiently plain:—but how do the commentators explain it? "A curious specimen of mystical nonsense," truly it is, by their showing. [CHILD gives a convenient summary of this note.]

G. W. KITCHIN in the Clarendon Press edition of Book II merely resumes UPTON.

P. ANSELL ROBIN ("Spenser's 'House of Alma,'""). The working out of the allegory [of the canto] in detail is necessarily a *tour de force*, resulting occasionally in forced conceit and imperfect analogy. On the whole the interpretation presents few difficulties, though some points have been missed by commentators through imperfect acquaintance with medieval physiology. . . . I hope to show that the traditional explanation [of st. 22], first offered by Sir Kenelm Digby and accepted with modifications by the Clarendon Press editor, is in part unsound and in part incomplete. [Quotes stanza 22.] The House of Alma is the habitation of the soul, and therefore "the frame" is the human body. Hence the traditional interpretation, which makes the circle represent the soul, and the triangle the body, seems unsatisfactory. The mention of the circle and the triangle in connection with the structure of the human body suggests a reference to the *Timaëus* of Plato, where the creation of man by the gods is described in detail. (Hence perhaps the exclamation, "O worke divine!") "First then the gods, *in imitation of the spherical shape of the universe*, bound the two circles of the soul in a *spherical body*,—that, namely, which we now call *the head*, which is man's most divine member, and the ruler of our whole composition" (chap. 19). The circular part therefore of the House of Alma was the head. Passing on to the composition of the body, Plato mentions earth, air, fire and water as its constituents, and proceeds: "First, then, that fire and earth, water and air are bodies, is evident surely to everyone. But every species of body possesses solidity; and every solid must necessarily be contained by planes. Again, a base formed of a perfectly plane surface is composed of triangles" (chap. 28). Thus the human body, like all other solids, is ultimately composed of triangles. Spenser therefore, who was an enthusiastic student of Plato, here in all probability refers to the trunk of the body as triangular in contrast with the circular head.

The triangle played an important part in the theories of the Pythagoreans, who employed the properties of a right-angled triangle (with sides proportioned to 3, 4 and 5) "to explain and enforce their embryological theories." (Adam, *Plato's Republic*, Bk. 8, App. I, 2. § 4.) Plato also employs this triangle in discussing the period of the pre-natal development of the human animal. Thus in this passage of Spenser there is a trace of Pythagorean as well as of Platonic speculation.

The triangle and the circle are "the first and last proportions," that is, the most elementary and the most perfect geometrical forms respectively. The triangle is the plane figure formed with the least possible number of straight lines; and on the other hand it was a doctrine of Pythagoras that the circle is the most beautiful of linear figures. (*Encyclop. Brit.*, Art. Pythagoras.)

Of these, Spenser says, the circle is "immortal, perfect, masculine," contrasting in each particular with the triangle. He here probably contrasts the head, as containing the immortal rational soul, with the body as the receptacle of the mortal soul. As Plato divides the mortal soul into distinct parts which he implicitly distinguishes as male and female (*Timaeus*, C. 44), Spenser here seems to contrast the immortal soul as masculine with the mortal soul as feminine.

Common to both parts of the body thus described—the head and the trunk (with the limbs)—is the underlying quadrate. As in an allegory the language must be applicable to both interpretations, the quadrate as a geometrical figure will represent part of the structure of the castle. The word "quadrate" most commonly means "square," but it is sometimes used in the sense of "rectangle." (*N. E. D.* s. v. "quadrate.") In this geometrical sense the castle contains a rectangular base court whose sides are in the proportion of seven and nine. (The word "equally" will then refer to the equality of the opposite sides.) As applied to the human body the word "quadrate" must refer to the old physiological theories which represented the body as composed of the four elements (earth, air, etc.), the four elementary contraries (heat, cold, dryness and moisture), and the four humours. These theories were commonplaces in the medical writings of the sixteenth century. (E. g., Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. 53.) The Pythagorean *tetrad* (which occurs in the Golden Verses) had a similar application, if we may trust a late interpreter (Comment. of Hierocles on the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans, tr. Rayner, 1797, Lect. 20, p. 75); though the medical theories were not fully developed until towards the end of the fifth century B. C.

The seventh line of Spenser's stanza is the most difficult of interpretation as applied to the human body. Dr. Kitchin says that "seven" refers to the influence of the seven planets, and "nine" to the ninth sphere which is referred to as "summus ipse Deus." On the face of it there seems an improbability in an interpretation which makes one of these numbers a cardinal and the other an ordinal. A more probable explanation seems to lie in the ancient significance of the numbers seven and nine in relation to the human body. The mystical power of numbers was a striking feature of ancient Greek speculation, as may be seen for example in Plato's discussion of the period of gestation of the Divine animal in the Eighth Book of the *Republic*. Aristotle in commenting on this passage objects to this attribution of influence to numbers. So that in saying that the quadrate in the human body is proportioned, that is, arranged in due proportion, by the numbers seven and nine, Spenser is using Platonic methods.

The particular significance of these two numbers is shown by Sir Thomas Browne in his *Vulgar Errors* (Bk. 4, c. 12). After remarking that number has "received adjectives from the multiplying conceits of men," he proceeds:

And so perhaps hath it happened unto the numbers seven and nine, which multiplied into themselves do make up sixty-three, commonly esteemed the great climacterical of our lives. For the days of man are usually cast up by septenaries, and every seventh year conceived to carry some altering character with it, either in the temper of the body, mind or both. But among all other, three are most remarkable, that is, seven times seven or forty-nine, nine times nine or eighty-one, and seven times nine or the year of sixty-three, which is conceived to carry with it the most remarkable fatality, and consisting of both the other numbers was apprehended to comprise the virtue of either, is therefore expected and entertained with fear, and esteemed a favour of fate to pass it over.

He later argues against the efficacy of numbers as causes, and after quoting Aristotle (as above) he continues:

Ptolemy, that famous mathematician, plainly saith he will not deliver his doctrine by parts and numbers, which are ineffectual and have not the nature of causes. Now by these numbers, saith Rhodiginus and Mirandula, he implieth climacterical years, that is septenaries and novenaries set down by the bare observation of numbers. Censorinus, an author of great authority and sufficient antiquity, speaks yet more amply in his book, *De Die Natali*, wherein expressly treating of climacterical days he thus delivereth himself: "Some maintain that seven times seven, that is forty-nine, is most dangerous of any other, and this is the most general opinion; others unto seven times seven add nine times nine, that is the year of eighty-one, both which consisting of square and quadrate numbers, were thought by Plato and others to be of great consideration: as for this year of sixty-three, or seven times nine, though some esteem it of most danger, yet do I conceive it less dangerous than the other; for though it containeth both numbers above named, that is seven and nine, yet neither of them square or quadrate; and as it is different from them both, so it is not potent in either."

I conclude therefore that Spenser in the passage before us represents the condition of the human body as determined by the mystical numbers seven and nine. In the next line, however, he gives additional significance to the number nine by identifying it with "the circle sett in heavens place." It is possible that this circle may simply be the spherical head described in the first line, for in a subsequent description of the head (Stanza 45) he refers to is as

Like highest heaven compassed around,
And lifted high above this earthly masse.

In that case nine which was regarded by the Pythagoreans as a perfect number, is assigned to the perfect form of the circle. We should then have to identify the other number seven with the body, and to explain it by a belief of the Pythagoreans that the development of the embryo proceeded according to the proportions of the harmony or octave, with its seven musical intervals. (Adam, *Plato's Republic*, 8, *loc. cit.*). This would also account for the use of "diapase" in the last line, i. e., the complete octave.

If this interpretation seems fanciful, we must regard the "circle sett in heavens

place" as the complete celestial sphere consisting of nine concentric spheres. In that case Spenser regards the mystical number nine, so influential in human life, as receiving its efficacy from the fact of its being the number of the celestial spheres.

The last line of the stanza states that the whole human body thus joined together formed a beautiful harmony. The diapase was the complete series of musical sounds composing an octave. The line from Dryden (quoted by Dr. Kitchin [first noted by Upton]) is not to the point, except as showing the meaning of the word "diapason." Dryden says that in the series of created things "the diapason closes full in man," that is, man is the concluding and triumphant note of the whole. Spenser says that man by his very constitution is in himself a complete whole, containing all the elements of a perfect harmony.

It is noticeable that in the discussion in the Eighth Book of the *Republic*, Plato combines the ideas of geometrical form, mystical number, and development of the human body. As all these find place in Spenser's description of the House of Alma, we may feel sure that he was indebted to Plato for the main ideas contained in this particular stanza.

E. W. NAYLOR (*The Poets and Music*, pp. 133-5). Taking the passage as a definite description of an actual building, it is not impossible to imagine a castle, or rather a temple or a palace, in three stories, the ground floor square, with a triangular hall over it, and a circular dome for room. [Illustration.]

TEXTUAL APPENDIX

VARIANT READINGS

The list of variants includes (1) verbal differences in 1590, 1609, and 1611; (2) the readings of 1596 altered in our text; (3) all punctuation variants in 1590 (but not in later editions); (4) changes in spelling in early editions which involve a possible change in pronunciation, the adding or dropping of a syllable, or any apparently significant peculiarity; (5) misprints in 1590 and 1596 which are useful for further bibliographical study of the early quartos; and (6) examples of the readings of later editions. Unless it is involved in the change, punctuation is not given in recording a variant. Our usage in regard to typographical conventions is explained in the general note in Book I, p. 516.

The following symbols are used for reference to the editions and commentaries cited:

<i>a</i>	1590 (both copies)	<i>C</i>	Church, 1758
<i>F. E.</i>	Faults Escaped (1590)	<i>U</i>	Upton, 1758
<i>b</i>	1596 (both copies)	<i>W</i>	Warton, 1762
<i>c</i>	1609	<i>T</i>	Todd, 1805
<i>d</i>	1611	<i>Ch</i>	Child, 1855
<i>E</i>	1679 (printed for Edwin)	<i>Co</i>	Collier, 1862
<i>H₁</i>	Hughes, 1715	<i>M</i>	Morris and Hales, 1869
<i>J</i>	Jortin, 1734	<i>G</i>	Grosart, 1882-4
<i>H₂</i>	Reprint of Hughes, 1750	<i>D</i>	Dodge, 1908
<i>B</i>	Birch, 1751	<i>S</i>	Smith, 1909-10

PROEM

- ii. 5. mentioned.] mentioned, *a*
- 6. *Peru?*] *Perú* *a*
- 8. *Amazons*] *Amarons* *a*; *F. E.* corrects *Amarons* to *Amazon* (*CoMG* follow *F. E.*)
- trew?] trew *a*
- 9. vew?] vew. *a*
- iii. 1. were.] were *a*
- know;] know, (*comma inverted*) *a*
- 2. beene:] beene *a*
- 3. show.] show *a*
- 5. is,] is *a*
- 6. spheare?] spheare *a*
- 8. heare?] heare *a*
- 9. more:] more, *a*
- appeare.] appeare *a*
- iv. 1. inquire,] inquire *a*
- 3. admire,] admyre *a*
- 4. bace,] bace *a*
- 5. n'ote] no'te *a* (*Huntington copy; corr. in some copies*) *b*
- trace.] trace *a*
- 6. thou,] then *a* (*B and G read then, in a*)
- sky,] sky *a*

- 7. face,] face *a*
- 8. Faery,] Faery *a*
- 9. auncestry,] *G reads auncestry in a*
- v. 2. vele,] vele *a*
wrap] wrapt *T*
light,] light *a*
- 3. behold,] behold *a*
- 4. else] elles *a*
beames] beamez *cH beamës CTCb*
bright,] bright *a*
- 5. light,] light *a*
- 6. pardon,] pardon *a*
- 8. heare,] heare *a*

CANTO I

- Arg. 2. *knigh*] *kniggt a*
- i. 7. caytiues] caytiue *cd EH₁C*
- ii. 7. natiue] natiues *bc Natives EH₁*
- iii. 2. food] feud *cE feude dU Feud H*
- 5. bend,] bend *ab*
- 9. be] he *cEH₁*
- iv. 1. lay,] lay. *ab*
- 5. a vantage] advantage *cd EH₁ advantage H₂*
- 6-7. *Lines transposed bc*
- 6. wise] swift *dE*
- vi. 6. land;] land, *a*
- viii. 5. faire] a faire *b*
- 7. spoile,] spoyle. *a spoile. b*
- ix. 7. langourous] languorous *ad EUCTCbCoMD langorous H*
- x. 5. corse] corps *a UCTCbCoMD*
- xi. 1. *No parentheses in a*
said] sydy *a (corr. in some copies)*
- 7. he] be *b*
- xiii. 2. gone] gone, *a*
- xiv. 6. paine.] payne: *a*
- 7. despight,] despight; *bcd E*
- 9. maintaine] mantaine *d*
- xv. 9. beene.] beene; *cd E*
- xvi. 1. lief] life *a*
- 7. torment?] torment; *b (interrogation mark inverted)*
- xvii. 1. Eftsoone] Eftsoones *dE*
- xviii. 2. plight;] plight. *ab*
- 5. not] not, *a*
- 6. did hel he did *aBUCTCbCoM*
- xx. 2. quite] quit *aHUCCbCoMD*
- 7. blotted] blotting *a*
- 8. faine;] faine, *a*
- xxii. 5. filthinesse;] filthinesse, *a*
- xxiv. 9. trauell] trauaile *cd*
- xxv. 2. shew;] shew, *a*
- xxvi. 5. race.] race: *a*
- 6. ymet,] ymett; *a*

7. warriour] warriour *b*
 9. betidde] betide *a EUCTCbCoMD*
 xxvii. 9. breath.] breath *a*
 xxviii. 2. sayd;] sayd, *a*
 3. well] ill *d EC*
 9. offence.] offence, *a*
 xxix. 1. attone] at one *a D* atone *UCTCo*
 4. meet.] meet; *a*
 xxx. 9. fled;] fled, *a*
 xxxi. 2. handling] handing *b G*
 3. came;] came, *a*
 4. on] one *a*
 7. Faire] fayre *a faire b*
 xxxii. 7. Must] Most *a U*
 xxxiii. 1. *No parentheses in a*
 knight] knight, *a*
 8. thrise] these *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
 xxxv. 2. betide;] betide, *a*
 7. cridel] cride, *a*
 xxxvi. 4. liues] lifes *cd Life's H*
 xxxvii. 7. dide] did *H*
 xxxviii. 6. cruell] cruel! *a*
 7. launched] launced *cd EH*
 9. eyes] cyes *b (may be broken e)*
 xxxix. 4. dolour] labour *bcd EHBG*
 xl. 4. gore] gold *bc H₁*
 5. louely] little *cd EH₁*
 xli. 1. Besides] Beside *H₂*
 xlii. 4. attone:] attone, *b*
 6. great] deepe *d E*
 7. mone;] mone, *a*
 9. stout courage] courage stout *cd EH*
 xliv. 6. reuenging] auenging *a H₂BUCTCbCoMD*
 8. date;] date? *cd E*
 xlv. 7. started] startcd *b (may be broken e)*
 8. despight,] *S reads despight. in a*
 xlvii. 1. low] low, *b*
 6. off] of *a Cb*
 xlviii. 6. then,] then *a*
 7. opprest?] opprest: *a*
 9. griefe.] griefe, *a*
 xlix. 9. *Mordant]* Mortdant *ab CbCoMDG*
 l. 7. forth,] forth *a*
 li. 4. hath] have *T*
 6. is;] is, *ab*
 lii. 5. lifest] liefest *a H₂BUCTCbCoMD*
 had;] had *a*
 6. breed.] breed *a*
 7. bestad,] bestad *a*
 9. dreed.] dreed *a*
 liii. 9. tool] to *a Cb*
 sought.] sought *a*

- liv. 1. found,] fownd *a*
- 3. ybound,] ybownd *a*
- lv. 6. lincke:] lincke, *ab*
- lvi. 2. off] of, *a* off, *b* of *Cb*
- 6. abstaine,] abstayne. *a*
- lvii. 1. his] the *cd EH*
- 3. tyre,] tyre *a*
- 6. part:] part, *a* (*copy 2; corr. in some copies*)
- 7. infirmitie,] infirmitie: *a* (*copy 2; corr. in some copies*)
- lviii. 5. atweene:] atweene. *a*
- lix. 1. Palmer] Palmer, *a*
- No parentheses in *a*
- he] he, *a*
- equall] euill *bc H₁*
- 8. great] greet *a* (*G reads grect in a*)

CANTO II

- iii. 3. nicitee] nicitee. *a*
- 4. cleene.] cleene; *a*
- iv. 5. hat'th] hat'h *a* (*copy 2; corr. in some copies*) *B*
- 9. stunck.] stonck, *a*
- v. 3. hard] hart *a*
- 5. ye] you *E*
- 8. them] om. *E*
- vi. 9. to] om. *a; corr. F. E.*
- vii. 7. pray] chace *abcd E and later editors except CbCoMD*
- viii. 3. set] sate *cd E* sat *HC*
- ix. 1. whose] those *bcd EH*
- 8. bel he *b*
- xi. 4. An] And *H₂*
- xii. 7. seas;] seas, *ab*
- 8. fame] frame *a BC*
- xiii. 5. strifull] strifefull *cd EH*
- xv. 2. modestie] modey *E*
- xviii. 1. Sans-loy] Sansloy *a*
- xxi. 1. cald] calth *bcd EH₂G*
- 2. hand] hond *cd EHUCTCbCoM*
- xxiii. 2. boldly] bloudy *b* boldy *c*
- 5. which] with *H₂*
- xxvii. 8. deadly] dealy *E*
- xxviii. 2. their] her *a BC*
- champions] champion *bcd EH*
- 3. enmity] enemy *d E*
- xxix. 6. thrust] thurst *cd E* thirst *H*
- xxx. 1. there] their *ab B*
- 3. bloud guiltinesse] bloodguiltnesse *a* bloud guiltnesse *b*
- 7. sword] swords *d E*
- xxxi. 3. makes] make *a; corr. F. E.*
- xxxiv. 9. their] her *a H₂UCTCbCoMD*
- xxxvii. 1. Fast] First *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
- Sans-loy] Sansloy *a*
- 5. companion;] companion: *a*

- xxxviii. 4. outrage;] outrage, *a*
 5. forward] froward *B*
 xxxix. 2. satietie:] satietie, *b*
 6. whither] whether *a* *BUCTCbCoD*
 xl. 5. peaceable] peaceably *a* *BUCTCbCoMDS*
 xli. 1. richesse] riches *cdE*
 4. eye,] eye. *ab* (*S seems to read eye, in a*)
 6. excellence] exce!lence *a*
 xlii. 5. found:] found, *ab*
 6. An yearly] An y earely *a* (*Ch reads Any earely in a*) *A yearly dE*
 And yearly *H*
 hold] make *abcdE* and all later editors except *ChCoMDG*
 xliii. 9. employes.] employes, *a*
 xliv. 4. introld] entrold *aCTCo* inrold *B* enrold *UCbMD*
 7. told,] told *ab*
 9. fordonne.] fordonne, *a*
 xlv. 9. hyes.] hyes *a*

CANTO III

- ii. 1. Congé] Congè *a*
 6. raught] rought *a*; *F.E. corrects rought to raught*
 iii. 3. perforce;] perforce: *a*
 7. heard] hard *a*
 iv. 5. he] vaine *bcdEH₁BS*
 v. 9. t'auaunce] t'aduauce *aEBUCTCbCoMD*
 ix. 7. From] For *b*
 8. flattery] slattery *a*
 x. 1. Braggadocchio] Braggadocchio *abcd*
 xi. 2. that at] at the *dE*
 4. courser] course *a*
 xiii. 4. lowly,] lowly *a*
 xv. 2. decay,] decay. *a*
 xvi. 1. Dotard] Dotard, *a*
 8. what] that *UT*
 xviii. 3. aliue] aliue, *a*
 6. deuice] aduise *bcdE* Advice *H* devise *B*
 xix. 5. off] of *aChCoD*
 earth] earth, *a*
 xx. 5. ghastly] gestly *H₁*
 their haire on end does reare] does unto them affeare *a* does greatly them
 affeare *UCTCbCoM*; *F.E. corrects unto to greatly*
 xxiii. 8. dredd] drad *cdEH₁* dread *H₂*
 xxiv. 8. rubins] rubies *dE*
 xxvii. 8. ends] end *cdEH₁*
 their] the *aBH₁UCTCbCoM*
 9. their] her *H₁*
 xxviii. 1. werel] did *aH₂*; *corr. F.E.*
 7. sport] play *abcdE* and most later editors except *D*
 xxx. 4. dispred,] dispred *a*
 xxxii. 7. not thoul] thou not *dE*
 xxxiii. 6. wild] wide *dE*
 7. But] Bur *a*

- xxxiv. 1. thus;] thus, *a*
 xxxv. 1. hand] hand, *a*
 xxxvi. 3. how,] how *a*
 xxxviii. 1. thus;] thus, *a*
 4. haue I] I haue *a* BUCTbCoM
 xli. 2. will be] wilbe *a*
 xlii. 1. court,] court. *a*
 xliii. 2. griued] greiued *b* G
 xlv. 4. on] one *cd* EHUCTMS
 7. in] from *d* E
 xlv. 9. ernel yerne *cd* E yearn *H*

CANTO IV

- Arg. 3. Phedon] Phaon *a* CTCbCoM
 4. Strife] strife *ab*
 i. 2. what] (what) *a*
 4. valorous] valorours *a*
 7. ride,] ride *a*
 ii. 6. passion,] passion *a*
 fleshlinesse] fleshlinesse, *a*
 iii. 5. feigned] seemed *d* E
 vii. 7. Whilst] While *H*₂
 describe,] descryde *a*
 ix. 3. threat,] threat. *a*
 x. 2. so,] so *a*
 4. He is not] He is no *abcd* EH; *corr.* F. E.
 9. and] aud *b*
 despight,] despight, *a*
 xi. 1. raging] *om.* E
 xii. 8. tong] tongue *acd* H; F. E. *corrects* tongue to tonge (*CbCoMD* follow F. E.)
 xiii. 9. perplexitie] perplexirie *d*
 xvi. 9. wretchednesse] Wickedness *H*₁
 xvii. 3. surpryse?] surpryse *ab*
 6. one] wretch *a* C
 8. occasion] her guilful trech *a* C
 9. light vpon] wādring ketch *a* C
 xviii. 8. Or] Our *cd* EH₁
 xix. 1. It] Is *b*
 fortune] fortune, *a*
 8. one,] one; *b*
 xx. 5. mote] more *H*₂
 xxii. 1. ere] ear *a* Cb
 xxiv. 4. partner] partener *a* CbCoMD
 5. inner] inward *H*
 xxviii. 2. Pryene] Priene *b*
 7. assayd?] assayd: *a*
 8. deathes] deathez *c* H deathes CTCb
 xxxiv. 1. Most] most *ab*
 xxxv. 7. outweed,] outweed *ab*
 xxxvi. 2. into] vnto *b* G
 5. worse] worst *H*₂ U
 7. Phedon] Phaon *a* UCTCbCoM

- xxxviii. 4. this word was] these Words were *H₂*
 xli. 2. *Pyrochles*] *Pyrrhocles* *abcd*; F.E. corrects *Pyrrhocles* to *Pyrochles* (*G* reads *Pyrochles* in *b*. Similar variants of this name occur too frequently for inclusion; an exception is 5. 1. 9)
 xliii. 1. concerne,] concerne. *a*
 6. *Occasion*,] *Occasion*; *ab*
 where so] wheresoere *H₂*
 xliv. 6. *Woel*] *Who* *dE*
 8. sits] fits *b*
 9. No parentheses in *a*
 xlv. 4. might] might *b*
 5. thus to] that did *aCCbCoM* thus did *B*
 xlvi. 6. atweene] atwee *H₂*

CANTO V

- Arg. 2. *vnbinds*,] *vntyes*, *aUCTbCoM* *vnbinds* *b*
 3. Of whom sore hurt, for his reuenge] Who him sore wounds, whiles Atin to
 aUCTbCoM
 4. Atin Cymochles finds] *G[Cl]ymochles* for ayd flies *aUCTbCoM*
 Atin] Atin *b*
 Cymochles] Gymochles *ab*
 i. 9. *Pyrochles*] *Pirrhocles* *a* *Pyrrhocles* *b*
 iii. 7. stroke;] stroke: *a*
 iv. 3. arriuing] arising *H₁*
 4. broad] braod *b*
 glauncing fell] glaun cingfell *a*
 5. sell] sell, *a* (*S* reads sell in *a*)
 v. 6. fraile;] frayl: *a*
 9. not much me] me not much *aUCTbCoM* not me much *B*
 vi. 7. discharge;] discharge, *a*
 8. it] is *H₂*
 viii. 1. horroure] Honour *H₂*
 5. yre;] yre, *b* (*copy* 2; corr. in some copies)
 7. hurtle] hurle *bG* hurlen *cdEH*
 warlike] warlike *a* warelike *bG*
 ix. 4. yielded] yeilded *aBChCoMD*
 9. t'illude] t'allude *E*
 x. 7. enimies,] enimye *a* enimies *b*
 8. releast] relast *b*
 xi. 5. great] gear *a*
 xiii. 4. know;] know. *a*
 6. him] him, *a*
 xv. 9. who] whose *cdEH*
 xvi. 4. hart murdring] hart-burning *E*
 7. myl thy *H₂*
 8. aread] a read *bG*
 xvii. 8. *Occasion*] occasion *a* *Occasion* *b*
 xviii. 5. emboyling] embayling *a*; corr. F.E.
 xix. 4. shee] hee *abB*
 7. dol garre *aUCTbCoM*
 xxi. 6. wisel] wise, *a*

7. occasions] occasion *cd E Occasion H*
 xxii. 4. bloud and durt] durt and blood *E*
 5. spight] spright *cd EH*
 6. fire] fyer *a UCTCbCoMD fier cd*
 7. bright,] bright *ab*
 9. withstond.] withstōd *a*
 xxiii. 1. that] the *cd EH₁*
 xxiv. 8. agayne,] agayne. *b*
 xxvii. 3. her] his *b G*
 6. transforme] trasforme *a UTCh*
 xxix. 2. compaire] compayre, *a*
 5. pricking] prickling *a BUCTCbCoMD*
 9. shew.] shew *a*
 xxx. 6. thristy] thirstie *cd EH*
 xxxi. 5. Gaynd in Nemea] In Netmus gayned *a C; F.E. corrects Netmus to Nemus*
 In Nemus gayned *UTChCoM*
 Nemea] Nemæa *cd E*
 7. harmonie] harmonic *b (U. of Washington copy)*
 8. selues] om. *H₂*
 xxxii. 6. meriments] meriment *abcd EHBUCTDGS*
 xxxiii. 3. lights,] lights *ab*
 xxxiv. 8. So, he them] So, them *cd EHS* So them *C* So he them *BUCoM* So' he
 them *TChD*
 xxxv. 1. Atin] Attin *a*
 xxxvi. 2. Vp] vp *ab*
 xxxviii. 2. passeth] passed *H₂*
 4. stay,] stay, *a*
 9. Atin] Attin *a*

CANTO VI

- Arg. 1. Merth] Merth, *ab*
 i. 2. pleasure] pleasures *B*
 7. restraine] abstaine *a ChCo (B reads refrain in c)*
 8. their] her *a H₂BUCTCbCoMD*
 iii. 4. that nigh her breth was gone] as merry as Pope Ione *a CoM*
 6. might to her] to her might *a BUCTCbCoM (B reads so her might in a)*
 7. none,] none *ab*
 iv. 1. off] of *a Ch*
 v. 6. away] a way *d E*
 vi. 7. laughter] laughing *d E*
 8. wanted] wanting *d E*
 vii. 7. of] off *a*
 viii. 7. delight,] delight. *a*
 xi. 4. That] There *E*
 5. There] That *E*
 xii. 3. hand] hand, *ab*
 9. and her sweet smells throw] & throwe her sweete smels *a H₂BUChCoM*
 xiii. 6. mind] men *d E*
 xiv. 8. slumbred,] slumbred *a*
 9. loud] loue *a H₂BUCTCbCoMGD*
 xv. 1. take,] take *ab*
 5. how,] how *a*

- xvi. 2. Flowre-deluce] Flowre-delice *d E*
 xvii. 1. then] when *G*
 8. thirst] thrist *a UCTCbCoMD*
 xviii. 2. worldly] wordly *a C*
 7. wauel] waues *cd EH*
 griesly] griesy *a CTCbCoMD*
 xix. 7. stond] hond *E*
 9. man] Mad *H₂*
 the] that *d EC*
 xxi. 8. bonds] bounds *cd EHC*
 xxii. 2. that] thar *a*
 xxiv. 3. fruitfulness] fuitfulness *a C*
 4. saw,] saw *b*
 5. all though] although *H*
 yet] ye *d*
 xxvii. 9. there] their *ab BCoG*
 xxviii. 3. inly] in!y *a*
 xxix. 2. importune] importance *b* important *cd EH₁*
 4. value] Valour *H*
 9. falles.] falles *a*
 xxx. 1. *Cymochles]* *Cymocles* *a*
 before] before, *ab*
 xxxii. 5. well away] weal-away *cd EH*
 xxxiv. 7. loue does] loues doe *d*
 xxxv. 2. shend] shent *b*
 xxxvii. 9. amoue] amount *E*
 xxxviii. 5. salied] sailed *cd EH₁U*
 8. There by] Thereby *ab G*
 xxxix. 4. euenings] eueniges *a* (*Huntington copy; recorded by G; corr. in our copies*)
 5. beastes] beastez *c H* beastës *CTCb*
 xl. 9. delayd.] delayd *a*
 xli. 1. Whylest] Whiles *cd EH*
 xlii. 4. steept] stept *a UCTCbM* steep'd *H*
 6. flasht] flasht, *ab*
 xliii. 1. weet] weet, *a*
 6. well away] weal-away *cd EH*
 7. this] but this his *a* his *H₂C*
 8. damnifyde?] damnifyde *ab*
 xliv. 3. Yet] Ye *H₂*
 8. marre:] marre *a*
 xlv. 1. is it] it is *c H*
 3. Burning] But *b G*
 no flames] no flame *E*
 xlviii. 6. man saw,] man, saw *a; corr. F. E.*
 1. 3. liuers] liuer *cd EHCTCbCoMD* (*M reads liver in b*)
 6. boste;] boste, *a*
 li. 5. fire too inly] fier inly *a CTCbCo*
 7. euermore] euemore *b*

CANTO VII

- Arg. 1. *Mammon]* *Mamon* *ab BCbCoMDG*
 i. 8. helme] helpe *d E*

- ii. 6. Long so] So long *a* (*copy 2; corr. in some copies*) *bcd EH₂BUCTChCoMGDS*
- 7. reedes] feeds *H₂*
- iii. 6. tand,] tand *a*
- bleard,] bleard *a*
- iv. 4. it] yet *a H₂BUTChCoDS*
- 8. vpsidownel] vpside downe *a TCoMDG*
- 9. And] A *b G*
- v. 4. *Mulcibers*] *Malcibers* *a* (*S reads Melcibers in a*)
- 5. distent] distant *H₂*
- 6. Ingoes] Ingots *d E*
- 7. moniment;] moniment: *a*
- vi. 2. hel] *om.* *H₂*
- vii. 3. heapes] hils *a H₂CTChCoM*
- 6. answerd;] answerd, *a*
- 8. thee] the *E*
- viii. 4. my] by *H₂*
- 6. worldes] worlds *E*
- ix. 8. couet] cover *H₂*
- x. 1. besits] befits *cd EHB*
- 3. pleasing] pleasant *B*
- xi. 5. kingdomes] *G reads kingdowes in a*
- 6. and] *om.* *b G*
- xii. 7. Strife,] Strife; *b*
- 9. as] in *a C*
- xiv. 4. on] an *d E*
- 8. thing] think *H₂*
- xvi. 2. nol] to *E*
- xviii. 2. that] *om.* *b*
- 3. forlorne] forlone *b* (*U. of Washington copy*)
- xix. 2. be got] begot *HB*
- 5. bloud guiltnesse] bloodguiltnesse *a* bloudguiltnesse *b*
- xx. 5. he] he. *a*
- and by] and by. *a*
- xxi. 5. infernall] internall *a H₂CoM* eternall *B*
- xxiii. 1. Horrour] horror *a* horroure *b*
- 2. beating] beaten *H₂*
- xxiv. 7. ought] nought *a BCCo*
- 8. Betwixt] Betwixt *a* (*corr. in some copies*)
- 9. Richesse] Riches *cd EH*
- xxv. 9. Richesse] Riches *cd EH*
- betwext] betwixt *cd EH*
- xxvii. 3. best,] best; *b* (*U. of Washington copy*)
- xxx. 1. rowme] towne *B*
- 4. wrong;] wrong: *a*
- xxxi. 1. spoke] spake *cd EH*
- 3. his] it *cd E* its *H*
- 4. richesse] riches *cd EH*
- 5. before;] before, *a*
- xxxii. 6. *Mammon*] *Hammon* *ab* (*U. of Washington copy*); *corr. F. E.*
- 7. worldes] worldez *c H* worldës *CTCh*
- xxxiv. 9. another] anothers *d E*

- xxxvi. 4. yron] dying *a* (*corr. in some copies*)
 touns] tongs *cd EHBUCTCbCoMD*
 7. came;] came. *a*
- xxxvii. 1. as] an *a BUCTCbCoMD*
 5. came] cam *a UTChCoMD*
- xxxviii. 6. worldes] worldez *cH worldës CTCh*
- xxxix. 6. minel my *E*
 8. mesprise] mespise *bcd E Mispise H*
- xl. 5. if] *om. b*
 that] the *abcd EHBCTCbCoM; corr. F. E.*
 would;] *S reads would in b*
 7. But] And *a BC*
 golden] yron *a C*
- xli. 3. his] to *bc HG (Co reads to in d)*
 5. terrestriall] terrestiall *c*
 9. amongst] emongst *a UCTCbCoM emong B (B reads emengst in a)*
- xl. 3. glitterand] glitter and *E*
 2. that] the *B (attempting to apply F. E. correction here, but reversing it)*
- xl. 3. the] that *CTCoM (who apply correction in F. E. to this line)*
- xliv. 5. maiestye;] maiestye, *a*
 9. enhaunce;] enhaunce *a*
- xl. 8. fall;] fall, *a*
 9. helps;] helps *a*
- xlvi. 1. There;] There *a*
 4. Hell;] Hell, *a*
- xl. 3. aspire.] aspyre, *a (copy 2; corr. in some copies)*
 4. answered;] answered, *a*
 6. deare, my] deare my *a deare my, b*
 is;] is, *a*
 8. worldes] worldez *cH worldës CTCh*
- li. 1. Mammon] Mammom *a (S reads Mammom in b)*
 2. estate;] estate, *a*
 4. mate] mate, *a (copy 2; corr. in some copies)*
 5. fate;] fate, *a*
 9. knight.] knight *a*
- li. 5. red;] redd. *a*
 7. men;] men *a*
 9. dead;] dead *a*
- lii. 6. With which] Which with *ab EH₂C Which-with cd H₂U Which, with B*
- liii. 1. Gardin] Gordin *b*
 of] of *b*
 7. great;] great. *a (Huntington copy)*
- liv. 7. gold:] gold *a*
 8. those] those, *a*
 th'] the *a; corr. F. E. (S reads the in b)*
- lv. 5. emongst] emongest *a Ch (B reads amongst in a)*
 threw;] threw: *a*
- lvi. 7. round;] round, *a*
- lviii. 2. still;] still *a*
 drinke] drinke, *a*
 3. liquor;] liquor *a*
 5. fruit;] fruit *a*

8. hunger] hunger, *a*
 lx. 4. intemperate] more temperate *a CCo*
 lxi. 6. incessantly;] incessantly, *a*
 8. eye;] eye, *a*
 lxii. 4. vniust,] vniust *a*
 5. doome,] doome *a*
 despiteous] despiteous, *a*
 7. felonous;] felonous, *a*
 lxiii. 4. tortures] torments *d E*
 6. foole,] foole *a*
 lxiv. 1. fall] fall, *a*
 2. bayt;] bayt, *a*
 9. of the] of his *a BUCTChCoMD*
 lxvi. 5. spright] spright, *a*

CANTO VIII

- Arg. 2. *sonnes*] *sonne d E*
 i. 1. there loue] their loue *a B*
 5. men,] men *a*
 ii. 2. want?] want, *a*
 5. millitant?] militant: *a*
 9. regard?] regard. *a*
 iii. 2. *Mammons*] *Mamons ab CoMGD*
 6. lay] late *H₂*
 8. come hither, O come] hither, O come *cd EHB* hether o come *UCb* hither!
 O, come *M*
 9. cry.] cry, *cd*
 v. 2. wondrous] wondtous *a*
 vii. 3. bespoke] bespake *cd EH*
 ix. 6. try;] try, *a*
 x. 6. *Acrates*] *Acates d*
 xi. 4. stryfull] strife-full *cd EHU*
 xii. 5. erewhile] ere whle *a*
 xiii. 1. answered;] answered, *a*
 xiv. 1. *Cymochles*;] *Cymochles, a*
 xv. 1. bad] bad, *a*
No parentheses in a
 reply] reply, *a*
 3. satisfy] satisfy, *a*
 4. ire,] yre; *a*
 6. since] sith *cd EH*
 9. in] with *d*
 xvi. 7. tomb-blacke] tomblacke *a CbCo*
 xviii. 5. great] gret *a TCo*
 distresse,] distresse. *a*
 xix. 4. *Braggadocchio*] *Braggadochio a*
 6. this] his *cd EH*
 xx. 2. art] art, *a*
 xxiv. 6. *No parentheses in a*
 graue] graue, *a*
 7. night] Knight *E*

- xxv. 1. his cruell] those same *abcd EH*; *corr. F.E.* those same cruel *B*
stand] doen awaite *cd EH*
- xxvi. 6. asswage] aswage, *a* asswage, *b*
9. patronage] patonage *b*
- xxvii. 3. doe] doth *c H₁*
- xxviii. 1. said;] said, *a*
4. from] for *d E*
8. abie] abide *E*
- xxix. 1. Indeed] Indeed, *a*
No parentheses in a
Princl] Prince, *a*
7. vpheauel vpreare *abcd EHBUCTCbGS*
- xxxi. 9. defast.] defast *a*
- xxxii. 2. Pagans] Pagons *a Co*; *F.E. corrects pagons to Pagans*
- xxxiii. 9. dispossesst.] dispossesst *a*
- xxxv. 5. in] on *cd EHUCT*
8. double] doubly *a*; *corr. F.E.*
- xxxvii. 3. rayle] traile *cd EHC*
4. fast,] fast *a* (*may be broken comma*)
- xxxix. 2. grievously;] grievously, *a*
4. and] aud *a*
- xl. 2. raught] wrought *H*
3. said;] said, *a*
4. wisely as] well, as he *a UCTCbCoMD*
7. hath] had *UT*
8. whelpes,] whelpes *a*
9. wexeth] wexed *E* vexeth *B*
- xli. 9. withstond] withstood *E*
- xliv. 5. aloft,] aloft *a*
- xliv. 1. at] as *H₂*
2. before,] before. *a*
- xliv. 2. guilty] gulty *b*
8. no more] not thore *a H₂C*
- xliv. 3. empierst] empiest *a*; *F.E. corrects empieste to empierst*
9. abound.] abound, *b*
- xlvi. 1. feare] feare, *ab*
5. sayd;] sayd, *a*
8. Harrow] Horrow *ab*; *F.E. corrects Horrow to harrow*
well away] weal-away *cd EH*
- xlvi. 4. sword] swerd *a UCTCbCoMD*
9. this] hee *d E* (*Co and M read this in d*)
- xlvi. 8. Prince *Arthur*] Sir *Guyon* *ab BG*
- xlvi. 9. cast.] cast *a*
1. 4. aw;] aw, *a*
7. For vile] Forvile *b*
- lii. 3. do] to *H₂*
- lii. 6. Had] Hast *b*
7. sir] Sire *H₂*
9. fro] from *H₂*
- liv. 1. read] read, *a*
4. Faire] fayre *a* faire *b*
7. had,] had. *a* (*may be broken comma*)

- lv. 3. bowing with] with bowing *abcd EHCTCo*; *F. E. corrects with bowing to bowing*
G follows F. E. and omits with

CANTO IX

- Arg. 4. *flight*] *fight* *bcd EH₁*
 i. 5. indecent] incedent *a*; *corr. F. E.*
 iii. 9. poure!] ponre. *a*
 iv. 3. chastitie] ehastity *a*
 5. liefel] life *E Life T*
 v. 1. said then] then said *H₂*
 3. thee] *a cd EH*
 vi. 3. and] add *a*
 9. *Arthegall*] *Arthogall* *a B*
 vii. 2. sith] since *cd EH*
 5. Now hath] Seuen times *a BCCbCoM*
 6. Walkt round] Hath walkte *a CbM*
 7. Sith] Since *cd EH*
 9. fauourlesse] favour less *H*
 viii. 5. you] you, *a*
 ix. 1. weete] wote *abcd EHCG*
 xi. 3. approch;] approch, *a*
 5. shooke,] shooke; *a*
 fall:] fall. *a*
 xii. 2. ye] you *d E*
 xiii. 1. spokel] spake *cd EH*
 5. threatning] threaning *a*
 7. kniues] knives *a CChCoMD*
 fire] fier *acd UCTChCoMD*
 xiv. 2. drouel] draue *d E*
 7. Sheepe] Speepe *b*
 xv. 3. Capitaine] Captaine *ab U*
 xvi. 3. sounden] sounding *H₂*
 8. with] *om. b*
 xvii. 4. perilous] perlous *a UCTChCoMD*
 5. conflict] comflict *b*
 xix. 9. crowned] crownd *a; corr. F. E.*
 xx. 6. There] Then *a CCh Then, Co*
 xxi. 1. them] him *a*
 2. as] that *d E*
 3. fensible] sensible *bcd EHBG*
 5. *Ægyptian*] *Ægyptian* *ab*
 6. towre;] towre, *a*
 7. time] a time *a; corr. F. E.*
 9. sure] snre *a (broken u in some copies)*
 xxii. 9. diapasel] *Dyapase abc Diapase d EBCoMG; corr. F. E.*
 xxiii. 1. Therein] The rein *a*
 9. open] opened *T*
 xxvi. 1. sidel] syde. *a*
 2. bright] bright, *a*
 xxvii. 8. was] was, *a*
 xxix. 3. chimney] chinney *d*

- xxxxi. 1. *Concoction*] *second o broken in some copies of 1590 to look like c*
 4. th'Achates] the cates *cd EH*
 xxxiv. 9. hath] had *H₂*
 xxxv. 3. idly] idle *cd EH₁*
 ease;] ease, *a*
 xxxvi. 9. spright.] spright *a*
 xxxvii. 4. said;] sayd, *a*
 8. you loue] your loue *ab BUC*
 xxxviii. 1. *No parentheses in a*
 2. word] mood *MS*
 3. aduise?] aduise. *a*
 9. twelue moneths] three years *a CChCoM*
 xxxix. 2. told;] told, *a*
 6. inquire,] inquire *a*
 xl. 7. vew,] vew *a*
 xli. 6. Craftesman] Craftesmans *cd EHBCS*
 7. Castory.] lastery *a* lastery. *b; corr. F. E.*
 9. sayd,] said. *a*
 xlii. 1. cheare] cleare *a Co*
 2. this] thus *d E*
 xlili. 2. face] face, *a*
 5. cace:] cace; *a*
 6. Why] why *ab*
 xliv. 9. Alablaster] Alabaster *d ECoM*
 xlv. 7. confound] con found *a (copy 1; corr. in some copies)*
 xlvi. 5. subtilly] subtilly, *a*
 9. *Tenantius*] *Tenactius* *E*
 might!] might? *a*
 xlviii. 3. these] this *a B*
 xlix. 1. foresee:] foresee; *a*
 9. could] would *a H₂BUCTCbCoMD*
 lii. 2. trew;] trew, *a*
 9. the] th' *cd EHBUCTCoM*
 lv. 9. well is] welis *a; corr. F. E.*
 lvii. 1. to] so *a*
 2. *Mathusalem,*] *Mathusalem* *a*
 lix. 8. And] An *H₂*
 lx. 2. hight] hight, *a*
 Antiquitie] *Ch reads Antiquitie in a*
 3. looke,] looke; *b*
 5. to hond] to Hand *H₂*

CANTO X

- iv. 3. Who] Whom *ab; corr. F. E. (B reads Who in b)*
 6. great] thy great *a; corr. F. E.*
 old] gold *a; corr. F. E.*
 v. 9. from] ftō *a*
 vi. 6. safeties sake that] safety that *a UCCoM* safēty that *TCh* Safety sake that *H₂*
 vii. 2. halfe] false *B*
 7. liued then] liueden *a CTChCoMD*
 viii. 2. assure;] assure, *a*
 6. Sprights,] Sprights *a*

- ix. 5. natiue] natiue (*a inverted*)
- 7. Assaracs] Assaraos *b*
- 9. possession] possessions *d E*
- x. 5. flore;] flore, *a*
- xi. 5. monstrous] monstons *a*
- xii. 2. that] the *cd EH*
- xv. 8. Vntill] Unto *H₂*
- 9. munifence] munificence *acd EHBUCTChCoMGD*
- xvi. 1. them] then *H₂*
- 7. aright] aright, *a*
- xvii. 6. Estrild] Elstred *d E*
- xviii. 7. remaind;] remaind *a*
- xix. 5. in that impatient stoure] vpon the present floure *a CTChCoM* in that impor-
tant stour *H₂* (*B reads vpon the present stoure in a*)
- xx. 2. young,] young; *a*
- the] to *U*
- to] of *bcd EHG* the *U*
- xxii. 3. weekes] weekes, *a*
- 9. retire.] retyre, *a*
- xxiv. 8. Scuih] *guiridh* *om. in most copies of a, but included in copy 2 and eight other known copies; all except a British Museum copy, C. 12. b 17, spell incorrectly "Seuith"; F. E. corrects Seuith to Scuih; see Critical Notes on the Text*
- it] he *a*
- bee,] bee. *ab*
- 9. rather y Scuih] *gogh*, signe of sad crueltee] *om. in most copies of a, but included in copy 2 and eight other known copies; all except the British Museum copy spell incorrectly "Seuith"; F. E. corrects Seuith to Scuih once only*
- xxv. 8. parts,] parts *a*
- xxvi. 5. are] *om. B*
- 6. their] her *abcd EHC; corr. F. E.*
- 7. euery] *om. B*
- xxvii. 9. her] their *C (applying F. E. here)*
- xxviii. 1. Gonorill] *S reads Gonerill in a; the o is blurred in our copy 2*
- 7. forth,] forth,, *a*
- xxix. 1. wedded] weded *a (copy 1; corr. in some copies)*
- 5. Aganip] Aggannip *a ChCoMD*
- Celtica.] Celtica a*
- 9. benel] beee *a (copy 1; corr. in some copies)* be *H₂*
- rule deposd] ruledeposed *a (copy 1; corr. in some copies)*
- xxx. 1. is,] is *a*
- 2. weeke] wike *cd EH*
- 5. waxe] wox *cd EHC*
- 6. Regan] Rigan *bc G*
- xxxi. 1. auise] advise *d E*
- too] to *a*
- 4. At last] Atlast *a (copy 1; corr. in some copies)*
- 8. an] au *a*
- 9. bereau'd.] bereau'd *a*
- xxxii. 6. strong] strong, *a*
- 7. ambition,] ambition *a*
- against] 'gainst *d E*
- xxxiii. 2. fierce Cundab] Cundab fierce *d E*

- xxxiv. 1. *Riuallo*] *Riuall'* *a* *Rivall'* *cd* *BUCTChCoMD* *Rival'* *EH*
 3. *Cæcily*] *Cæcily*, *a*
 7. Then] Till *b* *B* When *cd* *EHU*
- xxxvi. 3. felicitie;] felicitie? *b*
- xxxvii. 3. with] vp *b*
 7. taken] take *H₂*
 8. choosel choose, *b*
- xxxviii. 2. of] or *bcd* *EH*
 9. through] throgh *d*
- xxxix. 8. wielded] yielded *H₂*
 xl. 9. *Bellinus*] *Belinus* *a*
 xli. 1. *Gurgunt*] *Gurgunt* *a* (*B* reads *Girgiunt* in *a*)
Bellinus] *Belinus* *a*
 xlii. 6. brought;] brought: *a*
 8. tought;] tought: *a*
- xlili. 1. sonnel sonnes *bcd* *EHG*
Sisillus] *Sifillus* *abcd* *EHBUCTCo*
- xliv. 1. sonnes] sonne *b*
- xlvi. 2. his] *om.* *H₂*
- xlvi. 3. staine,] staine. *b*
 7. of] to *d* *E*
 9. foyle.] foyle *a*
- xliv. 2. bloudshed] *G* reads bloused in *b*
 8. defrayd] did defray *bcd* *EHG*
 1. 8. warrayd] wrrayd *b* *G*
- li. 1. that] the *H₂*
 7. Both] *om.* *cd* *EH*
 his] *om.* *bcd* *EHG*
 and] and eke *cd* *EH*
- lii. 2. *Arurage*] *Aurage* *c*
- liii. 2. in] with *cd* *EH* (*C* and *Co* read with in *b*)
 tranquillity,] tranquillity. *a*
 9. truth,] truth; *a*
- liv. 6. *Bunduca*] *Brunduca* *d* *E*
- lv. 5. preseru'd] perseru'd *b*
 9. captiu'd,] captiu'd *b*
- lvi. 4. *Hypsiphi'*] *Hypsiphi'*, *a* *BUTChCoMD* *Hysiphi'* *bc* *G* *Hysiphi'*, *d* *EH*
- lvii. 3. fled:] fled *a* (*copy* 1; *corr. in some copies*)
 7. But] And *d* *E*
- lviii. 8. prime:] prime; *a*
- lix. 4. bright,] bright. *a*
 6. godly] goodly *H₂*
 prayse] praise, *a*
 9. instruments,] instruments *a*
- lxi. 4. the Empire] his daughter *B*
 8. withstand,] withstand. *a*
- lxiii. 4. bordragings] bordragings. *a*
- lxiv. 8. hoyes] boys *E*
- lxv. 1. Capitains] Captains *b*
 9. enforst] haue forst *a* *CChCoMD*
- lxvi. 2. rule] Realme *d* *E*
 5. word;] word, *a*
 7. bloud,] blood,, *a*

- lxvii. 2. *Ambrose*] *Ambrise* *bcd EH₁G*
 5. *slaine*] *slaine*. *b*
 lxviii. 5. *th' Authour*] *th'Athor's* *H₂*
 7. *seemeth*] *seemed* *a H₂BUCCbCoMD*
 lxx. 6. *deriued*] *deriued* *b*
 lxxiii. 9. *bee*] *bee* *b*
 lxxvii. 5. *gentle*] *geutle* *b*
 9. *noble*] *nobles* *b* (*B reads nobler in b*)

CANTO XI

- Arg. 4. *Maleger*] *Meleager* *H₂*
 i. 3. *euermore*] *euermore*, *a*
 ii. 1. *body*] *body* *a*
 5. *establishment*] *establishment*, *a*
 9. *Attempred*] *Attempted* *E*
 for *delight*] *delight* *b*
 iii. 1. *cremosin*] *crimson* *H*
 iv. 4. *hel* *om.* *b G*
 vi. 1. *dispart*] *dispart*, *a*
 vii. 1. *other fiue*] *other fine* *a*
 2. *pile*] *pile*. *b*
 ix. 3. *nor*] *or* *HB*
 4. *exault*] *exault*. *b* to *exault*, *B*
 9. *money*] *money* *a*
 that *Bulwarke sorely rent*] against that *Bulwarke lent* *a CCo*
 x. 2. *dessignment*] *assignment* *a BCbCoM*
makes] *makes*, *a*
 5. *brakes*] *brakes*, *a*
 8. *flatteries*] *flatteries*, *a*
 xi. 9. *light*] *fond* *B*
 xii. 1. *band*] *band* *a*
 which] *whose* *H₂*
battryl] *battery* *cd E*
 3. *rest*] *rest* *a*
 xiii. 2. *was*] *is* *a H₂BUCTCbCoMD*
 5. *Cruelly they*] *They cruelly* *cd EH* (*Co reads They cruelly in b*)
assayled] *assayed* *a ChCoM*
 7. *stings*] *strings* *d E*
 xiv. 5. *decay*] *decay*. *a*
 9. *peece*] *Place* *H₂*
 xvi. 1. *the*] *that* *cd EH*
 2. *dismayed*] *dismay'd* *H₂*
 8. *their*] *that* *H₂*
 xvii. 1. *glitterand*] *Glitter and* *H₁*
 7. *rablement*] *rablcment* *a* (*copy 2; corr. in some copies*)
 9. *outrageous*] *outragous* *a* (*copy 2; corr. in some copies*)
 xviii. 7. *throw*] *throw*, *a*
 8. *streame*] *streame* *a*
 xix. 1. *their*] *there* *B*
 9. *breed*] *breed* *ab*
 xx. 3. *remedy*] *remedy*, *a*
 4. *swift and fierce*] *fierce and swift* *B*

6. Whiles] While *cd EH*
ground;] ground, *a*
- xxi. 3. All] And *H₂*
5. hide;] hide, *a*
8. their] there *cd EHUCTCbMD*
salue,] salue *a*
their] there *cd EHUCTCbCoMD*
- xxiii. 5. Stags;] Stags, *a*
8. support] disport *bcd EHG*
- xxvii. 2. to] unto *B*
5. Who] But *a BUCTCbCoM*
- xxviii. 3. brought,] brought *a*
- xxix. 4. ayd] aye *b*
9. reskew] Rescues *H₂*
- xxx. 7. Britayne] Britom *a Briton bcd EHCT; corr. F. E.*
land;] land, *a*
9. suruiue] reuiue *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
- xxxii. 5. vnrest] infest *a CCo*
- xxxiii. 3. angry] hungry *B*
- xxxiv. 1. deare;] deare, *a*
- xxxvi. 5. gaue,] gaue; *a*
- xxxvii. 8. Or his] Orh i *a (Huntington copy)*
- xxxviii. 4. a mazel] amaze *a BUCTCbCoMD*
- xxxix. 3. sight] fight *H₂*
xlii. 6. grownd;] grownd, *a*
xliii. 7. hel the *H₂*
xliv. 1. endl ends *B*
3. this] his *a; corr. F. E.*
xlv. 2. bore;] bore, *a*
- xlvi. 8. stay,] stay; *a (copy 2; corr. in some copies)*
- xlx. 8. sumptuous] sumptuous *a*
9. dressing] dressiing *a*
stayd.] stayd *a*

CANTO XII

- Arg. 1. by] through *a B*
2. passing through] through passing *a B*
- i. 1. this] that *BUCTCoM (who apply correction in F. E. to this line)*
6. this braue] that braue *C (who applies correction in F. E. here as well as in line 1) ChD (who apply correction in F. E. to this line)*
for that] for this *abcd EHBUTCbCoMGD; corr. F. E.*
- ii. 8. raging] rages *B*
- iii. 5. worldes] worlds *cd E worlde's B worldës CTCb*
9. dol did *a; F. E. corrects did to doe*
- iv. 5. rift] rift, *a*
9. this] the *UT*
- v. 5. strikel strikes *d*
driuel dryue, *a (copy 2; corr. in some copies)*
- viii. 1. thy,] thy *a*
4. hoarse] hoare *d E*
6. waiting] weiting *a; F. E. corrects weiting to wayting*
9. drift.] drift, *a*

- ix. 2. said;] saide, *a*
Behold] behold *ab*
- 9. *Reproch;]* *Reproch* *a*
- x. 5. Whiles] While *E*
- xi. 1. That] Tha t *a* (*copy 1; corr. in some copies*)
- xii. 2. dispred] dispred, *a*
- xiii. 6. faire] farre *B*
- 9. honor] temple *a* *BUCTCbCoM*
- xv. 1. can] gan *cd* *EH₁* did *B* gan to *H₂*
- 5. afore:] afore *a* (*copy 2; corr. in some copies*)
- 7. withouten] wihtouten *a* (*copy 1; recorded by B*) wirhouten
a (*copy 2*)
- xx. 5. circled] circling *B*
- 6. tol ro *c*
- 8. their] the *bcd* *EHG*
- xxi. 1. th' heedfull] th' earnest *a* *CCo*
- 4. dred] drad *cd* *E*
- xxii. 2. enraged] engaged *H₂*
- xxiii. 5. deformitee] deformitee *c*
- 9. *Monoceros]* *Monoceros* *ChMS* (*restored in Oxford one vol. ed.*)
- xxvi. 1. *No parentheses in a*
- 9. *Tethys]* *Thetys'* *H*
- xxvii. 3. pittifully] pittifull *b*
- 4. the resounding] resounding *cd* *EHBUcM* th' resounding *T*
- 8. misfortune] misfortnne *b*
- xxviii. 5. displeasd,] displeasd *a*
- xxx. 6. pleasaunt] peasaunt *b*
- xxxii. 4. That] Thou *b* *G*
- xxxiii. 8. That] And *d* *E*
- xxxiv. 1. the] that *cd* *EH₁*
- xxxvii. 1. does] doth *B*
- 7. Palmer,] Palmer *a*
- xxxviii. 8. hard] sad *d* *E*
- xxxix. 8. vpstarting] vpstaring *a* *H₂UCTCbCoM*
- xl. 7. dayntiest] dayntest *a* *UTCbCoMD*
- xlii. 2. their] iheir *a* (*copy 1; corr. in some copies*)
- 5. their] they *H₂U*
- 7. mightiest] migtest *a*
- xliv. 6. conquest] couquest *a* (*copy 1; corr. in some copies*)
- 8. wondred] wounded *B*
- xlvi. 3. there] their *a* *C*
- xlvi. 7. of this] oft his *a* (*B reads oft this in a*) of his *B*
- 9. formalitee.] formalitee *a*
- 1. 4. greene] grenee *b*
- li. 1. Thereto] Therewith *a* *UCoM*
- 6. creatures] crearures *b*
- lii. 3. kill;] kill: *a*
- 4. *Tempe]* *Temple* *B*
- 9. Or] Of *b*
Eden] *Eden,* *b*
selfe] *om.* *bcd* *EHG*
if] if that *cd* *EH*

- liv. 7. *Hyacine*] *Hyacint* *abc BGS*
 9. *Emeraudes*] *Emerandes* *B*
 lvii. 1. *tast*] *tast*, *a*
 9. *nought*] *not* *bcd EHG*
displeasure] *displeasure*, *a*
 lix. 1. *rude*] *rude* *a*
 lx. 5. *curious*] *pure* *cd EH₁*
 7. *liuely*] *lovely* *E*
 9. *ioyes*] *ioyes*, *a*
 lxi. 4. *vew*] *vew*. *a*
 8. *fleecyl* *fleeing* *B*
tenderly] *fearefully* *a UCTCbCoM*
 lxii. 4. *tol* *into* *a (copy 2; corr. in some copies) CoM*
 7. *bottom*] *bortom* *b*
 lxiii. 4. *offend*] *offend*: *a*
 lxv. 8. *pace*] *pace*; *a*
 9. *secret*] *secret* *a*
 lxix. 6. *Palmer*] *Palmer*, *a*
 lxxiii. 1. *that*] *the* *cd EH*
 3. *whence*] *when* *d E*
 lxxiv. 2. *Who* *so*] *Whoso* *c EH₁ UCTCbCoM* *Who-so* *d*
 lxxv. 5. *Ladie*] *Lady'* *a UCTCoM*
 6. *is*] *in* *H₁*
 lxxvi. 8. *That*] *Thot* *a*
 lxxvii. 5. *alablaste*] *alabaster* *d E*
 lxxix. 6. *manly*] *many* *B*
 lxxx. 4. *see*] *see*, *a*
 lxxxi. 4. *the*] *that* *a H₂BUCTCbCoMD* (*M reads that in b and the in a*)
 5. *formally*] *formerly* *H₁*
 6. *held*] *hild* *d E*
 lxxxii. 9. *applyde*] *applyde*, *a*
 lxxxiii. 7. *spoyle*] *spoyld* *bcd EHG*
 lxxxv. 1. *Thesel*] *these* *ab*
 lxxxvii. 8. *mind*] *minde*; *a*

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE TEXT

PROEM

iii. 7. starre vnseene] starrie sheen conj. Upton. As an alternate, he proposes "starre, unseene," construing "unseene" with "worldes."

iv. 5. n'ote] no'te *a* (Huntington copy; corr. in our copies) *b* 1596 was apparently set up from a copy of 1590 which had the uncorrected form at this place. See Critical Notes on the Text, 7.2.6.

CANTO I

vii. 5. his long] the long conj. Upton.

ix. 9. this] thy conj. Church.

xviii. 6. did he] he did *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 1.5.7.9. Smith: "This transposition seems designed to get another alliteration in 'd.'"

xxv. 5-6. Church places a colon at the end of the first line and an exclamation mark after "success," changing the conditional clause to an exclamation.

xxxi. 2. handling] handing *b* See Critical Notes on the Text, 5.29.5.

xxxiii. 8. thrise] these *ab*; corr. *F. E.* Collier records "thrice" in Drayton's copy of 1611.

xxxvii. 1. But] And conj. Church. "The printer's eye mistook the stanza as in other like instances. See 3.37.1."

xxxix. 4. dolour] labour *b* Church cites the phrase "death and dolour" in 7.23.5 and 8.7.7.

xlvi. 5. doth] Upton: "Read 'doe' or change 'pangs' into 'pang.'"

CANTO II

Arg. The sense is indicated by the pointing of Hughes and most later editors, who print heavy stops after "clensd" and "meane" and set off "two extremities" with commas.

2. Face] Place conj. Upton, referring to the Castle in st. 12.

iii. 4. guiltie] See Upton's note in the Commentary.

iv. 3. lieu] love conj. Church.

vii. 7. pray] chace *ab* Child: "The word being caught from the next line." Collier records Drayton's correction to "pray" in a copy of 1611. Smith: "There are, in all, nine instances of this singularity in the *Faerie Queene* (2.2.7.7; 2.2.42.6; 2.3.28.7; 2.8.29.5; 3.6.40.6; 3.7.34.2; 4.11.17.6; 5. Proem 11.2; 5.11.61.7). . . . The phenomenon may now be described in general terms: in these nine places Spenser substitutes for a rhyming word a metrically equivalent synonym which does not rhyme. Our analysis further shows that, the rhyme-scheme of the Spenserian stanza being *ababbcbcc*, this substitution occurs only in the first or last of the *b*-group, or in the first of the *c*-group. It seems as if, borne along on the swell of his metre and the easy flow of his imagination, two words identical in sense and metre but different in sound rose to the poet's mind almost simultaneously; and the one which he meant to reject slipped nevertheless from his pen, having been (we infer) the first to occur. This explains why this phenomenon always occurs either in the first word of a rhyme-group, where the rhyme is still undetermined; or, if in the last, then only in the last of the *b*-group, where the ear has already been satisfied with as many as three rhymes; and why it never occurs in the *a*-group, where two rhymeless endings would at once have alarmed the ear." Whether these errors are Spenser's or the compositor's, the corrections are so obvious that we feel justified in making them, as Spenser himself would surely have done. See Todd's note in the Commentary.

- xii. 8. Church suggests: "antique worke of ancient fame."
- xx. 9. fouldring] smouldring conj. Church, who considers "fouldring," i. e. thundering, repetitious. He cites 1. 8. 9. 4 and 3. 11. 21. 6. Child glosses "fouldring" as "flaming with lightning." Collier: "But 'smouldring heate' seems the very opposite of what the poet intended: it was a sudden outburst of fury."
- xxi. 1. cald] calth *b* Smith: "Changes of tense like this are not uncommon in 1596, but here 'calth' seems an error due to the following 'forth.'"
2. hond] hand *a* Collier calls attention to the "broad pronunciation of the letter 'a.'"
- xxv. 9. Upton would correct "was" to "were" or "paines" to "paine."
- xxx. 1. there] their *ab* "Their" is a good Elizabethan spelling but is confusing to the modern reader. See 6. 27. 9 and 11. 21. 8.
- 5, 7. Lord] Church would read "Lords" and "swords."
7. And] Ten conj. Upton. "The connective particle seems to debase the sentence and spoil the construction."
- xxxiv. 9. thought their] though ther *a* Smith, reading "though ther," comments: "1590 seems to be simply a wrong division of 'thought her,' which we should perhaps read." Either "her" or "their" is acceptable.
- xxxvii. 1. Fast] First *abcdE*; *corr. F. E.* Dryden corrects to "For" in his 1679.
- xl. 6. hold] make *ab* See Critical Notes on the Text, 2. 7. 7. Collier records this correction in Drayton's copy of 1611.
- xliv. 4. introld] entrold *a* Todd: "Spenser's own word . . . seems to be considered as an error of the press. It is remarkable, however, that an error should be varied in its spelling and yet be neglected in regard to the meaning of the word." Smith: "Enrold" is more obvious than convincing; it is typographically improbable, and it makes poor sense. The problem is complicated by the ambiguous rhyme with 'world' and 'told,' for which, however, cf. 1. 11. 27. 1, 3 'world' = 'extold.' I am not convinced that Spenser did not coin 'introld,' though I do not know what he meant by it."

CANTO III

- iv. 5. he] vaine *b* The second "vaine" is probably a compositor's repetition of the first. Smith: "But the collocation of 'glory' and 'vaine' appears in two other descriptions of Braggadocchio, viz. 3. 8. 11. 8, 9; 4. 4. 14. 5. And the play on words is quite Spenserian; cf. 1. 4. 6. 6 array . . . arras; 2. 1. 37. 9 leaue . . . leaue; 2. 2. 12. 3 fairely fare."
- vi. 9. Mercy lowd] Mercy Lord conj. Upton.
- x. 4. is lifted] ilifted conj. Upton.
- xxviii. 2. temple] temples conj. Church.
7. sport] play *ab* See Critical Notes on the Text, 2. 7. 7.
- xxxviii. 4. See Critical Notes on the Text, 1. 5. 7. 9.

CANTO IV

- xvii. 6, 8, 9. Smith: "A striking instance of author's correction in 1596. Spenser seems to have shrunk from the forms 'trech,' 'ketch.'"
- xxviii. 7. hands] head conj. Church.
- xxxvi. 5. worse] worst Upton reads "worst" with *H₂* but corrects himself in his notes.
- xli. 2. *Pyrochles*] Birch was the first to follow *F. E.* in the spelling of this name.
8. Church notes that this line contains six feet and would omit "But." Upton prefers to omit "sonne," as having been caught by the printer's eye from the line below.

CANTO V

v. 9. not much me] me not much *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 1. 5. 7. 9.

ix. 9. t'illude] t'allude *E* Dryden corrects to "t'allure" in his 1679.

xii. 8. by] but conj. "A Friend" of Jortin's. Approved by Smith, who interprets the line: "Do not think that it is thy force but the unjust doom of fortune that has thus laid me low."

9. maugre her spight] Jortin: "Perhaps he uses 'mauger' in these places [here and at 3. 5. 7. 5], as an imprecation, 'Curse on it.' In 3. 4. 15 and in other places he uses 'mauger' in the common way." Smith: "No good meaning can be got out of 'maugre her spight' without taking 'maugre' in the sense of 'curse on,' or the like, which it never bears outside *F. Q.*, if there. The nearest parallels are 3. 4. 39. 8; . . . 6. 4. 40. 3."

xiii. 4. th'equall] th'unequall conj. Church.

xv. 9. who] who's conj. Jortin. Spenser probably wrote "whō," making "selfe" the subject of "ouerthrowe." See 2. 7. 6, where the compositor of 1590 overlooked the tilda in "trāsforme."

xix. 7. do] garre *a* Smith: "A very interesting change. Had it been objected to 'garre' that it was peculiar to Northern dialect? I believe that several changes in 1596 were made to meet such criticisms. Spenser uses 'garre' in *Shep. Cal.*, but not elsewhere in *F. Q.*"

xxii. 7. See Commentary.

xxvii. 6. transforme] trasforme *a* Spenser probably wrote "trāsforme."

xxix. 5. pricking] prickling *a* Smith notes that the quartos differ repeatedly over this particular letter and cites 2. 1. 31. 2; 2. 6. 18. 7; 2. 11. 13. 5; 2. 12. 30. 6 ("where 1590 is certainly right"). "Here usage favours 1596, but sound 1590."

xxxii. 6. meriments] meriment *ab* Grosart cites this as "another example of Spenser's neglect of strict rhyme," but adds that it may be a printer's error.

xxxiv. 8. So, he them] So, them *cd EHS* So he them *UCoM* So them *C* So' he them *TChD* Upton's conjectured scansion is: "Sō' hē thēm." Todd: "[The comma] might have been the intended mark of elision, and had slipped down at the press." But cf. 12. 75. 5, "many a Lady, and" in 1590, which 1596 changes to "many a Ladie, and", omitting the apostrophe. In view of this we cannot consider the comma after "So" as an intended mark of elision; it is, moreover, plainly a comma in our copies.

CANTO VI

iii. 4. that night her breth was gone] as merry as Pope Ione *a* Smith: "The earlier reading was apparently thought too colloquial." See Commentary. It is possible that Spenser wanted to avoid reference to the controversial subject of the female Pope Joan.

6. might to her] to her might *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 1. 5. 7. 9. Smith: "The authenticity of the transposition here is made probable by the proximity of line 4."

v. 6. away] a way *dE* Smith, approving the folio reading, cites 8. 5. 9.

xii. 9. and her sweet smels] & throwe her sweete smels *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 1. 5. 7. 9.

xiv. 9. loud] loue *a* Smith supports the reading of 1596 by citing the proximity of the correction in 2. 6. 12. 9. Spenser may have written "leud."

xviii. 7. griesly] griesy *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 5. 29. 5.

xxvii. 9. there] their *ab* See Critical Notes on the Text, 2. 30. 1.

xxix. 2. importune] importance *b* important *c* 1609 here attempts to correct an obvious error of 1596 without reference to 1590.

xxxi. 6. This line is printed flush with lines 1 and 9.

xliii. 7. this] this his *a* Upton: "It seems that Spenser wrote 'this,' and corrected it to 'his,' and that the printer gave us both." The 1590 line is a perfect Alexandrine.

xlv. 3. Burning] But *b* This is a rare case of agreement between 1590 and 1609.

li. 5. fire too] fier *a* Upton: "It seems a plain alteration of the poet upon second thoughts." Todd: "But 'too' appears needless; and 'fier,' pronounced as two syllables is not uncommon in Spenser." This may be an editorial change for the sake of emphasis. Otherwise, the corrector failed to note the dissyllabic quantity of "fire." There are in the first three books of *F. Q.* five other instances in which "fire" is dissyllabic (1. 2. 17. 7; 2. 11. 47. 5; 2. 5. 22. 6; 2. 9. 13. 7; 3. 11. 38. 5). In all except one (3. 11. 38. 5), 1590 spells "fier" ("fyer"). At 1. 2. 17. 7 and 2. 11. 47. 5, 1596 retains the dissyllabic spelling; twice, at 2. 5. 22. 6 and 2. 9. 13. 7, 1596 ignores the dissyllabic quantity; once, at 3. 11. 38. 5, 1596 correctly substitutes "fier."

CANTO VII

ii. 6. Long so] So long *a* (*corr. in some copies*) *b* This form seems to exist in three states in 1590. The first is represented in our copy 2 ("So long"; 48. 3, "aspyre,"; 50. 4, "mate,"); the second by the Folger copy ("So long"; 48. 3, "aspyre,"; 50. 4, "mate,"); and the third by our copy 1 and the copy belonging to Mr. Lucius Wilmerding ("Long so"; 48. 3, "aspyre,"; 50. 4, "mate,"). Smith's reading of "*Melcibers*" for "*Malcibers*" at 5. 4 seems to be either a typographical error or a misreading of a poor impression of the italic "*a*," for we can find no copy that agrees with him. Cf. his unique reading of "*Gonerill*" for "*Gonorill*" at 10. 28. 1. 1596 was set from a copy of 1590 containing the form in the first state. The corrections in punctuation are obvious and may have been made by a proof-reader. The change in wording, "So long" to "Long so," is deliberate and, we think, authoritative.

iv. 4. it] yet *a* Jortin and Warton would place a full stop after "dust," taking "darkned" as meaning "was darkned." Todd dissents and says: "If the learned critics had followed the poet's first edition, no difficulty would have occurred. . . . The sense here is 'Whose glistening glosse, darkned (i. e. being darkned) with filthy dust, well appeared notwithstanding to have beene &c.'"

8. vpsidowne] vpside downe *a* Smith: "The original form, as I learn from Sir James Murray, was 'upsodown' or 'upsadown'; 'upsidown' became current in the second quarter of the sixteenth century; 'upside-down' appears first in Coverdale. By the last decade of the century 'upsodown' was obsolete, 'upsidown' archaic, 'upside-down' or 'upset-down' current. There is little doubt that here, as at 1. 12. 38. 3 Spenser deliberately returned in 1596 to the more archaic form." Cf. Harvey's use of "*Vpsy-downe*," "vpsy-downe" in *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, 1854, 2. 145).

v. 4. *Mulcibers*] *Malcibers* *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 7. 2. 6.

vi. 3. hils] heaps conj. Upton, who cites the 1596 correction in 8. 3.

xvi. 2. no] to *E* Corrected by Dryden in his copy of 1679.

xxxii. 6. Mammon] Hammon *ab* (*U. of Washington copy*); *corr. F. E.* This shows that reference was not made to *F. E.* in the printing of 1596, for this error was discovered after printing began.

xxxvi. 4. yron] dying *a* A Huntington copy of 1590 has been corrected to "yron." It is quite possible that the copy of 1590 from which 1596 was set had also been corrected at this place.

xxxix. 8. mesprise] mespise *bcd* Collier records a correction in Drayton's copy of 1611 of this obvious error.

xl. 5. that] the *ab*; *corr. F. E.* Collier points out that *Englands Parnassus* (1600) quotes this stanza with "the," but as Smith observes, "the quotation is full of mistakes and has no authority." The correction might apply to 43. 2, but we apply it to this line, for the substitution of the conjunction for the article is a definite improvement here, but a demon-

strative instead of the article in 43.2 makes no appreciable difference. The omission of "if" in 1596 and the absence of the semicolon after "would" in Smith's copy of 1596 could indicate that a correction was attempted here.

.xliii. 2. the] that *CTCoM* (*applying F.E. here*). See Critical Notes on the Text, 7.40.5.

lii. 6. With which] Which with *ab* Which-with *cd* First corrected by Jortin. Collier notes that "whichwith" is another form of "wherewith," but he observes that Drayton's copy of 1611 has indicated a reversal of the order. It seems to us a transposition by the printer.

7. See Upton's note in the Commentary on 7.52.5-9.

lix. 6. Of whom] Who of conj. Upton.

CANTO VIII

iii. 8. come hither, o come] hither, o come *cd* Smith: "But the trisyllabic foot is probably genuine and expresses agitation."

xxiv. 7. night] Knight *E* Corrected by Dryden in his copy of 1679.

xxviii. 8. abide] abide *E* Corrected by Dryden to "aby" in his copy of 1679.

xxix. 7. vpheae] vpreare *ab* See Critical Notes on the Text, 2.7.7. Collier records the correction in Drayton's copy of 1611, and Smith in *Malone* 615.

xxxvii. 3. rayle] trayle *cd* Todd: "It is my duty respectfully to notice the improper introduction of this passage into Dr. Johnson's Dictionary as an illustration of the verb 'trail'; for certainly 'trail' here is not Spenser's word."

xl. 4. wisely as it ought] well as he it ought *a* Smith justifies the 1596 reading by reference to 2.8.32.4 and 7.7.9.8, but admits that the interpretation of 1590 originally advanced by Upton, "As well as he who owned it," gives an excellent meaning. The reason for the change is not apparent but it is evidently an editorial correction.

xli. 9. withstond] withstood *E* Corrected by Dryden in his copy of 1679.

xliv. 8. no more] not thore *a* Warton (1.170) would read "Not more." Todd observes that the word "thore" may be often found in old English poetry for "there," or it might perhaps have been intended for "thorough." He and most other editors agree with Upton that the 1596 reading seems to be the poet's own emendation.

lv. 3. Jortin: "I dare not affirm that it should be: 'And to the Prince bowing with reverence due.'" Jortin did not use *F.E.*, which makes a new error in correcting one, but which obviously intended to read "bowing with."

4. thus] He conj. Dryden in his copy of 1679.

9. Dryden would complete the line: "and still those bands renewd?"

CANTO IX

vii. 5. Now hath] Seuen times *a* At 1.9.15.9, Arthur gives nine months as the duration of his search; at 2.9.38.9, he gives three years, although he had spoken of seven years just thirty-one stanzas earlier. This inconsistency would indicate that in 1590 the periods of time are conventional—nine months, seven years, three years. But in 1596 the statements in this Canto are made consistent with that in Book I.

ix. 1. weete] wote *ab* Birch's emendation. According to Collier, Drayton anticipated him. Smith: "Not an imperfect rhyme, but a misprint; for the form is wrong."

xv. 3. Capitaine] Captaine *ab* Three syllables are needed. See the form of the word at 2.11.14.6.

xvii. 4. perilous] perlous *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 1.1.15.6.

xxi. 3. fensible] sensible *b* Todd cites "fensible" in 3.10.10.1. Collier records Drayton's correction to "fensible."

- xxxviii. 2. word] mood *MGS* Collier records Drayton's alteration to "mood."
 9. twelue moneths] three years *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 9. 7. 5.
 xlvii. 3. other] Collier records "neather" in Drayton's copy of 1611.
 xlix. 4. reason] Collier records "season" in Drayton's copy of 1611.

CANTO X

iv. 6. Collier records Marston's emendation: "Thy fathers and thy great Grand-fathers old."

xv. 9. munifence] munificence *a* Church conjectures "munitience," from Latin "munitio," fortification. Smith: "Spenser certainly means 'fortification,' and has either coined a noun from munify + ence, or applied 'munificence' in this unexampled sense." Possibly Spenser wrote "munisience."

xxiv. 8, 9. Mr. Idris Bell, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, has supplied for us the Welsh for "green shield," *ysgwyd werdd*, and "red shield," *ysgwyd goch*. The compositor apparently did not understand these words and so left them out of the earlier sheets of 1590, but they were later inserted. Whether Spenser was responsible for the transliteration is impossible to determine. See notes in the Commentary and the Variants.

W. L. Renwick (*MLR* 28. 510) in a review of our Book I objects to our reading of *scuieth* in the British Museum copy. He asserts that a former owner has scraped away the bars of the "e" in both lines to make the corrected reading. Mr. Renwick may be right; his conclusion occurred to us, but three competent persons insisted, after independent examinations, that the correction was made in the printing.

xxxiv. 1. *Riuallo*] *Riuall'* *a* *Rivall'* *c* See Critical Notes on the Text, 1. 1. 15. 6. This is one of the few cases in which 1609 may have consulted 1590.

7. Then] Till *b* Upton thinks "Till" may have been caught from the line above.

xlili. 1. *Sisillus*] *Sifillus* *ab* All sources spell this name with "s" or "c." See Commentary.

xlvi. 9. *Tenantius*] *Tenactius* *E* Corrected by Dryden in his copy of 1679.

lvi. 4. *Hypsiphi'*] *Hypsiphy'* conj. Jortin, who obviously did not use 1590.

lxv. 1. Capitains] Captains *b* The word should be trisyllabic as in 1590. See

11. 14. 6.

lxvii. 2. *Ambrose*] *Ambrise* *b* Geoffrey of Monmouth, the source, spells "Ambrosius."

CANTO XI

xi. 4. dismayd] "Dismayd," i.e. ugly, ill-shaped, may be taken as modifying "hounds" and "Apes" (Jortin) or "feendes of hell" (Church). Upton applies it in the conventional sense to "Apes" only, "frightened Apes." Spenser probably intended it: like to feendes of hell, some like to hounds dismayd (ill-shaped, mis-created), some like to Apes [dismayd].

xiii. 5. assayled] assayed *a* See Critical Notes on the Text, 5. 29. 5.

xxiii. 8. support] disport *b* Dryden's conjecture in his copy of 1679 agrees with 1590.

CANTO XII

i. 4. Formerly] Firmely conj. Grosart. Formally conj. Smith.

xiii. 9. honor] temple *a* Todd objects that "honor . . . heried" is tautological. This change seems to be a deliberate one, but the reason for it is obscure.

xxi. 3. breach] beach conj. Grosart.

xxiii. 9. Jortin: "Mighty Monoceroses with immeasur'd tails." He cites 2. 10. 8. 9: "immeasur'd mights." Upton: "The verse is 'immeasured.' 'Tis not agreeable to Spenser's manner to say 'Monoceroses.'"

- xxx. 6. pleasaunt] peasaunt *b* See Critical Notes on the Text, 5. 29. 5.
- xxxix. 8. vpstarting] vpstaring *a* Collier records Drayton's alteration of 1611 to "upstaring," and Smith cites 1. 9. 22. 3 and 6. 11. 27. 4.
- xliii. 5. their] they *H₂U* Smith: "This correction gives the desired meaning, 'They had no fear of force.' Those who defend the text take 'feard' to mean 'frightened,' and 'their' to refer to the beasts."
- liv. 7. *Hyacine*] *Hyacint abc* Collier records a change in Drayton's copy of 1611 of "*Hyacint*" to "*Hyacine*," and takes issue with Todd's reading of "*Hyacine*" in 1611. Collier's copy must have had a 1609 sheet at this place (see also 7. 41. 3 and 8. 47. 9), for Todd's is the 1611 reading.
- lxii. 1. This line is set flush with lines 2-8 in copy 2 of 1590 (corr. in some copies).
- lxxiii. 6-7. See Upton's note in the Commentary.

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